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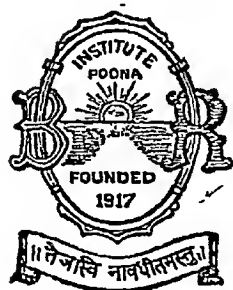
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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

VOL. V
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It transcends the distinction of subject and object, the duality which is essential for knowledge

The absolute of experience is not the absolute of language or of logic. The Real to which we belong is beyond description in its majesty, power and glory. Spiritual humility requires us to look upon the varied expressions and interpretations as suggestions of the Supreme. By encouraging dogmatism and the use of force to spread belief, religions have become discredited.

The seers affirm that they are one with the Supreme : *aham brahmāsmi*. Hallāj exclaims . " I am the truth " and was executed for his heterodoxy.

A well-known Sufi tradition attributes to the prophet a saying : " He who knows the self knows the Lord ". Of Abū Yazīd it is recorded that he said : " I sloughed off my self as a snake sloughs off its skin ; then I looked into my self, and lo, I was He ".¹ Religion, it is said, springs from the great ' I am ' in each ' me '. The fountains are within.

On the pathway to the goal we feel that the attainment of the goal is conditioned by the effort of the seeker and the grace of God — *tapah-prabhāva* and *deva-prasāda*.

The seekers look upon the Supreme as a Person separate from us, whose commands we obey, whose will we accept with reverence. The One beyond sense-perception, speech and logic is also the Controller, the Lord of all, the Creator and Ordainer of all. " There is nothing marvellous in my love for you, O God, you are a mighty being but your love for me a poor slave is really marvellous. It is impossible to know thee and not to love thee. " The personal is not a falsification of

1 Cf *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* IV 4 7.

Vyavasāyātmikā buddhir eke'ha kurunandana. The trained understanding is single-minded. Integrity refers to the quality of oneness. It does not mean alienation from the world. Religion does not mean other-worldiness, separating oneself from all created things. It is denial of egoism. Turning one's back on the world is a part of ascetic discipline which is not an end in itself. Liberation from the tyranny of time is not liberation from time. When we become spiritual in outlook we do not cease to be human.

The secret of true greatness is love of fellowmen. Love of neighbour is not only a moral duty but a wise policy. The right course today is co-operation and not conflict. "What merit is there in the goodness of a man who returns good for good? A good man verily is one who returns good for evil."¹ *Rāmarājya* or the Kingdom of God is the ideal for the human community. The one hope for the peoples of the world to get together is a change in the human heart.

Ethical standards are the only criteria for the distinction between high and low among men. Purity of conduct elevates a man even as impurity degrades him. All other distinctions are irrelevant. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* refers to *patitas*. The *Cāṇḍālas* are those given to stealing, drinking, adultery and murder. These four are fallen *ete patanti catvārah*.² A *patita*, a fallen man, is a wicked man, a small-minded selfish man, not an untouchable.

The caste distinctions may have had their value in another context of society but we have out-grown it.

1 *upalārsisu yah sādhuḥ sādhubute tasya lo gunah* |

apalārsisu yah sādhuḥ sa sādhuḥ sādhubir ucyate ||

The *Bhagavadgītā* speaks of the four-fold classification as based on *guṇa* (character) and *karma* (work).

We are all unregenerate at birth and become regenerate by our effort.

*janmanā jāyate sūdraḥ
saṁskārād dvija ucyate ।*

Some are advanced ; others not. We should give equal facilities to all. The *Mahābhārata* says that there was only one *varṇa* at the beginning and the four castes arose out of later developments.

*ekavarṇam idaṁ pūrvam viśvam āsīd yudhiṣṭhira ।
karma-kriyā-vibhedena cāturvarṇyaṁ pratiṣṭhitam ॥*

But we have come to base caste on birth though some of our leading writers have held that it is not birth or learning but conduct alone that constitutes its basis ; for *dvijātva*,

vṛttam eva tu kāraṇam ।

vedapāṭhena vipras tu brahmagñānāt tu brāhmaṇaḥ ॥

It is not the colour of the skin but the conduct of the person that counts. The only way to progress is by means of good conduct. The *Saṁvarta-Smṛti* says :

*sadācāreṇa devatvam ṛṣitvam vai tathaira ca ।
prāpnuvanti kuyonitvam manuṣyās tadviparyaye ॥*

Great achievement is possible for each one of us.

Professor Kane brings out with great learning and lucidity the frequent changes our society has passed through. When Manu (I. 85) tells us that different customs prevailed in different ages he suggests that the social code is not a fixed but a flexible one.¹ Social

1. *anye trītyaṁ dharmās tretāyām dvāpare 'pare ।
anye lalṛyuge nr̥ṣām*

customs and institutions are subject to change Yājñavalkya tells us that "one should not practise that which, though ordained by the *Smṛti*, is condemned by the people."¹ What appeals to one's conscience, *ātmanas tuṣṭih*, the conscience of the disciplined, not of the superficial, the forms which the elect praise,² should be our standard.

Vital changes may be introduced in the habits of the people by *parisads* or assemblies of the learned. When such assemblies cannot be constituted even the decision of one learned in *dharma* will be authoritative. The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* says *dharmayñā-samayah pramāṇam*.³ People who are learned and compassionate, who are practical-minded can decide the issues of right and wrong. They are the conscience of the community. What we are doing by legislative enactments is consistent with our tradition.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

1 I 156

2 *yam āryāḥ Iṛyamāṇam tu Śamsanti*,

3 I 1 1 2

PREFACE TO VOLUME V

The fourth volume of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* was published in October 1953, i.e. more than eight years ago. This last volume was in the Press for more than five years. The delay is due to several causes. This volume in two parts contains over 1700 pages. It is thus far more bulky than any of the previous volumes. Nonavailability of sufficient quantity of good printing paper was another cause. The third cause was my age (I am now 82 years old) and frequent bad health. It is gratifying to my friends and myself that at last this undertaking spread over thirty-seven years is completed.

This volume is divided into ten sections. The first section deals with Vratas and Utsavas (religious vows and festivals); the second with Kāla (time), Muhūrta (auspicious times), and calendar; the third with Śāntis (propitiatory rites for averting the wrath of a deity, a calamity or unlucky event); the fourth and fifth with Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra and the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India; the sixth with Tāntrik doctrines and Dharmaśāstra; the seventh with Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra; the eighth with Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Tarka and Dharmaśāstra; the ninth with cosmology, Karma and Punarjanma; the tenth with the fundamental conceptions and characteristics of Hindu (Bhāratiya) culture and civilization, and future trends.

In the Preface to the 2nd volume I have indicated the reasons for numerous and lengthy Sanskrit quotations. In the Preface to the 4th volume I have mentioned the aim I had in view in bringing together the facts

in each branch of Dharmasāstra with detachment and integrity and without bias. The same aim and mental attitude have been kept in view in this volume also. But it may be argued that when an author selects some of the numerous facts he passes a judgement about the importance of facts and his judgement may be biased all the same. I do not dispute this argument, but will only argue that, facts being numerous and there being limitations imposed by the space available, the author has a right to pronounce a judgement as to the importance of the facts he selects.

As regards volumes two, three and four, I could rely on a tower of strength in the person of Paramahansa Svāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai. But, unfortunately the Svāmī passed away in March 1955 before I began to write this last volume, and I could not get the benefit of his wise counsel in this fifth volume.

In this last volume I received help from many people, either personally or by correspondence. I have to thank Mr. M. B. Arte, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, and Prof. H. D. Velankar for help in translating important passages from several French and German works. Prof. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, was always ready to render help as to manuscripts and books. He had been a close friend for nearly forty years and his sudden death has meant for me the loss of a learned, sympathetic, and ever-obliging friend. Dr. A. D. Pusalker very carefully read the chapters on Purānas and indicated several misprints and some inaccurate statements. Dr. Raghavan very kindly brought to my notice the calendars in use in Southern India and certain works on Vratas ; Pandit Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha sent me in Sanskrit the Naiyāyika view on Kāla ; Miss Kunda Sathe (now Mrs. Savkar)

kindly sent me from Paris information from French scholars on Babylonian, Assyrian and Greek astronomy. I am highly obliged to Dr. B. S. Joshi for sending me microfilms of certain papers (not available in India) from Cambridge and Chicago. Prof Durgamohan Bhattacharya kindly sent me a copy of the *Kāla-siddhānta-darsinī*. I am under deep obligations to Svāmī Kuvalayānanda of Lonavla for reading my chapter on Yoga and suggesting valuable changes and amendments. Prof. Zala gave me details about the Vratas observed in Saurāstra. Prof. G. H. Bhatt (Baroda) and Mr. S. L. Katre (Curator, Scindia Institute, Ujjain) very kindly showed me the manuscript-wealth of their Institutes and helped me with the contents of several relevant mss. on Vratas and Kāla. Shri Padeśāstrī of Baroda discussed with me, personally and by correspondence, several points about Ancient Hindu Astronomy. MM. Dr. Umesh Mishra brought to my notice his edition of the *Vijñānadīpikā* of Padmapāda and Dr. H. G. Narahari wrote to me about the *Prārabdha-dhvānta-vādhvamśana* of Acyutarāya and sent me off-prints of his papers thereon. Mr. Shankarrao Joshi of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala of Poona helped me by bringing to my notice hand-written calendars more than two hundred years old. To all these I offer my best thanks. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi B. A. (HONS.) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for help in the correction of the proofs of this volume. I have to thank Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, Tarkatirtha Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokje of Lonavla, and Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya for reading the printed sheets and making suggestions and pointing out misprints. Mr. N. G. Chapekar, in spite of his being now over 91 years of age, read some chapters when they were only typewritten, and discussed them personally

with me for some hours. To him I owe a deep debt of gratitude for having taken so much trouble at such a very advanced age. I am highly obliged to Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and to the Librarian Mr. L. G. Parab and the staff of the Archaeological Library for rendering all help to me while I had been collecting material for this volume

I cannot find words adequate enough to express my sense of deep gratitude to Dr. Radhakrishnan, now President of India, who has favoured me with many kindnesses during the last fourteen years. As for this volume of the *History of Dharmasāstra*, in the midst of numerous engagements and heavy work, he found time to look into its last two chapters, made vital suggestions for their improvement, and finally contributed a learned Foreword.

I am aware that, in spite of so much help rendered by so many friends and well-wishers, this large volume might contain many mistakes, for which I alone am responsible. In the process of printing, some diacritical marks have either been elided or placed in wrong places, for which I seek the indulgence of all scholars and readers.

Lastly, I thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press of Poona for carrying out with energy and zeal the work of printing this very large volume bristling with thousands of quotations, in the face of great difficulties caused by shortage of paper, the Poona floods, and other unforeseen happenings

Bombay, July 1962

P. V. KANE.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

of some important works and authors.

referred to in vol. V.

N. B. Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are more or less conjectural.

4000 B. C.—1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmanas and Upaniṣads; some hymns of the Ṛgveda, of the Atharvaveda and verses in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Brāhmanas may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C.. Some scholars have criticized me for assigning the Vedic Saṁhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Bloomfield, in 'Religion of the Veda' (New York, 1908) was willing (on p. 20) to regard 2000 B. C. for the beginnings of Vedic literary productions and to assign a much earlier date for institutions and religious concepts which the Veda derived and he denies that there is any better proof for any later date such as 1500, 1200 or 1000 B. C. rather than for one of the earlier viz. 2000 B. C. Winternitz (in 'Some problems of Indian Literature' which are his Calcutta Readership Lectures, p. 20) remarks 'it is more probable that this unknown time of the Vedic Literature was nearer 2500 B. C. or 2000 B. C. than to 1500 or 1200 B. C.' Both Bloomfield and Winternitz frankly confess that they know nothing at all about the date of the early Vedic Literature. Some Western scholars are rather too cocksure or dogmatic than the facts warrant.

They mostly rely on comparisons with other extant Indo-Aryan literatures and conjectures, which is *not* proof.

- 800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The *Nirukta* of Yāska.
- 800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal Śrauta sūtras (such as those of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana and Satyāśāḍha) and some of the Grhyasūtras (such as those of Āśvalāyana and Āpastamba) and Vedānga Jyotiṣa.
- 500 B. C.—300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and the Grhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.
- 500 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini.
- 500 B. C.—200 B. C.—The *Bhagavad-gītā*.
- 400 B. C.—200 B. C.—The *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* of Jaimini.
- 300 B. C.—200 B. C.—The *Vārtikas* of Vararuci Kātyāyana on Pāṇini's Grammar.
- 300 B. C.—100 A. D.—The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter).
- 200 B. C.—100 A. D.—The *Manusmṛti*.
- 150 B. C.—100 A. D.—The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (rather nearer the former date than the latter).
- 100 B. C.—100 A. D.—Upavarṣa, author of a commentary on *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* and *Vedāntasūtra*.
- 100 B. C.—300 A. D.—Patañjali, author of *Yogasūtra*.
- 100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti and the *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra*.
- 100 A. D.—400 A. D.—*Nārada-smṛti*.
- 200 A. D.—400 A. D.—Śabara, author of *bhāṣya* on *P. M. S.* (nearer the former date than the latter).
- 250 A. D.—325 A. D.—*Sāṅkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.
- 300 A. D.—500 A. D.—*Brhaspatismṛti* on *Vyavahāra*

and other topics (not yet found); extracts on Vyavahāra are translated in S. B. E. Vol. 33 and extracts from Bṛhaspatismṛti on many topics were collected by Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar and published in a volume in G. O. S.

- 300 A. D.-600 A. D.—some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya.
- 400 A. D.-500 A. D.—Mātharavṛtti on Sāṅkhyakārikā.
- 400 A. D.-500 A. D.—The Yogasūtrabhāṣya of Vyāsa.
- 476 A. D.—Āryabhaṭa, author of Āryabhaṭīyam, was born.
- 500 A. D.-575 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Bṛhat-saṁhitā, Bṛhajjātaka, Pañcasiddhāntikā and other works.
- 550 A. D.-700 A. D.—Yuktidīpikā, com. on Sāṅkhyakārikā.
- 600 A. D.-650 A. D.—Bāna, author of the Kādambari and Harṣacarita.
- 650 A. D.-660 A. D.—Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya, com. on Pāṇini's grammar (was composed)
- 650 A. D.-700 A. D.—Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, author of Śloka-vārtika, Tantravārtika, Tūptikā.
- 600 A. D.-900 A. D.—Most of the metrical smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha and Devala and some of the Purāṇas like Viṣṇudharmottara, Agni, Garuḍa.
- 680 A. D.-725 A. D.—Maṇḍana (vide p. 1198 of vol. V).
- 700 A. D.-750 A. D.—Gauḍapāda, author of a commentary on Sāṅkhyakārikā and *paramaguru* (guru's guru) of Śaṅkarācārya.
- 700 A. D.-750 A. D.—Umbeka ; vide vol. V p. 1198
- 710 A. D.-770 A. D.—Śalikanātha (vide vol. V p. 1198)

- 788 A. D.—820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, author of Bhāṣyas on the Gītā, principal Upaniṣads and V. S.
- 780 A. D.—870 A. D.—Utpala, the encyclopedic commentator on Varāhamihira's works.
- 790 A. D.—850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkyasmṛti, author of Vārtika on the Bhāṣyas of Śaṅkarācārya on Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad and the Taittirīyopaniṣad and of the Naiskarmyasiddhi; the same as Sureśvara (after he became a Sannyāsin).
- 820 A. D.—900 A. D.—Vācaspati, author of bhāṣya on Yogasūtra, author of Nyāyakanikā, Tattvasamiksā, Bhāmatī (in all 7 works).
- 825 A. D.—900 A. D.—Medhātithi, author of bhāṣya on the Manusmṛti.
- 900 A. D.—1100 A. D.—Pārthasārathimiśra, author of Śāstradīpikā, Tantrarātna, Nyāyaratnākara.
- 1005 A. D.—1055 A. D.—Dhāreśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works such as the Rājamārtanda (on astrology), Yuktikalpataru, Rājamārtanda (a commentary on Yogasūtra).
- 1050 A. D.—1150 A. D.—Bhavanātha or Bhavadeva, author of Nayaviveka.
- 1080 A. D.—1100 A. D.—Viṣṇūneśvara, author of Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yāj.
- 1100 A. D.—1130 A. D.—Lakṣmīdhara, author of a very extensive digest on Dharmaśāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru.
- 1100 A. D.—1130 A. D.—Aparārka, a Śīlāhara king, author of an extensive commentary on Yāj.
- 1100 A. D.—1150 A. D.—Jimūtavāhana, author of Dāyabhāga, Kālaviveka and Vyavahāramātrkā.
- 1127 A. D.—1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilasitārthacintāmaṇi of Someśvaradeva.

- 1114 A. D.-1183 A. D.—Bhāskarācārya, author of *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* (born in 1114 A. D.).
- 1150 A. D. - 1160 A. D.—Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhaṇa (composed between these dates).
- 1150 A. D.-1180 A. D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of *Hāratalā* and *Pitrdayitā* and *guru* of Ballālasena, king of Bengal.
- 1158 A. D.-1183 A. D.—Ballālasena (king of Bengal who composed five works of which two are available and printed viz. *Adbhutasāgara* (begun in 1168 A. D.) and the *Dānasāgara* composed in 1169 A. D.).
- 1150 A. D.-1300 A. D.—Haradatta, commentator of *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama and *Āpastamba* and of some *Gr̥hyasūtras*.
- 1150 A. D.-1300 A. D.—Kullūka, commentator of *Manusmṛti*.
- 1200 A. D.-1225 A. D.—*Smṛticandrikā* of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa.
- 1260 A. D.-1270 A. D.—*Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri (composed between these dates).
- 1275 A. D.-1310 A. D.—Śrīdatta, author of *Pitr̥bhakti*, *Samayapradīpa* and other works.
- 1300 A. D.-1370 A. D.—Caṇḍeśvara, author of *Gr̥hasatharatnākara*, *Kṛtyaratnākara*, *Vyavahāraratnākara* and other works.
- 1300 A. D.-1386 A. D.—Mādhavācārya, author of *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistāra*, *Parāśaramādhavīya* and other works.
- 1300 A. D.-1386 A. D.—Sāyana, author of *bhāṣyas* of *Vedic Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmanas*.
- 1360 A. D.-1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta and Mahārṇavaprakāśa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son.
- 1360 A. D.-1448 A. D.—These are the dates of the

- birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gangā-vākyāvali and other works, patronized by several kings of Mithilā.
- 1375 A. D.—1450 A. D.—Śūlapāni, author of Dīpakalikā, Tithiviveka, Ekādaśiviveka and several works on topics of Dharmasāstra called Vivekas.
- 1425 A. D.—1450 A. D.—King Madanasimha, completed a large digest called Madanaratna.
- 1375 A. D.—1500 A. D.—Digest composed by Prthvī-candra, son of Nāgamalla, called Dharmatattvasudhānidhi.
- 1400 A. D.—1450 A. D.—Nyāyasudhā of Someśvara, a commentary on Tantravārtika.
- 1425 A. D.—1460 A. D.—Rudradhara, author of Varsakṛtya, Śuddhiviveka and other works.
- 1425 A. D.—1490 A. D.—Vācaspati, author of Kītya-cintāmani and numerous works called Cintāmani and some works called Nirṇaya (e.g. Tīthinirṇaya).
- 1440 A. D.—1500 A. D.—Vardhamāna, author of Dandaviveka, Gangākṛtyaviveka and other works.
- 1513 A. D.—1580 A. D.—Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, author of Tristhalisetu, Prayogaratna etc.
- 1520 A. D.—1575 A. D.—Raghunandana, author of many works called Tattvas, such as Tīthitattva, Ekādaśitattva etc.
- 1554 A. D.—1626 A. D.—Appayyadīksita, author of Vidhīrasāyana and numerous works on different śāstras and topics (vide p. 1199 above).
- 1560 A. D.—1620 A. D.—Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa and author of Dvāntanirṇaya, Mīmāṃsābālaprakāśa and other works.
- 1590 A. D.—1630 A. D.—Nandapandita, author of Dvāntanirṇaya, Vaijayanti (commentary on Viṣṇudharmasūtra).

- 1600 A. D.—1665 A. D.—Khaṇḍadeva, author of Bhāṭṭa-
kaustubha and Bhāṭṭadīpikā.
- 1610 A. D.—1640 A. D.—Time of literary activity of
Kamalākaraḥṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdra-
kamalākara and many other works.
- 1610 A. D.—1640 A. D.—Mitrāmśra, author of a huge
digest called Vīramitrodaya on tīrtha, pūjā, samaya
and many other topics of Dharmaśāstra.
- 1615 A. D.—1645 A. D.—Time of literary activity of
Nīlakantha, son of Śaṅkaraḥṭṭa, and author of a
digest on topics of Ācāra, Saṁskāra, Vyavahāra
etc.
- 1620 A. D.—1690 A. D.—Viśveśvara, alias Gāgābhaṭṭa,
author of Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi and other works.
- 1645 A. D.—1675 A. D.—Probable period of the lite-
rary activity of Anantadeva, author of a large
digest called Smṛtikaustubha.
- 1700 A. D.—1740 A. D.—Smṛtimukṭīphala of Vaidya-
nātha.
- 1670 A. D.—1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, an
encyclopædic writer on Grammar, Poetics, Dharma-
śāstra, Yoga and other Śāstras (about 47 works).
- 1790 A. D.—date of the composition of the Dharma-
sindhu by Kāśinātha Upādhyāya.
- 1730 A. D.—1820 A. D.—Bālabhaṭṭa, author of a
commentary called Bālabhaṭṭī on the Mitākṣarā.

ABBREVIATIONS

used in vol. V for works in English and Sanskrit.

On pp. 251-252 there is a list of abbreviations meant for the list of Vratas alone. Many of them will be included in this list also.

A. B. O. R. I = Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

AIHT = "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" by Pargiter.

Ait. Br. = Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.

A. I. O. C. = All India Oriental Conference.

A. K. = Ahalyā-kāmadhenu (ms.)

Āp Dh. S. = Āpastambadharmasūtra.

Āp. Śr. S = Āpastamba Śrautasūtra.

Āśv. Gr. = Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra.

A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.

B. D. C. R. I. = Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

B. E. = 'Buddhist Esoterism' by Dr. B. Bhattacharya.

B. E. F. E. O. = Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient.

B. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes.

B. G. S. = Bombay Government Series.

Bhav. U. = Bhavisyottara-purāṇa.

B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica Series.

B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Br. = Brāhmaṇa (class of works).

- Br. S. = Br̥hat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira.
 Br. Up. = Br̥hadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
 B. V. = Bhāratiya Vidyā, Journal, Bombay.
 C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; Vol. I Aśoka
 Inscriptions; Vol. II Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions;
 Vol. III Gupta Inscriptions; Vol. IV Kalacūri
 Inscriptions.
 C. R. C. = Calendar Reform Committee (Report of).
 D. C. = Deccan College.
 E. I. = Epigraphia Indica (Volumes).
 E. R. E. = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics in 12
 volumes.
 E. S. A. = ' Exact Sciences in Antiquity ' by Prof. Neu-
 gebauer (1951).
 Gaut. or Gautama = Gautama-dharmasūtra.
 G. K. = Kālasāra of Gadādhara.
 G. O. S. = Gaikwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).
 H. = Prof. Hazra.
 H. of Dh. or H. Dh. = History of Dharmasāstra, Vols.
 I-V.
 H. O. S. = Harvard Oriental Series.
 H. P. or H. Y. P. = Hathayogapradīpikā.
 H. V. = Hemādri on Vratas.
 I. A. = Indian Antiquary (Journal) or Law Reports,
 Indian Appeals (context will clearly show which is
 meant).
 I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly (Journal).
 Jai. = Jaimini or Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra.
 J. A. O. S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
 J. A. S. or J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society
 of Bengal.
 J. B. A. S. = Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay.

- J. B. B. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. B. H. U. = Journal of the Benaras Hindu University
- J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- J. B. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
- J. G. J. R. I. = Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.
- J. I. H. = Journal of Indian History.
- Jiv. = Jivananda's edition in two volumes of Raghunandana's *Tattvas*.
- J. N. = Jayantiniṛṇaya.
- J. U. P. H. S. = Journal of United Provinces Historical Society.
- J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
- J. V. O. T. = Journal of Venkatesvara Oriental Institute
- K. N. = *Kālanirṇaya* of Mādhava.
- K. R. = *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Candēśvara.
- K. S. S. = *Kaśī Sanskrit Series*.
- K. T. = *Kṛtyatattva*.
- K. T. V. = *Kālatattvavivecana*.
- K. V. = *Kālaviveka*.
- M. B. P. = *Mīmāṃsā-bāla-prakāśa*.
- M. C. = *Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi*.
- M. L. J. = *Madras Law Journal*.
- Mit. = *Mitākṣarā*, commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*.
- M. M. = *Mahāmahopādhyāya* (title conferred on learned men).
- M. M. = *Muhūrtamārtanda* (a work).
- Nir. or. Nirṇ. = *Nirṇayasāgara* Press edition.

- N. I. A. = New Indian Antiquary (a journal).
 N. S. = Nirnayasindhu.
 Pār. Gr. = Pāraskara-gr̥hya-sūtra.
 P. C. = Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi.
 Ph. Up. = Philosophy of the Upanishads by Paul Deussen, translated by A. S. Geden.
 P. M. = Pūrvamīmāṃsā.
 P. M. S. = Pūrvamīmāṃsā-śāstra or sūtra (according to context).
 P. O. = Poona Orientalist (journal).
 P. R. H. R. = Studies in Purāṇik Records on Hindu rites and customs (collection of 16 papers by Prof. Hazra).
 Ṛg. = Ṛgveda.
 R. M. = Rājamārtanda of Bhoja (Ms. in B. O. R. I.).
 R. N. P. = Rājanītiprakāśa of Candēśvara.
 Śāṅ. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta sūtra.
 Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ed. by Weber).
 S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series (ed. by MaxMuller).
 S. M. = Samayamayūkha of Nilakaṇṭha.
 Sm. C. = Smṛti-candrikā (ed. by Mr. Gharpure).
 Sm. K. = Smṛtikaustubha.
 Tai. Ā. or T. A. = Taittirīya Āranyaka.
 Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
 Tai. S. or T. S. = Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.
 Tai. Up. = Taittirīya Upaniṣad.
 T. S. S. = Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
 T. T. = Tithitattva of Raghunandana.
 U. = Upapurāṇa.
 Up. = Upaniṣad.
 Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyya Saṁhitā.

Var. = Varāhapurāṇa.

Varāha = Varāhamihira.

V. Dh. or Visnu Dh S. = Visnudharmasūtra.

Vi Dh. = Visnu-Dharmottara-purāṇa.

V. K. K. = Varsa-kriyā-kaumudī.

V. K. R. = Varṣakītya of Rudradhara.

V. S. = Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyana.

Y. S. = Yogasūtra.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛiti.

अ. का. } = अहल्याकामधेनु (Ms. in Scindia Institute, Ujjain)
अ. का. धे. }

अग्नि. } = अग्निपुराण (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)
अग्निपु. }

अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद (ed. by Pandit Satavalekar)

अपरार्क. = Com. of, on या स्मृति (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

अ. सा. = अद्भुतसागर of बल्लालसेन (Calcutta, 1905)

आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र

आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र

आश्व. गृ. = आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र

आश्व. श्रौ. } = आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र
आश्व. श्रौ. सू. }

ऋ. = ऋग्वेद

ए. त. = एकादशीतत्त्व

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

कल्प } = कृत्यकल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर (separate volumes on गृहस्थ,
कल्पतरु. } नैयतकाल, मोक्ष, व्रत etc.) ed in G. O. S.

का. त. वि. = कालतत्त्वविवेचन

का. नि. = कालनिर्णय of माधवाचार्य

का. वि. = कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन

क. त. = कृत्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन

क. र. } = कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (B. I. Series)

कौ. ब्रा. = कौपीतकिब्राह्मण

गरुड = गरुडपुराण

गौ. }
गौ. ध. सू. } = गौतमधर्मसूत्र (आनन्दाश्रम ed. with com. of हरदत्त)
गौतम }

छा. }
छा. उ. } = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्

जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र of जैमिनि (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

ति. त. = तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक

तै. उ. }
तै. उप. } = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता (ed. by Pandit Satavalekar)

दुर्गार्च. }
दुर्गार्चन. } = दुर्गार्चनपद्धति of रघुनन्दन

ड. भ. त. = दुर्गाभक्तिरत्नप्रणी of विद्यापति (ed. at Darbhanga, 1900)

द्वै. नि. सि. सं. = द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह

घ. सि. = धर्मसिन्धु of काशीनाथ (ed. of 1926, with Marathi translation) Nir. ed.

नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु (with Marathi translation) Nir. ed.

न्यायमञ्जरी = Kashi S. Series

पञ्चसि. = पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका of बराहमिहिर (ed. by Thibaut and Dwivedi)

पद्म. }
पद्मपु. } = पद्मपुराण (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय (Bombay S. Series)

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी

पु. वि. = पुस्तकचिन्तामणि

प्राय. स. = प्रायश्चित्तसूत्र of मुनिभट्ट

प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमूला of नीलकण्ठ

पद्. ३ }
पद्. ३४ } = पदसाधनचिन्तामणि

पदार्थ-व्याख्यान of पदार्थसिद्धि (ed. by Kern, only text; by सुभाकर [?] with com. of उपल. There is a difference of one chap. between the two editions).

पद्मयोगि. = पद्मयोगिशास्त्रम् (ed. by रामो दत्तलक्ष्मण of Lonavla)

पौ. सु. = पौष्पावनसुश्रूष

पद्म }
प्रज्ञासू. } = पद्मपुराण (मानन्दभट्ट ed.)

भविष्य = भविष्यपुराण

मन्. पा. = मन्वणपारिभाष (B. I. Series)

मनु = मनुस्मृति (Nirn. ed.)

मार्क. = मार्कण्डेयपुराण (Venk. ed. and Cal. ed. differ by two or three chapters)

मिता. = मिताक्षरा (टीका on मनु. स्मृति, Nirn. ed.)

मी. प. = मीमांसापरिभाषा of कृष्णयजुषः (निर्णय. ed.)

मी. वा. प्र. = मीमांसाबालप्रज्ञा of चण्डिका (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series)

सु. चि. = सुहृत्चिन्तामणि

मेधा. = मेधातिथि's commentary on मनुस्मृति

मै. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता (ed. by Pandit Sitavalekar)

या. }
याज्ञ. } = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति (निर्णयसागर ed. with मिताक्षरा)

यो. सू. = योगसूत्र

रा. मा. = राजमार्तण्ड of भोज

व. कि. कौ. = वपेक्षिक्याकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (B. I. ed.)

वन. = वनपर्व (of महाभारत)

- वराह. = वराहमिहिर or वराहपुराण acc. to context
 वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar)
 वामन° = वामनपुराण
 वि. वी. = विज्ञानवीपिका
 वी. मि. = वीरमित्रोदय of मित्रमिश्र
 वे. सू. = वेदान्तसूत्र of वादरायण with शाङ्करभाष्य (निर्णय. ed.)
 व्य. म. = व्यवहारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ
 व्र. का. वि. = व्रतकालविवेक
 व्रत. प्र. } = व्रतप्रकाश, part of वीरमित्रोदय
 व्र. प्र. }
 शत. ब्रा. } = शतपथ ब्राह्मण (ed. by Weber)
 शतपथ }
 शा. ब्रा. = शाङ्खायन ब्राह्मण
 शां. श्रौ. = शाङ्खायन श्रौतसूत्र
 शुद्धिकौ. = शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (B. I. ed.)
 श्वे. उप. = श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्
 सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव (Baroda ed. 1914)
 स. प्र. = समयप्रकाश (part of वीरमित्रोदय)
 स. म. = समयमयूख (Gujarati Press ed.)
 सि. कौ. = सिद्धान्तकौमुदी of मट्टोजिदीक्षित (निर्णय. ed.)
 स्कन्द. = स्कन्दपुराण (Venk. Press ed.)
 स्मृति. कौ. = स्मृति. कौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव
 स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (ed. by Mr. Gharpure)
 ह. यो. प्र. = हठयोगप्रदीपिका
 हे. = हेमाद्रि, author of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (B. I. ed.) on व्रत, काल,
 आदि, दान etc.

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References to pages of important works consulted

In former volumes lists of important works consulted were set out at length. It is not necessary to do this in this volume because in each section lists of important Sanskrit works and English works and papers have been provided. Therefore, all that need be done is to bring together the pages of this volume where such lists are mostly mentioned.

Section	Works in Sanskrit pp	Works and papers in English pp
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V. Purāṇas pp. 913-1033	952, 957-958 (on bhakti), 998 (on Avatāras)	969, 978, 1003 and 1008-9 (on Bud- dhism and causes of its disappearance from India)

Section	Works in Sanskrit pp.	Works and papers in English pp.
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IX. Cosmology, Karma and Punarjanma Cosmology (1483-1529) Karma and Punarjanma (pp. 1530-1612)	1599-1604	1485n, 1502 1604-5
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CORRECTIONS

Mistakes that can be easily detected and misprints due to the loss or displacement of such loose parts as *anusvāras* or *mātrās* or diacritical dots (as under t) that can be easily detected have generally not been included in this list.

Page Line or note

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| 384 | 20 | read 'on Śu 7th; when' |
| 494 | n. 719, l. 7 | read 'from' for 'form' |
| | „ n. 722, l. 2 | from bottom read 'Gandharva'. |
| 530 | n. 765, l. 2 | from bottom read 'p. 270' |
| 560 | n. 832, l. 3 | read '101 (in Kern's ed.)'
for '160' |
| 598 | | the figures in the photo of
'Dhanus' and 'Mina or Ma-
kara' are wrong, in position.
They should be turned upside
down |
| 647 | n. 991, l. 3 | from bottom read '14' for '29' |
| 660 | l. 11 | read 'aksara a' |
| 696 | l. 9 | read 'Manu IX. 301' |
| 715 | n. 1130, l. 2 | read 'purposes' |
| | „ n. 1130, l. 3 | read 'deemed' |
| 724 | n. 1145, l. 3 | read शमीर्घं |
| 736 | n. 1172a, l. 2 | read 1690 for 1598. |
| 737 | n. 1172b, l. 8 | read 'Visnor-nu kam'. |
| 751 | l. 4 | read 'specified on preceding
page' for 'specified below'. |
| 801 | n. 1300, l. 8 | omit 'शाकुन्तल'. |
| 813 | n. 1323, l. 3 | read 'सुद्वैकादशिनीति' |

- 817 n. 1328, l. 1 read 'श्लोकबुदाहरन्ति'
 824 n. 1347, l. 4 read मृदुक्कुरे
 833 n. 1356, l. 3 read सर्ववाञ्छाफलप्रदम्.
 844 n. 1375, l. 6 read 'tonal'.
 870 l. 5 read 'It' for 'If'
 888 n. 1414b, l. 1 read 'Kālikā 92. 2'
 899 l. 2 read 'Amar Nath Ray' for
 'M. R. Majumdar'.
 911 l. 13 read 'Saura'
 „ l. 16 read 'Skanda'
 „ l. 22 read 'Sūtasamhitā'
 970 l. 8 omit 'way'
 „ l. 11 read 'way' for 'away'
 1019 l. 4 from bottom read 'it is found that it con-
 demned'
 1038 n. 1673, l. 4 put a comma after 'Pūrṇa'.
 1066 last note is '1724' and not '1924'
 1103 l. 5 read 'neuter' for 'neither'
 1104 n. l. 2 read धारणीs for धारणाs.
 1105 n. 1794, l. 3 read 'तच्चो'
 1156 n. 1879, l. 7 read 'पद्मनखाश्वाशलयक-'
 1169 n. 1901, last line read 2238 for 2186.
 1174 l. 8 read 'note 2052' for note 2010.
 1196 l. 13 from bottom put a comma after Kumārila's
 1203 n. 1954, l. 2 read 'सानिल्या' (= सा अनिल्या).
 1221 n. 1981, l. 5 read वृत्तादिवशाभ्यामवृत्त्यर्थ.
 1226 lines 25-26 read 'vidhi-lin'.
 1231 l. 13 read 'Soma'
 1239 n. 2015 read शर्प.
 1242 n. 2016, l. 3 read परप्रवक्तृकार्यादि०
 1244 n. 2019, l. 1 read ये पुरस्ताच्छ्रूयन्ते.
 1264 n. 2058, l. 4 read परिह्रियन्ते.

- 1274 n. 2077, l. 7 read 'paribhāsas'.
- 1293 n. 2116, l. 3 read 'शकुनौ'.
- 1295 n. 2119, l. 3 read 'निविशेतोत क्रये'.
- 1300 l. 29 read '1238' for '1258'.
- 1315 n. 2164, ll. 4-5 read 'मुख्यक्रमेण वाङ्मना तदर्थत्वात्' and
omit वा after V. 1. 14
- 1356 l. 15 read 2238 for 2186
- 1373 l. 29 read 'sixty' for 'six'
- 1409 n. 2134, ll. 1-2 read यो. सू. I. 2-4
- 1432 last line read 'prānād-apānati'
- 1446 n. 2371 read तत्रैकचित्ता ध्यान (separate
words)
- 1448 n. 2382, l. 9 read शङ्खस्थिति.
- 1449 n. 2383, l. 6 कस्मात्, l. 7 योगसुधाकर, l. 9 असप्रज्ञात.
- 1453 n. 2389, l. 8 read levitation and n. 2390 l. 8,
put a semicolon after 'प्रवेश'
- 1460 n. 2402, last line read 'वृजवे'
,, n. 2413, l. 1 read भवेद्दीर्घ'
- 1483 n. 2429, ll. 1 and 6 read Westaway
- 1488 n. 2439, l. 1 read कतमस्त्वित्
- 1494 n. 2445, l. 2 read कियता स्कम्भ. and in last line
व्यचो हितम्
- 1508 n. 2462, l. 5 read छ. उप. VI. 11. 3
- 1559 n. 2528, last line read IV. 11
- 1615 l. 2 from bottom, read 'Bagby's'
- ,, n. 2602, l. 3 from bottom, read 'unrelated'
- 1671 lines 4-5 read 'being sweeping ones at
one stroke are likely'.
- 1684 l. 1 read p. 9
- 1708 n. 2659 l. 2 read 'What Vedārta means
to me,' a symposium.

SECTION III

ŚĀNTI (Propitiatory rites for averting a deity's wrath,
a calamity or unlucky event),

CHAPTER XX

Vedic meaning and procedure of Śāntis

The word Śānti is derived from the root 'śam', which has several meanings (such as 'to stop', 'to be appeased', 'to kill' rarely) and belongs to the 4th conjugation and also to the 9th. The word Śānti itself does not occur in the R̥gveda, but it occurs in the Atharvaveda and the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā. The root 'śam', its several forms and derivatives and the indeclinable particle 'śam' occur hundreds of times even in the R̥gveda. The word 'śam' is often conjoined in the R̥gveda to 'yoh' either as 'śamyoh' (R̥g. I. 93.7, I. 106.5, III. 17.3, III. 18.4, IV. 12.5, V. 47.7, V. 53.14, V. 69.3, VI. 50.7, VII. 35.1, VII. 69.5, X. 9.4, X. 15.4, X. 37.11, X. 182.1-3) or as 'śam ca yośca' (as in R̥g. I. 114.2, 189.2, II. 33.13, VIII. 39.4, VIII. 71.15). In these places the words are generally rendered as 'happiness and welfare' or 'health and wealth' (by Keith in translation of Tai. S. II. 6.10.3) and these meanings generally suit the context, e. g. in R̥g. VI. 50.7 'dhāta tokāya tanayāya śam yoh' (confer on our sons and progeny happiness and welfare), in R̥g. X. 182 the words 'athā karad-yajamānāya śam yoh' (may Brhaspati confer happiness and welfare on the sacrificer) occur as the last quarter of all the three verses. 'Śam' by itself occurs about 160 times in the R̥gveda and it is somewhat remarkable that in R̥g. VII. 35. 1-13¹¹³² the word śam occurs in each verse from 4 to 7 times (68 times in all). R̥g. I. 114. 1¹¹³³ 'we bring these lauds to Rudra who is powerful, who has braided hair, who rules over valiant men, so that there may result welfare to our two-footed and four-footed beings and every thing in this village may be prosperous and free from distress' will bring out the import of

1132. Verses 1-10 of R̥g. VII. 35 are the same as Atharva 19.10 1-10.

1133. इमा यद्वाय त्वसे कर्षद्भिरे क्षयद्वाय म भ्रामहे मतीः । यथा शमसद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे विश्वं पुष्टं ग्रामे अस्मिन्नाहुरा॥ ऋ I. 114. 1.

'śam'. In some cases 'śam' and 'yoh' clearly appear to be employed like nouns in the objective case. For example, Rg. II. 33. 13¹¹³⁴ "I hanker after tho 'śam' and 'yoh' of Rudra (i. e. under the power of Rudra), Rg. I. 114.2 "O Rudra! may we secure by your guidance that 'śam' and 'yoh' that father Manu procured through sacrifice". Yāska (Nirukta IV. 21) while dealing with Rg. X 15. 4 'athā nah śam yor-arapo dadhāta' holds 'śamyoh' to be ablative or genitive of śamyu and explains as 'śamanam ca rogānām yāvanam ca bhayānām' (allaying of diseases and warding off of dangers). This is an etymological explanation and is in some cases accepted by Sāyana and in others he paraphrases 'śam' by 'sukha' (happiness) and 'yoh' as 'duhkha-viyoga' (freedom from pain or distress). The word 'yoh' presents the appearance of the ablative or genitive singular of a noun from the root 'yu' which means 'to bind' or 'separate' or from 'yā' to go. 'Yoh' by itself occurs only three times in the Rgveda (i. e. in I. 74. 7, X. 105. 3, X. 176. 3). The meaning of 'yoh' in these three cases is doubtful. In the Tai. Br.¹¹³⁵ we have the mantra 'we choose that happiness and welfare and success (or progress) to the sacrifice and the sacrificer, may divine fortune be ours; let there be good fortune for (our) men; may medicine (or remedy) go up, may there be happiness to our men and quadrupeds'.

In Atharvaveda 19. 9 the word śānti occurs about 17 times. In verses 3 to 5 speech (vāk), the mind (manah)¹¹³⁶ and the five senses are referred to and it is said that these seven usually produce what is *ghora* (terrible or inauspicious) and these same must exert themselves for producing śānti (i. e. appeasement of angered deities or averting calamities or misfortunes). Verses 6-11 pray to several gods, planets (grahāḥ), the earth, falling stars, cows, the nakṣatras, magical rites, Rāhu, Dhūmaketu (comets), the Rudras, Vasus and Ādityas, sages and Brhaspati to confer happiness. Verse 12 prays to Indra, Brahmā, and all

1134 शं च योश्च रुद्रस्य वदिम । ऋ II. 33. 13, यच्छ च योश्च मन्त्रायेजे पिता तदध्याम तव रुद्र प्रणीतिषु ॥ ऋ I 114. 2.

1135 तच्छयोरारुणीमहे । गानु यज्ञाय । गानु यज्ञपतये । देवी स्वस्तिरस्तु न । स्वस्ति-
मस्तुवेन्य । ऊर्ध्वं जिगानु भेषजम् । श नो अस्तु द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे ॥ ते वा III 5. 11.
This is partly explained in ते सं II 6 10. This is called शयुवाक Vide पा
I. 4. 29 on which the first वार्तिक is 'अहुवाकावय, पुस्ति' and पतञ्जलि cites
'अहुवाक. शयुवाक. सुक्तवाक' as examples

1136 इमानि यानि पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि मन.पदानि मे हृदि नम्रणा सशितानि । वैरेव सद्यजे
योरं तैरेव शान्तिरस्तु न. ॥ अथर्व 19 9. 5.

the gods for refuge to the composer of the hymn and 13 declares that 'whatever things were appeased (by śāntis) in this world—these the seven sages know. May they all be happiness for me; may happiness be mine and may freedom from fear be mine'. Verse 14 which is similar to Vāj. S. 36. 17 declares that 'the earth, mid-regions, heaven, waters, trees and plants, all gods—these have become appeased and auspicious by the śānti rites performed by the composer and that by those śāntis, by all śāntis I (we) appease (remove the evil effect of) what is here terrible, what is cruel (or inauspicious), what is evil; may all that be appeased, be beneficial and happy for us'.¹¹³⁷ Atharva 19. 10 (verses 1–10) contains the word 'śam' 51 times and prays for welfare to several gods and 19. 11 is also a śānti containing the word 'śam' 18 times. The Vājasaneyā-saṃhitā chapter 36 (verses 8–12) similarly contain the word 'śam' several times. One of these viz. (Vāj. S. 36. 12) occurs in many Vedic texts.¹¹³⁸ 'May the divine waters confer on us happiness, help and protection; may they flow towards us for our our happiness and welfare'.

In the Tai. S. the words 'śamayati' and 'śānti' are frequently used often in the same passage or context. For example, it is said "Rudra¹¹³⁹ is the fierce (or harsh) one among gods...; He (the priest) does as it were a harsh thing when he recites (that passage containing the word) Rudra; 'in the path of Mitra' he says for the sake of appeasing". There is a similar passage in the Ait. Br. While prescribing the recital of a rk verse (Rg. II. 33. 1) in the Āgnimāruta-śāstra the Ait. Br. changes the original words of the latter half of the verse in the Rgveda and also suggests another verse altogether for recital

1137 ताभिः शान्तिभिः सर्वशान्तिभिः शमयामोऽहं यदिह धोरं यदिह क्रूरं यदिह पापं तच्छान्तं तच्छिवं सर्वमेव शमस्तु न. ॥ अथर्व 19. 9. 14.

1138. इं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । इं योरभि स्रवन्तु नः ॥ वाज० सं. 36. 12, ऋ. X 9 4, अथर्व I. 6. 1, सामवेद 33. तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 1, 1.

1139. रुद्रस्त्वावर्तयस्वित्याह । रुद्रो वै क्रूरो देवानां...क्रूरमिव वा एतत्करोति यद्रुद्रस्य कीर्तयति मित्रस्य पथेत्याह शान्त्यै । तै सं. VI 1. 7. 7-8; The original rk is आ ते पितर्यस्तां सुन्ममेतु मा न. सूर्यस्य सन्दृशो युयोथाः । अभि नो वीरो अर्वति क्षमेत मजायेमहि रुद्र मजाभिः ॥ ऋ II. 33 1. The ऐ वा reads 'त्वं नो वीरो अर्वति क्षमेथाः' for अभि नो वीरो अर्वति क्षमेथा मजायेमहि रुद्रिय मजाभिः ॥ If one employed अभि नो, Rudra might have seized the progeny and the word रुद्रिय (meaning a servant of Rudra) avoids the use of the harsh name Rudra 'मजायेमहि रुद्रिय मजाभिरिति त्रयाक्ष रुद्रेत्येतस्यैव नाम्न. परिहृत्यै । तदु खलु इं नः करतीत्येव इंसेच्छमिति प्रतिपद्यते सर्वस्मा एव शान्त्यै । .. सोऽनिरुक्ता रौद्री शान्ता सर्वास्तु सर्वायुस्त्राय । ऐ ब्रा. 13. 10..

(I 43. 6 'sam nah karatyarvate sugam mesāya mesye nrbyo nāribhyo gave') because in the first place that verse begins with the auspicious word 'sam' and in the second place because that verse, though the *devatā* (deity) thereof is Rudra, does not expressly mention that word; the result, says the Ait Br, is that that verse being one of appeasement (*śānti*) the priest secures long life and procures long life for the sacrificer

Another example of 'śamayati' in the Tai S is as follows: When an *agnihotrīn* is going on a journey with his household he should offer *homa* to Vāstospati, but if he goes without offering a *homa* to Vāstospati evil consequences follow, 'Rudra is indeed Vāstospati; if he were to go out without offering *homa* to Vāstospati, Agni would become Rudra, would leap after him and kill him; (but) when he offers to Vāstospati, he appeases him (Rudra-Agni) with his own share and the sacrificer meets no injury (or distress)'.¹¹⁴⁰

Another example of 'śamayati' and 'śānti' in the Tai S (VI 3 3 2-3) may be set out. 'O tree! protect it, O axe! do not harm it; the axe indeed is a thunderbolt, (therefore he utters those words) for allaying (the fierce power of the axe); these worlds are afraid of the tree (of which the *yūpa* is made) when it moves; (therefore he recites 'with thy top do not graze the sky, with thy middle do not harm the atmospheric region'. (By these words) he appeases (removes the terrible power for evil of) this tree'.¹¹⁴¹

The foregoing passages are quite sufficient for showing the significance attached to the words 'sam', 'śamayati' and 'śānti' in the Vedic *samhitās*. The word 'śāntama' occurs in the *R̥gveda* about two dozen times. It is applied to the great gods like Agni, Indra, Soma (I 16 7, I 77 2, IX. 104 3), to the praises of gods (I 76 1, VI 32. 1), to the worshipper or singer (VIII. 13. 22), to protection by gods (V 76. 3, X. 15. 4) and generally means 'beneficent or conferring happiness'. Simi-

1140 रुद्र खलु वै वास्तोष्पतिर्यदहुत्वा वास्तोष्पतीयं मयायाद् रुद्र एनं भूत्वाऽग्निरुत्थाय हन्माह्वास्तोष्पतीयं जुहोति भागधेयेनेनैव शमयति नातिमृच्छति यजनान् । तै सं III 4. 10 3 Compare also श्री 14 19.

1141 ओषधे त्रायस्त्रैर्न स्वधिते मेन हिंसीरित्याह वज्रो वै स्वधिति शान्त्यै । इने वै लोका यूपारूपतो विन्यति दिवमयेण ना लेखीरस्तारिर्न मध्येन ना हिंसीरित्याहैव्य एवैनं लोकम्य-
शमयति । तै सं. VI 3 3. 2-3, compare वाज सं. 5 42-43 and शतपथ III 6 4 13 for similar words.

larly, the word 'śantāti' (Rg. I. 112. 20, VIII. 18. 7) means 'beneficent'.

The causal (śamayati) of the verb 'śam' and the word 'śanti' do not occur in the Rgveda, but they are as said above frequently employed in the Taittiriya and other Samhitās and in the Brāhmanas. Some further examples may be set out here. The Tai. S. relates the following legend "Agni was in the yonder world (heaven), the sun was in this world; these worlds were (then) unappeased (disturbed). The gods said 'come, let us change (transpose) these two'. They placed Agni in this world with the words 'O Agni, come here for the dainty meal' and (placed) the Sun in the yonder world with the words 'the great and powerful one, O Agni'; then indeed these two worlds became free from disturbance. Since he repeated those words in this way, it served for the purpose of quieting these worlds (that were once disturbed). These worlds became undisturbed (auspicious) for him who knows this".¹¹⁴² Here we have both the verbal form 'śamayātāma' (from 'śam' 4th conj.) and the the word 'śāntyai'.

In some passages of the Rgveda the word 'śami' occurs (as in I. 87. 5, II. 31. 6, III. 55. 3, VIII. 45. 27, X. 40. 1.). It is generally interpreted by Sāyana in these passages as the locative singular of 'śami', which is explained to mean 'karman' (action, sacrifice or the like). Two of these may be cited here ¹¹⁴³ "my desires fly in many directions; I shall brighten ancient (lauds) towards 'śami' (for employing them in various sacrifices?); knowing the truth in Turvasa (king) and Yadu (king) he (Indra) enveloped Ahnavāyā (their enemy) in warlike action." It is possible to take 'śami' as the locative singular of 'śam' treated as a noun. The word 'śami' occurs in many passages of the Rgveda (I. 20. 2, I. 83. 4, I. 110. 4, II. 1. 9, III. 60. 3, IV. 3. 4, IV. 17. 18, IV. 22. 8, IV. 33. 4, V. 77. 4, V. 42. 10, VI. 3. 2, VI. 52. 1, VIII. 75. 14, IX. 74. 7, X. 28. 12). In all these passages

1142. इमौ लोकावशान्तावास्तां ते देवा अन्वक्षेतेमौ विपर्यहामेत्यत्र आ याहि वीतय इत्यस्मिँल्लोकेऽस्मिन्मदुर्बुद्धये सुवीर्यमित्यस्मिँल्लोके आदित्यम् । ततो वा इमौ लोकावशान्त्यतः यदेवमन्वाहानपीलकियोः शान्त्ये । शान्त्यतोऽस्मा इमौ लोका य एवं वेद ॥ ते. सं. II. 5. 8. 2 अशान्त here means 'the evil, aspects or influences in which had not been removed or conjured away.

1143. वि मे पुरुषा पतयन्ति कामाः शान्त्यच्छा वीथे पुन्यणि । ऋ III. 55. 3; सत्यं तनुवो यवौ विदामो अह्मवाय्यम् । न्यानद् हुवेण शमि ॥ ऋ VIII. 45. 27. In the last verse Sāyana takes शमि as objective singular of शमी (instead of loc. singular as he does elsewhere)

Sāyana interprets it as 'karma' and not as the 'śami tree or branch'. But in one place at least (if not in more places) the word śami can easily be held to mean 'the śami wood or fuel-stick'.¹¹⁴⁴ 'To that mortal who worships with sacrifices and appeases with 'śamīs' (śami fuel-sticks) and gives offerings to Agni that abounds in wealth disappointment as to glory never comes nor does sin nor arrogance overtake him'

The whole of chapter 36 of the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā is employed as śānti at the beginning and end of the Pravargya rite, according to Kāt. Śr. S 26 41 'śāntikāraṇam-ādyantayoh'; verses 9-12 of Vāj. S 36 employ the word 'śam' 17 times and verse 9 is the same as R̥gveda I 90, 9.

An interesting text in connection with the root 'śam' is the *adhruṅga praśa*, to be recited by the Hotr priest before the *paśu* is killed in a sacrifice Vide H. of Dh. vol II p. 1121 note 2504 for the formula which is rather long. The important¹¹⁴⁵ words for the present purpose are at the beginning and at the end 'O divine slayers and human slayers' begin (the process of killing the *paśu*) ...O Adhruṅga! you should slay (the *paśu*) in such a way that it would be properly carried out'. Here the root (śam) certainly means to slay, this meaning is, however, apparently quite different from the one so far considered (viz to appease, to remove evil effects). But it may be that there is a secondary meaning, viz appease the gods by offering parts of the animal killed in the sacrifice

The Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa closely connects the śami tree or branch with the conjuring away or appeasing the terrible or angry aspects of deities in the following myth ¹¹⁴⁶ "Prajāpati

1144 ईजे यज्ञेभिः शशने शमीभिर्कषद्वापायये द्वादाश। एवा च न यशसामनुदिर्नि-
हो मर्ते नशते न प्रहसिः॥ ऋ VI 3 2, compare ऋ. VI 1 9 सो अग्न ईजे शशने च
मर्तो यस्ते आनद् समिधा हव्यदातिद्।

1145. त्वेषां शमितार आरभस्वहुत मनुष्या । ' अग्निगो शमीध्वं सुशामि शमीध्वं शमीध्व-
मग्निगार्ध अपाप। आश्व औ III 3 The passage occurs in ते वा III 6 6 4.
ऐ वा. VI (अध्याय), 6-7 (खण्ड) The words सुशामि शमीध्वं occur in ते सं I
1 5, 2, वाज सं I. 15 The words अग्निगो &c. quoted here occur in कौशिक-
सूत्र 69, 6.

1146. प्रजापतिरग्निमनुजत। सोऽग्निमेव मा धेयतीति। तं शम्याऽशमयद्। तच्छम्ये
शमित्वम्। यच्छमीमय सम्भारो भवति शान्त्या अमदाहाय। ते वा. I 1. 3. 11 सायण
explains 'शमयत्यनेनेति श्रुत्यस्या शमीति नाम सम्पन्नम्। अतस्तत्संभारः पूर्वं तिष्ठमानस्य
दाहस्योपशान्त्यै, इतः परमदाहाय च सम्पद्यते'

created Agni; he (Prajāpati) became afraid 'this Agni might burn me'. He (Prajāpati) pacified (the terrible flame or glow of) Agni with śami (branch); that is the beneficent or happy aspect of śami in that the equipment required for Agni is full of śami in order to appease Agni and for freedom from being burnt thereafter.' The idea is that Agni, the moment it was created had a fierce and evil aspect, that was removed by the use of the śami and śānti means an action or rite that appeases the evil aspects of a deity and makes the deity beneficent. Similarly, the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa says:¹¹⁴⁷ "He recites the verse 'they worship you with offerings whatever abodes you may have; . he says: O Soma! move towards houses in such a way as not to kill the sons (of the sacrificer).' Houses are indeed called 'duryā' and the house of the sacrificer is afraid of the king Soma when he approaches the sacrificer's house; when he (the priest) repeats this (verse) he thereby appeases him (king Soma) by a śānti (propitiatory rite); he (Soma) becoming beneficent (by the repetition of the mantra) does not kill the progeny or the cattle (of the sacrificer)." The idea is that king Soma might be angry with the sacrificer if there be any defect in the sacrificial rite and that when the hotr priest repeats the verse 'avirahā o-' that verse is the cause of appeasement.

In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa there is a similar reference to the appeasing power of the śami branch. "He (the priest) places fuel sticks on this (Agni) ... He places (on Agni) a fuel stick of śami as the first This (Agni) was kindled when this oblation (of śami branch) was offered and flamed upwards. The gods became afraid of him (Agni) lest Agni might harm them. They (gods) saw this śami branch and appeased him (Agni) with that; inasmuch as they appeased this (Agni) by means of śami (branch) this is called śami. In the same way this sacrificer appeases with śami this (Agni) for procuring appeasement and not for food"¹¹⁴⁸. It would be noticed

1147. या ते धामानि हविषा यजन्तीत्यन्वाह । ... अवीरहा म चरा सोम दुर्यानिनि । गृहा वे दुर्या बिभ्यति वै सोमाद्वाजा आपतो यजमानस्य गृहा । स यदेतान्वाह शान्त्यैवैनं तच्छमयति सोऽस्य शान्तो न प्रजा न पशून् हिनस्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. 3. 2. The verse 'या ते "दुर्यान्" is ऋ. I. 91. 19.

1148. अथास्मिन्सन्निध आवधाति । स वै शमीमर्यो मथमावधाति । एतद्वा एष एतस्या-माहुस्त्वं हुतायां मादीप्यतीदृश्वलत् । तस्माद्देवा अविभयुर्यद्दे नोऽयं न हिंस्यादिति । त एता शमीमपश्यन्त्येनमशमयन्त्यदितं शम्या अशमयन्त्यस्माच्छमी तथैवैनममेतच्छम्या शमयति शम्या एव न जगम्ये । शतपथ IX. 2. 3 36 and 37.

that here the name 'samī' is derived from the root 'śam' and it is the means of effecting śānti (appeasement).

In the Brāhmanas the means of appeasement are various but simple. Often times the recitation of a Vedic verse or hymn effects śānti. For example, the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa¹¹⁴⁹ prescribes the singing of sāmans at the time of consecrating the sacred śrauta fires; the three sāmans are Rathantara, Vāmadevya and Bṛhat, each being connected with the three worlds respectively. "When Agni is being taken out, he sings the Vāmadevya sāman; Vāmadevya is the atmospheric region and thereby (i. e. by singing Vāmadevya) he makes Agni established in the atmospheric region; Vāmadevya is śānti (means of bringing about the appeasement of Agni); (on singing Vāmadevya) he takes out Agni that has become appeased (beneficent) and as bestower of cattle". The Tai. S. says¹¹⁵⁰ "he says 'weave ye with regular measure the work of the singers'. Whatever superfluity (or flaw) is committed in the sacrifice, this (recitation) serves to eradicate its evil effects". The Ait. Br. provides "(the priest) who is about to sprinkle holy water over him¹¹⁵¹ (the king) should (himself first recite the mantra and) make the king repeat it (after him) 'O Waters' look on me with a beneficent eye, (and) touch my skin with (your) beneficent body. I invoke all the Agnis that dwell in waters for your sake; this should be done for the purpose that waters (the evil aspects of which have been) not appeased may not destroy the vigour of him who is being sprinkled over". The Hotṛ performs a *japa* before and after reciting the *sāmīdhenī* verses. About this the Śaṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa says¹¹⁵² that the sāmīdhenīs are a thun-

1149. वानदेव्यमभिवाचयत इदं ब्रह्मिषन्नामे । अन्तरिक्षं वै वानदेव्यम् । अन्तरिक्षं पृथक् प्रतिष्ठितमावृत्ते । अथो जालिर्वै वानदेव्यम् । इत्यन्तेनैवै पञ्चमहृद्धते । तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 8. 2 The वानदेव्य is sung on the verses 'कया यश्चिन्न आ युवत्' इ. IV. 31. 1 which occurs also in तै. सं. IV. 2. 11. 2, ब्रा. सं. 27. 39 and 36. 4, अथर्ववेद 20. 124. 1. The शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्र (XII. 1. 29-31) provides 'जाते रथन्तरं गायेत् । वानदेव्यं ह्रियन्नामे । बृहत्किद्विते ।'

1150. अहुत्वायं वयम् ज्योत्स्वानय इत्याह । चदेव यज्ञं वत्सवं श्रियते तद्वैवेदा जालि । तै. सं. III. 4. 2. 6-7; 'अहुत्वायं वयम् ज्योत्स्वानय.' is the 3rd quarter of इ. X. 53. 6.

1151. अघेन्नभिपेद्वरुणां जालिं वाचयति । शिवेन न चक्षुषा पश्यतापः शिवया तन्वां पश्यन् तच्च मे । नर्वा अग्निरिष्टुपदो हुवे को मयि वचां बलनोजो निषचेति । नैवस्यामि-दिमिचान्त्वागान्ता आपो वीर्यं निर्हणन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 2 The मन्त्र 'शिवेन न' occurs in तै. सं. V. 6. 1. 2 and अथर्ववेद I. 33. 4 (only the first half)

1152. अथ यजुस्तात्मानिर्वेनीनां जयति वज्रो वै सानिवेन्यत्तनेवैदच्छनयति पुस्ता-क्षोपरिदाम्ब । शाङ्खायनब्रा. 3. 3. Generally there are 15 सानिवेनी verses, but there are optional numbers which need not be specified here.

derbolt and that if *japa* is performed thereby he appeases (*śamayati*) Agni (i. e. Agni becomes auspicious and beneficent).

Water also is declared as a means of effecting the removal or appeasement of evil effects. The Ait. Br. remarks¹¹⁵³ "they say what is the atonement (*prāyaścitti*) if a person's sacrificial material (milk or rice) when put on a fire for cooking spurts out or overflows? (The reply is) 'he should make it go down with water for the sake of śānti; water indeed is (a means of) śānti and then he should touch the material (that has fallen out) with his right hand and recite a mantra (that is specified) or he should recite another *ṛk* verse 'by whose power the worlds are made fixed', which is addressed to Visnu and Varuna; Visnu indeed is the saviour against what is badly sacrificed (i. e. the defects in it), while Varuna protects (i. e. prevents obstacles to securing the fruit of) what is well sacrificed; (this latter mantra is recited) for śānti in regard to both (defects as well as good points). This is the *prāyaścitti* in this case." It should be noticed that here śānti (rite) and *prāyaścitti* are identified. The Śāṅkhāyana¹¹⁵⁴ Br. also (III. 6) says "waters are (means of) śānti, (they are) an antidote and therefore after pronouncing the word 'vasat' the priest touches water." In the Tai. Ār. (IV. 42) there are 37 mantras of śānti used in the Pravargya rite. Some of these occur in the R̥gveda-samhitā e. g. the 8th (Vāta ā vātu bhesajam) is R̥g. X. 186. 1, mantras 15-17 are equal to R̥g. IV. 31. 1-3; mantras 22-24 are R̥g. X. 9. 1-3. The same Āranyaka (IV. 26-35) and Baud. Śr. S. IX. 18 contain several mantras for śāntis, some of which are interesting and are set out here to show how the theory of śāntis was being expanded or enlarged. "If the¹¹⁵⁵ sacrificial vessel called

1153. तदाह्वर्यस्याग्निहोत्रमधिभितं स्कन्दति वा विष्यन्दते वा का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति तदद्भिर्गुणितयेच्छास्त्रैः शान्तिर्वा आपोऽप्यैन्द्रक्षिणेन पाणिनाभिमुख्यं जपति । दिवं तृतीयं देवाय यज्ञोऽग्नाचतो मा द्विणिमाष्ट, अन्तरिक्षं तृतीयं पितृभ्यः ॥८८॥ पृथिवीं तृतीयं महृष्याय यज्ञो ॥ ८९॥ इति । ययोरोजसा रक्षभिता रजासीति वैष्णवाङ्गीकृत्य जपति विष्णुर्वै यज्ञस्य दुरिष्टं पाति वरुणः स्विष्टं तयोरभयोरेव शास्त्रैः । सा तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिः ॥ ऐ वा 32. 4. The मन्त्र 'ययोरोजसा' occurs in वाज सं 8 60 and अथर्व VII. 25. 1 (and in several other texts). Compare मैत्रा. सं III. 9. 4 'यूपो वै यज्ञस्य दुरिष्टमासृजते यदि यूपमुपस्पृशेद्यज्ञस्य दुरिष्टमा सृजेत् । तस्माद्यूपो नोपस्पृश्य ॥'.

1154. षपदङ्कृत्याप उपस्पृशति । शान्तिर्वै भेषजमापः शान्तिरेवैवा भेषजमन्ततो यज्ञे क्रियते । शॉ. आ. 3 6.

1155. अथ यदि चर्मदुष्टं वा महावीरं वा स्तेनोऽपहरेद्गृहपत्ये शुचाह्वतिं जुहुयादहोरात्रे स्तोदीरयतामिति । औ. औ. IX, 18, that मन्त्र is 'अहोरात्रे स्तोदीरयताम् । अर्धमासास्त्वोदीं जपन्तु । मासास्त्वा अयन्तु । ऋतवस्त्वा पचन्तु । संवत्सरस्त्वा हन्त्वसौ ।' तै आ. IV. 26 असौ refers to the name of the thief as in 'हे देवदत्त चोर त्वामहोरात्रे' &c.

mahāvīna (in Pravargya rite) of the hot milk for the Gharma offering were to be stolen by a thief, one should offer in the Gārhapatyā fire an oblation of ghee with the *sruva* ladle to the accompaniment of the mantra 'May Day and Night disclose thee as thief'. 'If a wild ¹¹⁵⁶ forest dog were to bark (while the Pravargya rite is on), the priest should repeat by way of a magic formula the text 'vi gā Indra vicaran spāśayasva' (O Indra, observe the cows while you move about'), should cast a kindled firebrand on both sides with the words 'O Agni, converse with Agni, and then he worships Agni with the words 'O Agni, salutation to thee once, twice, thrice &c' If a vulture screeches he recites the formula 'you are undistinguishable (from other birds) since you have blood in your beak', if an owl or she-owl hoots he recites the mantra 'In this way the owl approaches &c.'. Therefore it may be said that *sānti* is used in the early Vedic texts in several senses viz. (1) the state of being freed from evil aspects or effects, (2) means of appeasing or removing evil aspects, such as water, a Vedic verse or hymn, (3) rite for appeasement.

Apart from the simple *sāntis* for appeasing deities in sacrificial matters, even the R̥gveda contains indications that there were other occurrences which were thought to be unlucky and against the supposed evil effects of which some remedies were employed. For example, R̥g X. 164 (1-5) is a hymn declared by the Anukramanī and R̥gvidhāna IV. 20 1 as counteracting the indications of bad dreams ¹¹⁵⁷ Verse 3 of it is 'May Agni place far away from us all evil and undesirable actions which we may have done while awake or asleep whether by our desires or imprecations or want of desire'. In R̥g. V 82 4-5 ¹¹⁵⁸ the

1156, यद्येकवृको वाश्येत तमहमन्त्रयते वि शा इन्द्रं विचारन् स्थाशयस्तेत्यथास्मा उभयत आदीप्तसृष्टुर्क क्षिपेदग्ने आग्निना संवदस्तेत्यथैतदुपतिष्ठते सङ्गते अग्ने नमो हस्तिस्ते नमस्त्रिस्ते नम इति। यदि यश्रो वाश्येत तमहमन्त्रयते असृङ्मुखो रुधिरैर्णाप्यक्त इति। यद्युलूकोलूकी वाश्येत तमहमन्त्रयत इत्यादिलूक आ पतादिति। यौ औ IX 18. The texts mentioned in this passage are ते आ IV 28, 29, 33 Both the ते आ and यौ औ refer to other phenomena which are not set out here

1157 यदाहासा निशसाभिशसोपास्मि जाग्रतो यत्स्वपन्त। अग्निर्निबान्पय दुष्कृता-न्यष्टान्यारे अस्मद् दधातु ॥ क्र X 164 3 ऋग्विधान IV 1 13 अपेहीति जपेष्टुर्कं शुचिर्दुं स्वमनाशनम्।

1158 अथा नो देव सवित मजावत् सार्वीः सौमगम्। परा दुष्पज्य सुव। विश्वानि देव सवितर्द्विरितानि परा सुः। यन्द्रं तन्न आ सुव ॥ क्र V 82 4-5, यो ते राजन् सुय्यो वा सखा वा स्वमे भयं भीरवे मह्यमाह। स्तेनो वा यो विप्सति वृको वा त्वं तस्माद्वृण पाष्यस्मान् ॥ क्र II 28 10. त्रिते दुष्पज्ये सर्वसाप्ये परि दध्नस्यनेहसो ष ऊतय. सुऊतयो ष ऊतय ॥ क्र VIII. 47. 15

poet prays 'O God Savitr! today produce for us welfare endowed with progeny and frighten away the effects of bad dreams; O God Savitr! drive away all sins (or evils) and confer on us what is beneficent' (or auspicious). In Rg. II. 28. 10 the poet prays 'O king Varuna! whoever, whether a helper or a friend, declares to me who ascertained a danger (from what I saw) in a dream or whoever, a thief or a wolf, intends to harm me, from that guard us' In Rg. VIII. 47. 15 the sage exclaims 'we deliver all our bad dreams to Trita Āptya, your kindness cannot be obstructed by any one, the protection given by you is good'. Vide also Rg. VIII 47 14, 16-18, X 36. 4, X. 37, 4 for bad dreams. Similarly, the Rgveda contains verses which show that cries of birds were deemed to indicate coming good or evil and the hooting of the owl was thought to be unlucky. 'It¹¹⁵⁹ (the bird) frequently cries and proclaims what is to come and it propels his speech as an oarsman propels a boat; O bird! May you be auspicious to us; may no overpowering (or unfavourable) phenomenon reach you from any side'. The three verses of Rg. II. 43 refer to the cries of birds. 'The birds, chirping, utter cries towards the south (of the house) like composers of songs that speak for food at various seasons; O bird! when you chirp, speak what would be to our welfare, when you are silent think of good thoughts about us; when flying up (from our house) you utter (cries) like a lute; may we be endowed with valiant sons and speak much in assemblies'. Rg. X. 165 contains several verses about a kapota bird and one about an owl Rg. X. 165. 1 and 4 are: ¹¹⁶⁰ 'a kapota bird, messenger of ill-luck, has come to this our house, with whatever (evil) intent, we worship you, we shall perform atonement, O God! May it fare well with our men and quadrupeds May what the owl expresses (by its

1159. कनिकद्वज्जडं विदत् ॥ ऋ II. 42. 1. q. in note 755 p. 526. निरुक्त IX. 4 explains this verse. सायण holds that the bird referred to is कपिजल. निरुक्त IX. 5 quotes a verse from a खिलसूक्त addressed to कपिजल 'भद्रं वद दक्षिणतो...भद्रं पश्चात्कपिजल,' which occurs in कौशिकसूत्र 46. 54 पदक्षिणिदग्निं गृणन्ति कारवो वयो वदन्त क्रतुषा शकुन्तयः । .. आवदंस्त्वं शकुने भद्रमावद तुष्णीमासीनः सुमतिं चिकिद्भि नः । यदुत्पन्नदसि कर्कशिर्यथा वृद्धदेन विदधे सुवीराः ॥ ऋ II. 43. 1 and 3 The last verse is quoted in कौशिकसूत्र 46. 54 among the कपिजलस्वस्वयनसः Vide ऋग्विधान I. 31. 4 for a similar provision against sounds of birds.

1160 शिवः कपोत इषितो नो अस्त्वनागा देवा शकुनो गृहेषु ।.. यदुल्लोको वदति मोघमेतत्कपोत. पदमग्नौ कृणोति । यस्य हूत. पठित एष एतत्तस्मै यमाय नमोस्तु सुयवे ॥ ऋ. X. 165. 2 and 4, अथर्व VI. 27. 1-3 are almost the same as ऋ X. 165. 1-3, अथर्व VI. 27. 1 is ऋ X. 165. 5 and अथर्व VI. 29. 1-2 are similar to ऋ. X. 165. 4. कपोतश्चेद्गावश्चपहन्त्यादक्षपतेद्वा देवाः कपोत इति मयूच उडुयाञ्जपेद्वा । आश्व गृ. III. 7. 7; compare मानव्य II. 17 and कौशिकसूत्र 46. 7 and ऋग्विधान IV. 20. 2.

hooting) turn out to be fruitless or (untrue). What the kapota bird (expresses) by placing its feet near our Agni (be untrue); here is salutation to Yama, the god of Death, whose messenger is this (bird) sent (by the god)'. The Āśvalāyana-grhya provides 'if a kapota (pigeon) strikes against a house (enters it) or flies along its length, the house-holder should offer into fire oblations (of ghee) with each verse of the hymn ('devāh kapota', Rg. X. 165) or he should recite it inaudibly'. The Kausītaki-grhya provides for the same (in V 5. 1-2) and proceeds ¹¹⁶¹ "if a man sees a bad dream or when the cawing of a crow is heard in the night and in the case of other *adbhuta*s (untoward or unusual occurrences) he should cook rice grains in the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour (as itself) but in no case of a black cow and let him sacrifice with the hymn to Night (Rg. X. 127) verse by verse and having partaken of the remnants of the oblations with the *mahūnyāhṛtis* and having recited over his ears the verse 'bhadram karnebhih' (Rg. I. 89.8) and over himself the verse 'śatam-in-nu' (Rg. I. 89.9) donate something to the brāhmanas". The Śāṅkhāyana-grhya (V. 6, 7, 10 and 11) provides: "if a disease befalls a person, he should offer boiled Gavedhuka grains with the hymn 'these prayers to the powerful Rudra' &c verse by verse (Rg. I. 114). If the honey bees make honey in a man's house, he should fast and sacrifice a hundred and eight pieces of udumbara wood besmeared with curds, honey and ghee with two verses Rg. I. 114. 8-9 and murmur the hymn (Rg. VII. 35) and if an ant-hill arises in his house the house should be abandoned and having fasted three nights (and days) he should perform the 'Mahāsānti' ¹¹⁶²

1161 स्वमदक्षिणे निशाया । काकशब्दक्रान्ते च । अन्येषु चाद्भुतेषु च । पयसा चरं अपयित्वा सरूपवत्साया गो पयसि । न त्वेव कुण्ठाया । रात्रिचक्रेन प्रत्यृचं जुहुयात् । हुतशेष महाव्याहृतिभिः मास्य भद्रं कर्णेभिः कर्णौ शतमिन्द्र शरदो अन्ति देवा इत्यात्मानमभिमन्त्र्य ब्राह्मणेभ्यः किञ्चिदधात् । कौपीय V. 5, compare मानवशृङ्गा II. 15 यदि तु स्वमं पश्येद् व्याहृतिभिस्तिलान् हुत्वा दिशः उपतिष्ठेत् । (formulas for four quarters, lower regions, and upper regions are cited which occur in काठकसंहिता 37. 10)

1162 महाशान्ति The com of नारायण explains that महाशान्ति means विनायक-शान्ति and नवग्रहशान्ति It is doubtful whether these two were known to the author of the शाङ्खायनश्रुत्य, the कौशिकसूत्र (39.27, 43 5 and 44 6) prescribes a महाशान्ति which is different, कौशिक 43 5 is वास्तोष्पत्यादीनि महाशान्तिमावपते and कौशिक 8. 23 prescribes 'इहैव भुवामेह यातु, यमो मृत्यु, सत्यं बृहदित्यजुवाको वास्तोष्पतीयानि.' These are अथर्व III 12 1 (इहैव भुवाम्), VI, 73.1 (एह यातु), VI 93 1 (यमो मृत्यु), XII. 1 (सत्यं बृहत्) This last अलुवाक has 63 verses. Among later medieval works the शान्तिमयूख (pp 106-108) describes an elaborate महाशान्ति

The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka mentions ten dreams viz a person sees a dark man with black teeth and such a man kills him, or a boar kills him, or an ape jumps on him, the wind carries him swiftly; having swallowed gold, he vomits it; he eats honey; he chews stalks of lotuses; he carries a single (red) lotus; he drives with a team of asses or boars; himself wearing a wreath of *nalada* flowers,¹¹⁶³ he drives towards the south a black cow having a black calf. If a man sees any one of these, he should fast, cook a dish of rice in milk in a vessel, offer into fire oblations thereof with each of the verses of the hymn to Night (Rg. X 127. 1-8), feed brāhmanas with other food (cooked in the house) and should himself eat boiled rice'.¹¹⁶⁴ The same Āraṇyaka mentions in the same context some unusual phenomena such as the sun appearing like the moon (pale and without heat) or the sky becoming like madder and prescribes the recital of some Rgvedic verses (such as IX. 67. 21-27, VIII. 6. 30, IX. 113. 6-11, I. 50. 10).

The Chāndogya Up. contains a verse saying 'if a person engaged in rites for securing a certain desired object sees a woman in a dream, one should understand on seeing such a sight that he will prosper (i. e. secure that object)'.^{1164a} The Chāndogya Upanisad (VIII. 10. 1), the Brhadāraṇyaka Upanisad (IV. 3. 7-20) and Praśna IV. 5 contain profound thoughts on the psychology of dream phenomena, but as that discussion

1163. In the Āśv. Śr. (quoted in H. of Dh. vol IV p. 203 n. 481) it is provided that the corpse of an *āhitaṅgu* is to be decked with a wreath of *naladas*. The south is the direction of the *pitrs*, vide Śatapatha Br. I. 2. 5. 17 (*esā vai dik pitrām*) Therefore, to see in a dream oneself wearing a wreath of *naladas* or driving towards the south was deemed to forebode death.

1164. अथ स्वमाः। पुरुषं कृष्णं कृष्णदन्तं पश्यति स एनं हन्ति वराह एनं हन्ति मर्कट एनमास्मद्वत्याहु वायुरेनं प्रवहति सुवर्णं खादित्वा अगिरति मध्वश्नाति विसानि भक्षयत्येक-
पुण्डरीकं धारयति खरैर्वराहैरुक्तैर्याति कृष्णा धेनुं कृष्णवत्सा नलदमाली दक्षिणामुखी ब्राजयति।
स यथेत्या किंचित्पश्येदुपोष्य पायसं स्थालीपाकं अपयित्वा रात्रीक्षतेन मयूचं हुत्वाभ्येनाक्षेन
बाह्याणां भोजयित्वा चरं स्वर्गं प्राप्नोति। ऐ आ III. 2 4, vide मार्कण्डेयपुराण 40.
1-33 for signs of approaching death (Venk ed.) of which verses 15-20, 27,
29, 31-33 deal with dreams. Some of these verses of मार्कण्डेय have a striking
similarity to the ऐ आ. passage, for example, मार्कण्डेय 40 27 is : चन्द्ररासभयानेन
यः स्वप्ने दक्षिणा दिशश्च। मयाति तं च जानीयात्सद्योमृत्युं नरेश्वर ॥

1164 a. यदा कर्मदुःखं काम्येषु क्षिरं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति। ससृष्टिं तत्र जानीयात्सस्मिन् स्वप्ने
निदशने॥ छांदोग्य V, 2 9 q. by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 6,

would not be relevant in the section on *sānti* nothing can be said here beyond quoting three striking passages.¹¹⁶⁵

The Atharvaveda also has several verses on dreams and on birds like *lapota* (pigeon). The Kausikasūtra prescribes several verses of the Atharvaveda as *sāntis* in the case of dreams. 'on seeing a dream a man washes his face with the verses (Atharva VI. 45. 1 and 46. 1), if he sees a very terrible dream he offers into fire a cake of mixed grains¹¹⁶⁶ or in another direction (in his enemy's field); he changes the side on which he sleeps with Atharva VII. 100. 1; on seeing himself eating in a dream he recites the mantra (Atharva VII. 101. 1) and he looks on; with the verse 'vidma te' (Atharva VI. 46. 2) all (dreams) vanish.' Two of these verses may be set out here. 'O dream! we know the place of thy birth, thou art the son of gods' sisters; thou art the helper of Yama, thou art the destroyer; thou art death, O dream! we know thee to be so; O dream! do thou save us from evil dreams'; 'I turn round (and lie on my other side) from evil dreaming, from bad dreaming, from ill-luck; I make *brahman* (vedic prayer) my defence; I put away the sorrows that come through dreams'¹¹⁶⁷ The Kātyāyana-srauta-sūtra prescribes a similar verse for *japa* when a *dīkṣita* sees a disagreeable dream¹¹⁶⁸

1165 य एष स्वप्ने महीपमानश्चरत्येव आत्मेति होवाचैतदुत्तमभयं ब्रह्मेति स ह ज्ञान-
दृश्यः प्रववाज । छा. उप VIII 10. 1; अत्रैव देव स्वप्ने महिमानमनुभवति यद्दृष्टं दृष्ट-
मनुपश्यति श्रुतं श्रुतमेवार्थमनुगृह्णीति देशदिगन्तरेष्व मेत्यनुभूतं पुन.पुन प्रत्यनुभवति दृष्टं चादृष्टं
च श्रुतं चाश्रुतं चादृष्टं चानुभूतं चानुभूतं च सच्चासच्च सर्वं पश्यति सर्वं पश्यति । मन्त्र IV 5; कतम
आत्मेति योऽयं विज्ञानमय माणेषु दृश्यन्तर्ज्योतिः. पुरुष स समान. सन्धुभौ लोकावसुसञ्चरति
भ्यायतीव लेलापतीव स हि स्वप्ने भूत्वेन लोकमतिक्रामति मृत्यो रूपिणि । "स यत्र मत्स्यि-
त्यस्य लोकस्य सर्वावतो मात्रामपादाय स्वयं विहस्य स्वयं निर्माय स्वेन भासा स्वेन ज्योतिषा
प्रस्वपित्यत्रायं पुरुष स्वयं ज्योतिर्भवति । बृह उप IV 3. 7 and 9. Some of these
passages on dreams are relied upon and discussed by Śaṅkarācārya on
Vedāntasūtra I 3 42, II 1, 28, III. 2 1-4.

1166. The कौशिक 8 20 enumerates निम्नघान्यानि as 'वीहियवगोधूमोपवाक-
तिलमियङ्गुदयामाका इति मिश्रधाण्यानि' The com. explains 'उपवाक इति अभियवाः ।
सुराह्वाणां मसिद्धाः ।' जामाक are called सावे in Marāṭhi and उपवाक is इन्द्रजव
(in Marāṭhi).

1167 बिभ्र ते स्वप्नं जनिष्वं देवजामीना पुत्रोऽसि यमस्य करण. । अन्तकोऽसि सुव्यसि
हं त्वा स्वप्नं तथा सं विभ्र स न स्वप्नं दुष्पण्यात् पादि ॥ अथर्व VI 46 2 and XVI. 5. 6,
पर्यावर्ते ॥ दुष्पण्यात्पापात्स्वप्नादुत्था । ब्रह्माहमन्तरं कृण्वे परा स्वप्नसुखाः सुख. ॥ अथर्व
VII. 100. 1.

1168. वीक्षितोऽमनोज्ञो स्वप्नं दृष्ट्वा जपेत्-पर्यावर्ते ॥ दुष्पण्यात्पापात् स्वप्नादुत्था । ब्रह्माह-
मन्तरं कर्षे परा स्वप्नसुखा कृणीति । कात्या औ. सू 25. 11. 20 The verse as printed
is somewhat corrupt.

The Āpastamba-grhya (8. 23. 9) lumps together several unusual appearances and provides the same śānti in the case of all, 'If the post of a man's house puts forth shoots, or if honey is made in his house by bees or if the footprint of a pigeon is seen on the hearth or if disease arises in his family, or in the case of other miracles and prodigies, let him perform on the newmoon night, at dead of night, at a place where he does not hear the sound of water, the rites from the putting of wood on the fire to the *Ājyabhūga* oblations indicated in the next (*Āpastambiyamantrapātha* II. 22. 14-23), and then perform *Jaya* and following oblations.' Very similar provisions are found in *Jaiminiya-grhya* II. 7.¹¹⁶⁹ The *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* contains several *prāyaścittas* (really śāntis) on the happening of numerous incidents. A few examples are set out here; when bad dreams¹¹⁷⁰ are seen, the person should make repetition of Rg. V. 82. 4 twice (i. e. in all at least six times); in the case of any other prognosticatory occurrence not known from any work the person should repeat twice the verse Rg. IV. 31. 1. On seeing one's enemies with weapons raised to strike, the person

1169. स्थूणाविरोदणे मधुन उपवेशने कुप्त्वा कपोतपददर्शनेऽमात्याना झरीर-
रेषणेऽन्येषु चाद्भुतोत्पत्तेष्वमावास्या निशायां यत्रापि न शृणुयात्तदग्रेऽपसमाधानाद्याज्यभागान्त
उत्तरा आहुतीर्हुत्वा जयादि प्रतिपद्यते । आप. गृ. 8. 23. 9 अयातोऽद्भुतज्ञानं व्याख्या-
स्यामः । अथ यद्यगरे स्थूणा विरोदते । कपोतो वागारं गच्छेद्ग्रीवां गां धयेदनङ्गान्वा
दिवसुल्लिखेत् । अनग्नौ वा धूमो जायेतानग्नौ वा क्षीयेत । मधु वा जायेत । वल्मीकं
बोपजायेत सण्डूके वाग्मृगे वाश्येत् श्वानो गृहे पर्यटयुरित्येतानन्याश्च । यत् इन्द्र भयामहे ।
सदस्वतिमद्भुतम् । अधायाहुते सुखदस्य (?) । सनादग्रे । यद्वा उ विश्वपतिः क्षितः । प्रत्यग्रे ।
यं रक्षन्ति । प्राजापत्ययच्चां पुरस्ताच्चोपरिद्याच्च महाध्याहृतिभिर्जुहोति । एतानि कक्कुसामानि
गायेत् । जैमिनीयगृह्य II. 7 (Punjab S. Series). *Pratikas* (except the third
अथा...स्य which is corrupt) are : ऋ. VIII. 61. 13, I. 18. 6, X. 87. 19, VIII 23,
13, X. 87. 24, I. 41. 1, X. 121. 10 (प्रजापते न भेदेऽतान्यन्यो). All these (except
X. 87. 24 and X 121. 10) occur in the सामवेद and some also in other संहिताs.
बौ. गृ. III. 6 is very similar to जै. गृह्य.

1170. दुःस्वप्नेष्वद्य नो देव सवितरिति द्वितीयम् । अन्यस्मिन्स्वप्नाज्ञाते कयानीयाद्वितीय-
मावर्तयेत् । सामवे. ऋ. I. 8 7-8. अद्य नो is ऋ. V. 82. 4, सामवेद No. 141 (ed. by
Satavalekar); कयानीया is कया नश्चित्रम् (Rg. IV. 31. 1, Sāma No. 169). The
com. notes that the lowest number of the repetition (आहुति) of a mantra is
three; the repetition may be recited several times more according to the
gravity or otherwise of the 'adbhuta' and one's ability आहुतिर्विशिष्यते
व्यवसिति । त्रिराहुतिर्जघन्या तत्तद्दोषगौरवलाघवाद्गुण्येन ततोऽधिकं यथाशक्त्या वर्तयेत् ।
इत्यर्थः । उद्यतशस्त्राच्छत्रहृष्टा देवव्रतानि मनसा ध्यायेन्न हिंसन्ति । II. 44; देवव्रत is सामवेद
I. 350 'एतो न्मिदं सवाम शुद्धं शुद्धेन साम्ना । शुद्धैकवर्षैर्वावृत्तासं शुद्धैराक्षीर्वायं ममन्तु ॥'.
It is also ऋ. VIII. 95. 7. It is one of the sacred texts by murmuring which
or by homas with which a person is purified. Vide *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra*
28. 10-15; देवव्रत is in verse 28. 13 of वसिष्ठ.

should revolve in his mind the Devavrata verse, then (the enemies) would not kill him. If one's house were to be burnt¹¹⁷¹ (accidentally) one should offer oblations anointed with ghee with the mantra 'born with the highest Dharman' (Sāmaveda no 90) and with words 'svāhā to Agni' In II. 2. 2 The Sāmavidhāna Br. prescribes a śānti for one seized or possessed by an evil spirit. A portion of Sadvimśabrahmana (viz V 1-10) is styled Adbhuta-brahmana and contains śāntis for several kinds of utpātas Some parts of it (such as V 2-3) correspond with Āśvalāyana-grhya-pariśista, 4. 11-15 The Sadvimśa-brahmana V. 7. 2 provides for earthquakes and cracks in palaces, which are similar to Yoga-yātrā 3. 13 The Atharvaveda 19. 9. 9 refers to showers of falling stars (naksatramulakābhīhatam śam-astu nah) and Sadvimśa V 9. 2. refers to falling meteors and V 10. 2 to images laughing, weeping &c

Reasons of space forbid further description of śāntis from the grhya-sūtras

The preceding discussion with regard to śāntis is enough to show that śāntis were prescribed in the Vedic literature, the śrautasūtras, Sāmavidhāna-brahmana and Rgvidhāna, not only for appeasing the angry divinities or powers of evil, but also for occurrences like bad dreams or of portentous phenomena like the sun's or moon's appearance, the cries of unlucky birds &c.

This subject about śāntis against all sorts of omens and portents was very much elaborated in the post-Vedic literature. An extensive literature on śāntis exists in the Grhyasūtras, the Kausika-sūtra, the Atharvaveda Pariśistas (particularly Nos. V, XXXI on Kotihoma, XXXIII on Ghrtakambala, XXXVII on 'samuccayaprāyaścittam', resembling 13th chapter of Kausika, LVIII to LXVII on utpātas, adbhutaśāntis and dreams, LXXI and LXXII, the Purāṇas (like Matsya 92-93 and 228-238, Viṣṇu-dharmottara I. 90-105, II. 124-127, II. 159-164. Mārkaṇḍeya chap. 40, Agni 149, 164, 167, 259-268, 290-91, 320-324, Bhaviṣya IV. 141-145, Brahmanda III. 38. 30-34, the Brhatsamhitā chap. 45, the Śāntika-paustika-kāṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru (Ms. in Baroda Oriental Institute), the Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena and his son Lakṣmanasena (commenced to be written in śaka 1089 i. e. 1167 A.D.), the Śānti section of the Madanaratna (ms. in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikāner), Jyotiṣtatva of Raghunandana

1171 अग्निदग्धे घृताक्तान्यवाद्दंष्ट्रद्वयाज्जातः परेण धर्मेणैत्येतेनाग्नये स्वाहेति च । 1. 8. 9.

(pp. 704 ff), the Śāntikamalākara of Kamalākaraḥṭṭa (ms. in Bhau Daji collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society), Śāntimayūkha of Nilakantha. Of these the Adbhutasāgara is a very extensive work of 751 pages, edited by Pandit Murlidhar Jha and published by Prabhakari & Co, Banares, in 1905 A. D. The Kṛtyakalpataru on Śāntis has not yet been edited and published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. As compared with some other *kāṇḍas*, the section on śānti is meagre. It deals only with the following; Kūrmavibhāga (the distribution of the countries in Bhārata in 9 groups); Graha-makha or Grahayāga quoting Yāj. I. 295-308, Matsya, Narasimha and Bhavīsyā and Devīpurāṇa; Ayutahoma, Kotihoma; Pūsyasānā; Grahasānti; Mātrāsānti; Lingasānti; Vināyakaśānti (quoting Yāj. I. 271-294 and Matsya), Grahanaśānā; Sankrāntisānā; mṛtavatsābhīśeka; śāntis for various utpātas; Gāyatrīhoma; Rudrajapavidhi; ābhicārikakarma (magic rites). It is neither possible nor necessary to deal with this vast mass on śānti in this work in detail. Many of the śāntis described therein and in older śrauta and other works have been almost obsolete for a long time. Therefore, only a few śāntis now in vogue or very interesting from several viewpoints will be dealt with in this section.¹¹⁷²

The Kausikasūtra (chapter 13, *kāṇḍikās* 93-136) is concerned with *adbhutas*, their descriptions and the śāntis therefor. *Kāṇḍikā* 93 brings together 42 portentous phenomena and the *kāṇḍikās* that follow deal with the description of the omen or portent and śāntis for each of these. In these śāntis, Atharva-veda mantras play a secondary role and the majority of the

1172. A recently published work by D. J. Hoens (pp. 1-197, S Gravenhage, 1951) on 'Śānti' deals at some length only with śāntis in the Samhitās, Brāhmanas and Śrautasūtras. According to Keśava's Paddhati on Kausika-sūtra (I 8, Bloomfield's ed. p. 307) and Sāyana in his Intro. to Atharvaveda there were five Kalpas of the Atharvaveda mentioned by (an ancient commentator) Upavarṣa in his commentary on Jaimini I. 3. 11-14 called Kalpasūtrādhikarana viz नक्षत्रकल्प, वितानकल्प, संहिताकल्प, आङ्गिरसकल्प, and शान्तिकल्प सायण says (Muradabad edition of samvat 1986) 'शान्तिकल्पेऽपि प्रथमं वैनायकग्रहदृष्टितलक्षणानि तच्छास्त्रे सम्भाराहरणम्, अभिषेकवैनायकहोमाः, तत्पुजा विधानम्, आदित्यादिनवग्रहयज्ञादिकमिति । (p. 81, and p. 28 of Pandit's ed.), अथर्वपरिशिष्ट XLIX (चरणव्यूह p. 337, 4 7). Vide JAOS vol XI. p. 376-378 for the Kalpas of the Atharvaveda. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II 35 61-62 states 'नक्षत्रकल्पो वैतानस्तृतीयो संहिताविधिः । ऋतुर्धर्मोऽङ्गिरसः कल्पः शान्तिकल्पश्च पञ्चमः । श्रेष्ठा स्वयम्भोजमते संहितानां विकल्पका ॥'. The same verses occur in वायुपुराण 61. 54; compare also निष्कण्ड 111. 6 13-14.

mantras form an independent mantra material. It should be noted that at the end all these śāntis are spoken of as 'prāyaścitta'.

The subjects treated of in the Madanaratna (about 1425 to 1450 A. D.) on Śāntika-paustika would indicate how extensive was the cult of śāntis recommended in medieval times. The Anukramanikā at the beginning of the Ms. mentions the following: Vināyakaśnāna; śāntis to placate the nine planets from the Sun to Kotu. Śānaiscaryrata, śāntis to placate Saturn extracted from Skanda (Nāgarakhanda and Prabhāsakhanda); worship of Jupiter and Venus; Śāntis based on the Yāmalas^{1172a} on the conjunction of five or more planets, Grahāśnānas from Visnudharmottara, śāntis of the tithi and weekday when fever and other diseases seize a man, Naksatrasānti, śāntis for the nine naksatras called Janma and the rest (vide note 772 for these nine naksatras); śāntis for birth on Amāvāsyā, or on Mūla, Āśleṣā or Jyesthā naksatra, sānti for birth on the same naksatra as that of the father or (elder) brother, śāntis for birth on Ganda, Vaidhṛti, Vyatipātayoga, Sankrānti, Viśanādi, eclipses; sānti called Gomukhaprasava; śāntis declared for the protection of the foetus from the first and following months from conception; *bali* offerings; medicine for removing pains of the foetus; measures for easy delivery, for protection of the child after birth, *bali* on first day with mantras &c, nīrājana &c, description of sprinkling the infant with holy water, satiating gods and pitrs with water, homas, *yantras* (mystical diagrams);

1172a. The Yāmalas are works of Tantra class, the numbers of which are variously given. But they are often said to be eight. Vide note 1598 below on *tantras*. The Rudrayāmala tantra was published by Jivananda containing over 6000 verses in 66 chapters in 1892. There are works called Gaṇeśayāmala, Brahmayāmala, Rudra-yāmala, Viśṇuyāmala, Śakti-yāmala, and several others. Certain *ghatis* (or *nādis*) of certain tithis, weekdays and naksatras are said by the Smṛti-kanṣṭhubha to be *viśanādīs* or *visaghatīs* (producing very disastrous results), but in astrological works certain *ghatis* of naksatras only have that appellation and a person born on those *ghatis* forebodes the death and loss of the father, the mother, wealth and himself by poisoning, arms and missiles (according to Dharmasindhu p 184). The Madanaratna on Śāntika (folios 15b to 20b) sets out numerous details about all the 27 naksatras from the work of Ātreya, one (detail) being the *visaghatī* of each naksatra e. g. as to Aśvinī three *nādikās* after 50th *ghatikā* constitute *viśanādi*, as to Bharanī one *ghatī* after 24, as to Punarvasu and Pūṣya one *ghatī* after 30 and 20 *ghatis* respectively and so on,

general rules about the rites on the 1st to the 12th day after birth and in the first and following months of the first year after birth; applying ointments, fumigation, baths with mantras when a child is seized (or possessed) by an evil spirit; *homa* with *dūrvas* and *homa* for long life; śānti for *adbhutas* and śāntis for strange occurrences about images, Agni, trees, rainfall, reservoirs of water, for strange births, for birth of twins, for strange happenings about implements, beasts, collapse of temples and houses; śāntis for various *utpātas* and *adbhutas*; śāntis about *kapota* bird and on seeing the *cortus* of crows; śāntis relating to fall on one's body of the house lizard and chameleon; śāntis on impurity due to births and deaths; śāntis relating to horses and elephants; śāntis on weekdays; *mahāśānti*; *Navagrahamakha*; rules about *Ayutahoma* and its procedure, and about *Laksahoma* and *Kotihoma* from *Narasimhapurāṇa*, *Devipurāṇa* and *Bhavisyapurāṇa*; ^{1172b} *Vasordhārā* from *Devipurāṇa* The *adbhutas* mentioned in *kāṇḍikā* 93 (of the *Kausika-sūtra*) are: showers (of ghee, honey, meat, gold, blood and other terrible showers); *yaksas* (supernatural apparitions like apes, beasts, crows appearing in the form of human beings); croaking of two frogs; wrangling of family members; earth-quake; eclipse of the sun; eclipse of the moon; *ausaś* (day-break, morning?) does not go up; when *samā* (year?) becomes terrible; when there is fear of inundations; when *brāhmanas* are armed; when images of gods dance, fall down, laugh, sing or present other forms; where two ploughshares get entangled; where two ropes or two threads (become entangled); where one *Agni* comes in contact with another; when a cow gives birth to twins; when a

1172 b. *Vasordhārā* (literally a stream of wealth) Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1253 n 2696 for it. It is described at great length in *Rājanīti-prakāśa* pp 447-457, quoting *Devipurāṇa*, and in *Kṛtyakalpataru* (*Rājadharmakāṇḍa* p. 201-212) quoting *Bhavisya*. It is an ancient idea, as Tai. S. V. 4. 8 mentions it 'वसोर्धारां जुहोति वसोर्मे धाराऽसदिति &c.'. The *शान्तिमयूख* p 43 prescribes the following mantras in *Vasordhārā*, viz. 9 mantras of the hymn beginning with 'Agnim-īle' (Rg. I 1. 1-9), the six mantras in Rg. I 154, 1-6 (Vi nor-nu kam), the 15 mantras of Rg. II. 33, the nine mantras of Rg. IX 1 (*svādīsthayā madīsthayā*), the *Mahāvaiśvā-narasāma* and *Jyeshthasāma*. On p. 210-11 of the *कृत्यकल्प* (राजधर्म) the following verses occur 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् धृते वाज्यममृतं हविष्कानिकम् । तत्रधारा सदा देवा वसोर्धारा हि सा मता । देवा धारा सदा वत्स रिपुनाशाय विद्धि ताम् । विच्छेदो नित्यहोमस्य न कार्यस्तु कदाचन ॥' अष्टशासनपर्व.

mare, or a she-ass or a woman¹¹⁷³ (gives birth to twins); when cows yield bloody¹¹⁷⁴ milk, when a bull sucks the udder of a cow; where a cow sucks the udder of another cow; where (a cow, horse, mule or a person) smells at *ākūṣaphena* (white scuttle fish bone supposed to be sea-foam), when ants behave in an unusual way; when blue¹¹⁷⁵ bees act in an unusual way; where the honey bees act in an unusual way; when an *adbhuta* happens not known before (or that surpasses all previous records); when anything is torn (or shattered in pieces) in a village, residence, shed for sacred fires or meeting hall; when water spurts up in a waterless place; where sesame yield equal oil (?); where sacrificial offerings are polluted by being touched by birds, two-footed animals and quadrupeds; when the locks of hair (of a boy or girl) turn towards the left; when the sacrificial post strikes shoots; when a meteor is seen falling by day; when a comet darkens the Great Bear, when the nakṣatras fall frequently (from the sky);^{1175a} when a bird alights (on one's house) with flesh in its beak; when a light flashes without there being any fire; where Agni seems to breathe (or hiss) as it were; where clarified butter, oil or honey trickles, where village fire burns down a house, where accidental fire burns one's house, where a bamboo splits open with a sound, where a jar splits in a reservoir of water or a pan (when put on fire) splits or a vessel in which barley is put splits.¹¹⁷⁶

1173. Compare कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र 'भार्यागोषु यमजनने मारुत त्रयोदशकपालं निक्षिप्त्' 25. 4. 35 with कौशिक 93. 17-18 यमवत्साया गवि । वडवागर्द्धम्योर्मातुष्यां च'.

1174. Compare कौशिक 43. 19 'यत्र धेनवो लोहितं द्रुहते' with शतपथ XII. 4. 2 1 'तदाह्वर्यस्याग्निहोत्री लोहितं द्रुहीत किं तत्र कर्म का मायश्चित्तिरिति' &c.

1175. 'Nilamaksānūcāre' Kauṣika 93. 24, maksā (as a collector of honey) occurs in Rg. X. 40. 6 'Yuvor ha maksā paryāśvinā madhvāsā bharata nskritam na yosanā'.

1175 a नक्षत्रेषु पतापतेषु । कौशिक 93. 35; शतिका 6 on पा VI. 1. 12 is चरिचलितिवदीनामन्याक् चान्यासस्य and पतापते gives the instances as चराचर, चलाचल, पतापत, वदानद

1176. Many gṛhyasūtras have passages resembling those in कौशिक For example, मानसशास्त्र II. 15 6 has यद्यर्चा दद्येद्वा नदयेद्वा मयेद्वा मभजयेद्वा मष्टयेद्वा मचलेद्वा द्वारंशो वा स्फुटेत् । गोर्वा गा धयेत् । स्त्री वा स्त्रियमाह्वयात् । कर्तृसंसर्गं दृष्टसंसर्गं दृष्टसंसर्गं धुमन्मपतने घृष्टे वाग शीर्येताप्यस्मिन्वाहुत गताभिर्जुह्यात् । Then ten āhūtis with ten mantras are prescribed viz. Rg I. 89 6, V. 51. 11, V. 51. 12, V. 51. 13, X. 63. 15, VI. 47. 11. VII. 19. 7, X. 152. 4, X. 180 2, and Tai. Br. III. 5. 11. Some of these like Rg. X. 152. 4 and X. 180. 2 occur in all Samhitās.

(Continued on next page)

It would be impossible for reasons of space and also of usefulness to set out the śāntis prescribed for the above *adbhutas* in Kausika, but a few may be described by way of illustration. When there is an earthquake¹¹⁷⁷ one should offer (oblations of ghee) with five verses, three of which are addressed to Jisnu (Visnu). Three of the verses are: "Just as the sun shines brightly in the heaven, Vāyu dwells in the sky and Agni enters the earth, so may this Jisnu be firm and unmoving. As the rivers day and night pour their sediment (clay or mud carried by them) in the sea without fail, similarly may all tribes (of gods?) with one mind approach my invocation (or sacrifice) without fail; may the Goddess (Earth) along with all deities be firm and unmoving for me and may (the Goddess) drive away from us all evil and pierce my enemies that hate me." After having offered oblations with the words 'svāhā to the earth' he should offer oblations with the verses Atharva VI. 87. 1, VI. 88. 1 and with the verses of the *anuvāka* beginning with Atharva XII. 1. 1. This is the *prāyaścitti* there (in case of an earthquake).

Where darkness seizes the sun, one should offer oblations with the verses 'arranging according to the season divine wonders, (the sun) rises up revolving (driving away) the fierce (aspects) of the several seasons; may the sun passing over these on all sides come; may the Waters move along in all these worlds. May Indra and Agni, knowing well, protect thee with herbs (remedies); destroy all darkness according to the cosmic order and by true speech.' Having offered oblations with the words 'svāhā to the sun', he should again make oblations (in Agni) with the hymn Atharva XVII. 1. He worships with the Rohita hymns (Atharva XIII. 1-4). This is the *prāyaścitti* in this case.

(Continued from last page)

कौशिक 93 26 is 'अनाज्ञाते'. The शान्ति for all अद्भुतसंज्ञितस्य not specified in the well-known works is contained in कौशिक, Kandikā 119 'यद् ग्रन्थे न पठ्यते तत्सर्वमनाज्ञातमित्युच्यते'. The शान्ति is 'यदनाज्ञातमनाम्नातमर्थस्य कर्मणो मिथः। अग्ने त्वं नस्तस्मात्पाहि स हि वेत्य यथायथम्। अग्नये स्वाहा। वायो सूर्य चन्द्रेति च। पुरुषसंमितोऽर्थः कर्मार्थः पुरुषसंमितः। वायुर्मा तस्मात्पातु स हि वेत्य यथायथम्॥ वायवे स्वाहा। अग्निर्मा सूर्यो मा चन्द्रो मेति च॥'. Compare 'यदनाज्ञातं यदाज्ञातं यज्ञस्य क्रियते मिथु। अग्ने तदस्य कल्पय त्वं हि वेत्य यथायथम्। पुरुषसंमितो यज्ञः यज्ञः पुरुषसंमितः। अग्ने तदस्य यथम्॥' तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 11. 26-27

1177. Vide कौशिकसूत्र chap 98 for धूमिचलशान्ति, chap. 99 and 100 for śāntis in the case of solar eclipse and lunar eclipse respectively. ऋग्वेद X. 173 contains mantras similar to those in कौशिक 98.

When the (darkness) floods the moon one should offer oblation into fire with the verse¹¹⁷⁸ "Rāhu creeps over the shining king (the moon), the former (Rāhu) strikes him (the moon) here (i. e. before us), a thousand of his (Rāhu's) bodies are to be destroyed; may (his) one hundred bodies perish!". Having offered oblations with the words 'svāhā to the Moon', he should offer oblations with the hymn 'Śakadhūmam naksatrāni yad-rājānam-akurvata' (Atharva VI. 128. 1). This is the *prāyaścitta* in this case¹¹⁷⁹

In connection with *sāntis* three words require to be carefully understood viz. *adbhuta*, *utpāta* and *nimitta*. *Adbhuta* is an ancient word. It occurs several times in the Rgveda and is generally applied to some gods in the sense of 'wonderful'. In some passages, however, it means 'future' and possibly also 'portentous'. For example, according to Nirukta I. 5¹¹⁸⁰ the sage Agastya first promised to offer an offering to Indra, but later he desired to offer the same to the Maruts, that then Indra came to Agastya and complained to him as in Rg. I 170. 1 (what was promised today) even that does not exist, nor will it (the *havis*) be there (for me) tomorrow; who knows (for certain)

1178 There is difference of opinion about शक्रधूस in 'शक्रधूमं नक्षत्राणीत्येतेन सूक्तेन छद्मयात्' कौशिक 100 3. Literally it may mean 'the smoke from dried cowdung' (शक्र = शकुत् + धूस). It occurs also in कौशिक 8 17 and 50. 65, which latter is 'उपोत्तमेन सुद्धौ ब्राह्मणस्य शकुत्पिण्डान् पर्वस्वाधाय किमधाह रिति वृच्छति'. This shows that here at least the meaning is 'a brahman on whose joints dried cowdung cakes were placed'. Charpentier has an interesting paper on शक्रधूस in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London) for 1935 pp 449-450 where he states that various scholars have given different meanings, viz. constellation, dung smoke, weather prophet (Blommfield), Agni (Caland), milky way and himself that it means 'Kṛtikā'. It does not clearly appear how, conceding that शक्रधूस stands for कुत्तिका, a brahman could be called शक्रधूस in कौशिक 50 15 and on what grounds. According to Pāṇini IV. 3. 34 a man born on Bahulā nakṣatra was called Babula, so one born on Śakadhūma (Kṛtikā) may be called by the same name by analogy. सोम is called the lord of plants in शतपथ VII 2. 4. 26 and पारस्करश्रुति I 5, and the king of brāhmanas (सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा) in शतपथ V 3. 4 12 and V. 4. 2. 3.

1179. For a *sānti* on eclipse from a late mediæval work, vide पुष्पाय चिन्तामणि (pp 355-361) quoting from मत्स्य.

1180 निरुक्त I 5 says 'अगस्त्य इच्छाप हविर्निरूप्य मन्त्रं च संमदित्वा चकार स इच्छाप्य परिदेव्याचके । न नूनमस्ति नो भव. कस्तद्वेद पदं हृतम् । अगस्त्य, चित्तमभिसंश्लेष्य हृतं धीतिं विनश्यति ॥ (अ १ १७० १) । न नूनमस्त्यद्यतनं नो एव श्वस्तेनम् । कः तद्वेदं यद् अहृतम् । इदमपि इतरद् अहृतम् अधृतमिव । निरुक्त I 6 Rgveda I. 170 has five verses which contain an interesting dialogue between Indra and Agastya.

'what will happen in future'. Yāska paraphrases '*abdhuta*' by the word '*abhūta*' (that has not taken place) and remarks that the word '*abdhuta*' in popular speech also means 'something that has not happened before'. Rg. I. 25. 11¹¹⁸¹ says 'the intelligent man expects from this (Varuna) all wonders (or portentous happenings), whether already performed or to be performed'. Rg. X. 105. 7 is perhaps a little clearer than the preceding. '(May Indra reduce our sins) Indra who is golden-bearded, who has tawny horses, whose jaw is never broken and who made against the *dasyu* for easily killing him a thunder-bolt like the sky that is wonderful (or full of portents)'. The word usually employed in the Gṛhyasūtras is *abdhuta* and the śāntis are called '*abdhutaśāntis*'. *Abdhuta* is a word of very general import. It includes not only such serious phenomena as earth-quakes, eclipses, comets, falling stars but such comparatively minor yet unexpected or unusual happenings as a cow yielding blood-red milk or a cow sucking the udder of another cow. The ancient writer Vṛddha-Garga defines '*abdhuta*' as any occurrence that had not occurred before or a total change coming over what has occurred before.¹¹⁸² The 67th Atharvānupariśista is called *Abdhutaśānti* (pp. 432-435). It distributes '*abdhutas*' into seven groups relating to Indra, Varuna, Yama, Agni, Kubera, Visnu and Vāyu and names some *abdhutas* under each such as a rainbow at night (relating to Indra), a vulture or owl alighting on a man's house or a *kapota* entering it (relating to Yama), smoke without fire (relating to Agni), eclipse on the nakṣatra of a man's birth (relating to Visnu) and prescribes as śānti the *japa* of Atharvaśiras, making brāhmanas say 'svasti,' honouring and feeding brāhmanas. That parīśiṣṭa is based on the *Abdhutabrahmana* of the Sāmaveda.

The word '*utpāta*' is rare in the Śrauta or Gṛhya sūtras. The Gautamadharmasūtra, after enjoining upon the king to

1181. अतो विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वा अभि पश्यति । कुतस्ति या च कर्त्ता ॥ ऋ. I. 25. 11; षजं यश्चोके सुदमाय दृश्यवे हिरिमाको हिरिमाव । अस्तद्वह्मरुद्धं न रजः ॥ ऋ. X. 105. 7.

1182. तच्च वृद्धमर्गः । अमृतपूर्वं यत्पूर्वं जायतेन्यथा । तदद्भुतमिति प्रोक्तं नैमित्तं स्थानिमित्तजम् ॥ १ by अद्भुतसागर p. 4. अधर्वपरिशिष्ट (p. 344ff) provides how certain portents indicated evil and death to the kings of certain countries. Vide the 'Reports of the Magicians and astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon' referred to above in note 839 Prof. Neugebauer refers to Babylonian tablets containing thousands of omens and observes that from about 700 B. C. systematic observational reports were made by astronomers to the royal court, in which no clear line of demarcation was drawn between astro-nomical and meteorological phenomena. Vide E. S. A. p. 96

select a learned, well-conducted brāhmana as his *purohita*, provides that the king should give heed to what astrologers and interpreters of omens tell (him) and that the *purohita* should perform *sānti* rites, rites for prosperity (such as *vāstu-homa*) and magic rites (on behalf of the king¹¹⁸³). But in the Purāṇas and the medieval Sanskrit works it is far more frequent than the word *adbhuta*; sometimes *adbhūta* and *utpāta* are used as synonyms. Garga says¹¹⁸⁴ 'deities become unfavourable owing to the wrong doings of men and create extraordinary happenings in the sky, atmospheric region and on the earth. These are the *utpātas* for all worlds created by gods; these *utpātas* sally forth for the destruction (of people) and they by their (terrific) appearances rouse people (to do what is proper)'. Here the words 'adbhuta' and 'utpāta' are used as synonyms. Similarly, Matsya (228. 1-2) appears to regard the two words as synonyms.¹¹⁸⁵ Generally, however, the word *utpāta* denotes occurrences that portend evil to all. Amarakośa treats 'ajanya', 'utpāta' and 'upasarga' as synonyms. *Utpāta* is defined by Garga, Varāhamihira¹¹⁸⁶ and Atharva-parīśista LXIV as the

1183. Vide p. 543 note 799 above for the passage from गौ. घ. सू. where the word उत्पत्ता occurs.

1184. ततोऽपचारे मर्त्यानामपरजयन्ति देवताः । ते सृजन्त्युद्भूतान् भावान् दिव्यभूम्यन्तं
रिक्षगान् ॥ त एव सर्वलोकानां उत्पत्ता देवनिर्मिताः । विचरन्ति विनाशाय रूपैः सम्बोधयन्ति च ॥
गर्गं q by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 45. 3, very similar verses are quoted from गर्गसंहिता
and बार्हस्पत्य in अद्भु. सा p 5. मत्स्य chap. 229 summarises what बृहद्गर्गं told अत्रि
and verse 5 is just like the first verse above, it is पुरुषापचाराक्षयतमपरजयन्ति
देवताः । ततोऽपचारे देवानां अपसर्गं प्रवर्तते ॥, the बृहत्संहिता 45 2-3 'अपचारेण नराणां सुप-
सर्गः पापसञ्चयान्भवति । संसृज्यन्ति दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमास्त उत्पत्ताः ॥ मनुजानामपचारादपरक्ता
देवताः सृजन्त्येतान् । It would be noticed that Varāha repeats almost the very
words of बृहद्गर्गं The शतपथ (37. 14-15) speaks of a तीर्थ called गर्गस्रोतस्
visited by बलराम on the Sarasvatī and credits him with proficiency in the
movements of luminaries and अद्भुतास्त 18. 38 speaks of him as proficient in
कालज्ञान with its 64 āngas. Garga was a famous gotra name Vide Pān. IV,
1. 105 (Gargādibhyo yañ).

1185. दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमेषु या ज्ञान्तिरभिधीयते । तामहं श्रोतुमिच्छामि महोत्पातेषु
कैलाशे ॥ अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि त्रिविधानद्भुतादिषु । विशेषेण तु भौमेषु ज्ञान्तिः कार्या तथा
भवेत् ॥ मत्स्य 228. 1-2.

1186. यान्नेष्टव्यतामर्गः प्रोवाच तानहं वक्ष्ये । तेषां संक्षेपोऽयं प्रकृतेः सत्यसुखात् ॥
बृहत्सं. 45. 1; यः प्रकृतिविपर्यासः सर्वः संक्षेपतः स उत्पत्तः । क्षितिगगनदिव्यजातो यथोत्तरं शुभ-
तरो भवति ॥ समाससंहिता of बराह q. by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 45. 1 This verse is quoted
in the अ. सा. p 5 as taken from a work called वटकणिका, and the अ. स.
ascribes the verse to बराह himself on the same page lines 3-4 'अत एव यः प्रकृति-

(Continued on next page)

reverse of the usual natural order. *Nimitta* means, according to *Amarakośa* (*nimittam hetulaksmanoh*) 'cause or prognostic sign'. *Nimitta* may be auspicious or inauspicious. This is one distinction between *utpāta* (which generally denotes an unlucky portent) and *nimitta*. There is another distinction. *Nimitta* is often restricted to the throbbing of a person's limbs (as in *Matsya* chap. 241), though here and there it is used in a wider sense as in *Gītā* (I. 31) ('*nimittāni ca paśyāmi viparītāni Keśava*' O Keśava! I see adverse omens), *Rāmāyana*, *Ayodhyā-kānda*. 4. 17-19, *Bhīṣma-parva* 2. 16-17, *Virāta* 46. 30, *Atharva-pariśista* LXIV (*Utpāta-laksana*) 10. 9-10.¹¹⁸⁷ It may be noted that *Manu* VI. 50 mentions 'utpāta' and 'nimitta' separately (p. 527 note 758).

Examples of unfavourable happenings (*nimittas* or *utpātas*) occur plentifully in the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhaparva* 80. 28-31, 81. 22-25, *Vanaparva* 179. 41, 224. 17-18, *Virāta* 39. 4-6, 46. 24-32, *Udyoga* 84. 4-9, 156. 28-30, *Bhīṣma* 2. 17-33, 3. 65-74, 19. 36-38, 99. 21-28, 112. 6-12, *Drona* 7. 34-41, 77. 3-7, *Śalya* 23. 21-24, 56. 8-14, 192. 17-21, *Mausala* 1. 1-5, 2. 1-17 and the *Rāmāyana*, *Ayodhyā* 4. 17-19, *Aranyakānda* 23. 1-7 and 10-25, *Yuddhakānda* 10. 14-20, 23. 4-11, 35. 25-35, 41. 13-20, 53. 32, 65. 47-51, 95. 43, 96. 40-44. The chief *utpātas* and *adbhūtas*, are: terrible dreams, roar of contending winds i. e. hurricanes

(Continued from last page)

विपर्यस्तः प्रायः संक्षेपतः, 'इह वदकणिकायां बराहेण प्रायः शब्दः प्रयुक्त इति.' This indicates that *Varaḥmihir* wrote a work called *vadkṇika* which is the same as the *Samasasāhita* of *Varaḥ* quoted by *Utpal*. This important point will be elaborated elsewhere. प्रकृतेरन्यथाभावो यत्र यत्रोपजायते। तत्र तत्रापि जानीयात् सर्वमुत्पातलक्षणम् ॥ अथर्वपरिशिष्ट (chap. LXIV. I. 2 p. 409): प्रकृतेरन्यथोत्पातः संक्षेपस्तावद्दीदृशः। गर्ग १. by अद्भुतसागर p. 5 The *nimitta* of *Madhava* states very similarly 'प्रकृते-रन्यथाभावो विकारः सर्व उच्यते।' (II. 2) and 'प्रकृतेर्यो विपर्यस्तः स उत्पातः प्रकीर्तितः। दिव्यान्तरिक्षभीमाश्च व्याप्तमेवां निबोधत ॥' (XIV 2) The *Viṣṇu* II. 5. 26 speaks of गर्ग as an ancient sage and as having known all the consequences of *nimittas* 'यमाराधय पुराणविर्गो ज्योतीषि तत्ततः। ज्ञातवान् सकलं चैव निमित्तपाठितं फलम् ॥'

1187. निमित्तानि सुसालोक्य कृत्वा पावनमादितः। महाशान्तिं प्रयुज्जीत संप्रोपेद्वं-वाशिनीम् ॥ सर्वरोगप्रशमनीमुत्पातफलनाशिनीम्। शैवीं कुर्यान्महाशान्तिं अद्भया बहुदक्षिणाम् ॥ अथर्वपरिशिष्ट LXIV (उत्पातलक्षण) 10. 9-10. In *Bhīṣma* 2. 16-17, we read इह शुद्धे महाराज भविष्यति महाक्षयः। तथेह न्व निमित्तानि भयदान्युपलक्ष्ये ॥ इत्येता युद्धाश्च काकाश्च कङ्कशाश्च संहिता ध्वेः। सम्पतन्ति नगाग्रेषु समवायांश्च कुर्वते ॥; in *Varaḥ* 155. 2-5 several portents such as fall of meteors, sun becoming pale, earthquakes, rain of dust are described and in verse 6 they are referred to as उत्पात and अद्भुत 'अन्ये न्व बहवो भीमा उत्पातास्तत्र जज्ञिरे। तदद्भुतमभिदृश्य धर्मशुद्धे सुविद्विरे ॥'.

(*nirghāta*), meteors, she-jackals howling towards the south, fierce and dry wind with shower of sand; earth-quakes; sun eclipse at an unusual time (Rāmāyana III. 23. 12, Sabha 80. 29, 81. 23 Śalya 56. 10, Bhīṣma 3. 28); flashes of lightning without clouds; carnivorous birds like vultures and crows on temples; fort-walls and bastions, spontaneous fire; rent banners; halo of the sun and moon; river-flowing with bloody waters; rain without clouds, rain of blood or mud; trumpeting of elephants; sky filled with darkness, horses shedding tears; peals of thunder in a clear sky, rivers flowing in reverse direction; throbbing of the left arm and eye (in men), croaking of frogs; sea lashed into fury; images of gods trembling, dancing, laughing or weeping (Bhīṣma 112. 11); pale sun, birds like pigeons and *manas* and deer weeping with face towards the sun; appearance of a headless trunk near the sun; strange births such as ass born of a cow, mouse born of an ichneumon (Yuddhakāṇḍa 35. 30). The auspicious signs described in the epics, are comparatively few as in Bālakāṇḍa 22. 4, Udyoga 83. 23-26, 84. 117, Bhīṣma 3. 65-74, Śānti 52. 25, Āśvamedhika 53. 5-6. The principal auspicious signs are. clear sky without clouds, wind blowing¹¹⁸⁸ cool and pleasant to the skin, no dust raised, birds and animals proceeding to a man's right side, fire without being enveloped in smoke and with flames turned towards the right, shower of flowers, auspicious birds like *cāsa*, *krauñca*, peacock sending up chirping to the right (Karna 72. 12-13).

The omens and portents mentioned in the two epics are generally described as occurring at certain important times and events, e. g. on the eve of battles or when Dasaratha proposed that Rāma be crowned as *yuvārāja*, or when Pāṇḍavas started on their exile into the forest or when Bhīṣma was anointed as commander-in-chief of the Kaurava hosts or when Arjuna vowed that he would kill Jayadratha before sunset. There is no gradation or order in mentioning the omens and portents in these two works, but they are set out pell-mell. Untimely rain, thunder without clouds, croaking of frogs are on the same level and

1188 ववौ शिवे सुखा वायु सर्वगन्धर्वदः शुचि । शान्तिपर्व 52. 25, शिवश्चास्त्रव-
ज्ज्वालय प्रशान्तमभवद्वज । प्रदक्षिणाश्रुलोमाश्च मङ्गल्या नृगपक्षिण । प्रयागे वासुदेवस्य वभूवुर-
ज्ज्वायिन ॥ उद्योग 83. 23-24 and 26 मन्त्राहुतिमहाहोर्मेर्ह्यमानश्च पावक । प्रदक्षिणमुखो
भूत्वा विधूनः सनपद्यत ॥ , रघुवंश III 14 (दिश प्रसेदुर्मरुतो वज्र सुखा प्रदक्षिणाचिह्नविराशि-
राददे । वभूव सर्व शुभशंसि तत्क्षणं भवो हि लोकाश्चुदयाय तादृशाम् ॥) seems to be an
echo of the above verses, compare also रघु- IV 25, X 72-74.

of blood-red water, or fall of rain with fishes, tortoises &c.); those of the earth are earth-quake and unusual states of water reservoirs. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* remarks that the evil consequences of earthly (*bhauma*) utpātas when counteracted with śāntis are removed, the evil consequences of utpātas from the atmospheric regions are reduced to a mild form (by śāntis), while, according to some (ācāryas like Kāśyapa, says Utpala) *divya* utpātas are not counteracted by śāntis at all; the opinion of Varāhamihira himself appears to be that the consequences of even *divya* utpātas are conjured away by the gifts of plenty of gold, food, cows and land and by spilling the milk of cows on the ground or in a Rudra temple and by performing *Koṭhoma*. Varāhamihira and Matsya further provide that *daiva* utpāta has evil effects (lit. bears fruit) in eight ways, viz on the king himself, his son, his treasury, his conveyances (horses, elephants &c.), his capital, his queen, purohita and his people ¹¹⁹¹

Numerous śāntis bearing different names are prescribed in Matsya, by Varāhamihira and others. The 18 śāntis prescribed in Matsya (228)¹¹⁹² and bearing the names of several gods will be briefly mentioned here. Abhaya-śānti is prescribed when a king desires to be a conqueror or when he is attacked by enemies or when he fears that witchcraft has been practised against him or when he desires to uproot his enemies or when a great danger threatens. The *Saumya* śānti is prescribed when a man is attacked by Tuberculosis or is weak owing to wounds or when a man desires to perform a sacrifice. When there is an earthquake or when there is a famine of food or there is excessive rain or drought or there is danger of locusts or when thieves are operating the *Vaisnavī* śānti is prescribed; *Raudrī* śānti is employed against an epidemic among cattle or human beings or when ghosts appear or when a coronation is to take place or when there is fear of an invasion or there is treachery in one's kingdom, or when enemies are to be killed; *Brāhmī* śānti is performed when it is feared that Veda study would

1191 आत्मसुखकोशवाहनपुरदारपुरोहितेऽनु लोके च । पाकमपैति दैवं परिकल्पितमष्टया
दृष्टे ॥ बृहत्सं ४५ ७ Compare मत्स्य २२९. १२-१३ राज्ञः शरीरे लोके च पुष्टवरे (v. l.
शरीरे दारे) पुरोहिते । पाकमाप्नोति पुत्रेषु तथा वै कोपवाहने । q by अ सा. p. 9, हेमाद्रि on व्रत
vol II p. 1076 There is close correspondence between the two here and
elsewhere because both expressly say that they will draw upon what Garga
declared to Atri

1192a The whole of Matsya 228 is quoted by Hemādri on Vrata vol
II, pp. 1073-1075 and by अ सा pp. 733-736

perish or when atheism prevails or where honour is paid to persons unworthy of it; if strong winds blow for more than three days and disease spreads due to *vāta*, then *Vāyavi śānti* should be performed; *Vāruṇī* when there is fear of drought or there is abnormal rain (of blood &c.); *Bhūrgavi* when there is danger of false accusation; *Pṛajāpatyā* when abnormal births take place; *Tvāstī* when there are abnormal conditions of implements; *Kaumārī* when śānti is to be performed for children; *Agneyī* when fire shows portentous appearances; *Gāndharvī* when a person is disobeyed or his wife and servants perish, or he desires to perform śānti for horses; *Āṅgasī* when elephants are affected; *Nairṛtī* when danger arises from goblins; *Yāmyā* when there is fear of an accident leading to death or a bad dream; *Kauberī* when wealth is lost; *Pārthivi* when trees are affected by abnormal conditions; *Aindī* when portents happen on Jyesthā nakṣatra or on Anurādhā.

The Agnipurāṇa (263. 7-8) refers to these 18 śāntis and says that the best śāntis are Amṛtā, Abhayā and Saumyā. Varāhamihira mentions numerous śāntis on the happenings of several abnormal incidents. For reasons of space nothing can be said here about them. But one śānti deserves to be set out.¹¹⁹⁵ 'If a man perceives Yaksas, the astrologer should declare that an epidemic is very near; for counteracting them Garga performed a propitiatory rite, viz. Mahāśāntis, offerings, plentiful food, worship of Indra and Indrānī.' The Brhatsamhitā sets out (45. 82-95) certain happenings as not portentous when they happen in certain seasons and quotes several verses of Rṣiputra which also occur in Matsya 229. 14-25 with some variations; e. g. in Caitra and Vaiśākha the following are auspicious (and not portents requiring śānti) lightning, meteors, earthquake, blazing twilight, noisy storms, halo, dust in sky, smoke in forests, red sunrise and sunset.

1195. हरेषु वातुषानेषु निर्दिशन्मरकमाह सम्पातम् । प्रतीघाताय चैषां गर्गः शान्तिं चकारमाह ॥ महाशान्त्योऽथ बलयो भोज्यानि सुमहान्ति च । कारयेत् महेश्च च महेश्चैव च समचेयेत् ॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 79-80.

CHAPTER XXI

Individual Śāntis

It is now time to turn to individual śāntis, mostly post-vedic. The first is Vināyaka-śānti or Ganapatipūjā. This is performed at the commencement of all samskāras such as *upanayana* and marriage in order that the fruit thereof may be had without obstacles or for averting the evil effects of portents or in order to mitigate the adverse effects of the death of a sapinda or the like. When it is performed for its own sake it should be performed on the 4th tithi of the bright half, on Thursday and the auspicious nakṣatras Pūṣya, Śrāvana, Uttarā, Rohinī, Hasta, Aśvini, Mrgaśīrṣa, but when performed at the commencement of Upanayana or the like, one may perform it at a time suited to the time of the principal rite. The *saṅkalpa* is given below.¹¹⁹⁶ In H. of Dh. vol. II pp 213-216 it has been shown how in the earliest stages represented by the Mānava-grhya and Bājavāpa-grhya which speak of four Vināyakas, all were evil spirits, how in the next stage represented by the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (I. 271-294). Vināyaka is not only represented as causing obstacles (Vighnakṛt) but also as bringing success in all actions and rites (Vighnahart) and how later on it was prescribed that Ganapatipūjā must be done first in all rites (Gobhila I. 13). Yāj. I. 293 provides¹¹⁹⁷ that by worshipping Vināyaka in the way prescribed and also the planets, a person secures success in his undertakings and the highest prosperity. The Viṣṇudharmottara II. 105. 2-24 borrows the verses of Yāj. I. 271-292, though not in the same order and adds a few. The Brahmandā provides¹¹⁹⁸

1196. अधोपनयनविवाहादौ निर्विघ्नफलप्राप्त्यर्थमुपसर्गनिरासाय वा सपिण्डमरणविनिमित्तकमतिकूलनिवृत्त्यर्थं वा विनायकशान्तिः कार्या । तत्र कालः शुक्लपक्षचतुर्थी शुक्रवारः पुण्यश्रवणोत्तराहोर्दिगीहस्ताश्विनीमृगनक्षत्राणि शस्तानि । उपनयनादौ तु प्रधानकालादुपेक्षेन यथासम्भवकालो ग्रहः । तत्राशुक्रमर्णो निर्विघ्नफलसिद्ध्यर्थमिति वा उपसर्गनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति वा, अमुकसपिण्डमरणनिमित्तकाशुचित्त्वमातिकूल्यनिरासार्थमिति वा सकृदप्य ऊह्य । धर्मसिन्धु p. 205, प्रतिकूल has a special meaning, for which vide H. of Dh vol. II p 516.

1197. एव विनायकं पुण्यं ग्रहाश्चैव विधानतः । कर्मणा फलमाप्नोति शिर्यं चामोत्यनुचमाम् ॥ याज्ञ. I 293, भाषिण्य, ब्रह्मपर्व 23, 30

1198. जातकर्मादिसंस्कारे गर्भाधानादिकेषु च । यात्रायां वणिज्यादौ शुद्धे देवाचर्चने शुभे । सकृदप्य कामसिद्ध्यर्थं पूजयेद्यो गजाननम् । तस्य सर्वाणि कार्याणि सिध्यन्त्येव न सशयः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड III 42 42-44, ब्रह्माण्ड (IV. 44. 65-70) gives 51 names of गणेश

that Gajānana must be worshipped for success in all desires, in all *samskāras* such as Garbhādhāna and Jātakarma, when starting on a journey or engaging in a commercial undertaking, at the time of battle, in the worship of gods, in troublous times. The Bhavisyottara chap. 144 has a *sānti* called Gananāthasānti which resembles the Vināyakaśānti of Yāj.

In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (I. 294-308), the Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (IV. 13-14), the Baudhāyana-grhyaśeṣasūtra, the Matsya-purāṇa (93. 1-105), the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 93-105 and other purāṇas, in the Brhad-Yogayātrā (chap. 18. 1-24), and in the medieval digests provision is made for a *sānti* rite to the nine *grahas*, viz. the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn (mentioned in the order of the week-days), Rāhu and Ketu. This *navagrahasānti* is the model (*prakṛti*) of all *sānti*-homas in all medieval digests. The Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra¹¹⁹⁹ provides that all religious rites should be preceded by this *navagraha-sānti*. Yājñavalkya¹²⁰⁰ says 'one desirous of prosperity, of removing evil or calamities, of rainfall (for crops), long life, bodily health and one desirous of performing magic rites against enemies and others should perform a sacrifice to planets.' The Matsya (93. 5-6) states that the *navagrahamakha* is of three kinds, viz. *Ayutahoma* (in which 10000 oblations are made), *Laksahoma* and *Kotihoma*. The first is described at length in Matsya 93. 7-84, *Laksahoma* in 93. 85-118, *Kotihoma* in 93. 119-139. The Matsya further provides¹²⁰¹ that *Ayutahoma* should be performed in marriages, festivals, sacrifices, establishment of images and other rites, in order that no obstacles should arise therein and on occasions when the mind is perturbed or when some evil omen or unusual event happens.

1199. ग्रहपूजां पुरस्कृत्य सर्वकर्मसंसारभेदितं विज्ञायते । वै. स्म. सू. IV. 14; the Śāntikamalakara, says, 'अथ सर्वशान्तिप्रकृतिस्तु ग्रहयज्ञ उच्यते । तत्र स्कारद्वयान्वित्यौ श्रीकामः शान्तिकामो वा' (folio 11a).

1200. श्रीकामः शान्तिकामो वा ग्रहयज्ञं समाचरेत् । इष्टचातुःपुष्टिकामो वा तथैवामि-
चरन्नापि ॥ याज्ञ. I. 294, मत्स्य 93. 2 (reads वृद्धचातुः ० and चरन्नुनः). The Nīlākhara
explains: शान्तिकामः आपद्रुपशान्तिकामः सरथादिबृद्धार्थं प्रवर्षणं वृष्टिः ... पुष्टिरनवृद्ध-
शरीरत्वम्; while अपरार्क says 'शान्तिः फलदानोन्मुखवृद्धिरतिनिवारणं...पुष्टिः शरीराद्युपचयः'.

1201. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु प्रतिष्ठादिषु कर्मसु । निर्विघ्नार्थं मुनिश्रेष्ठ तथोद्दिगन्तुतेषु च ।
क्षयितोऽनुतदोमोऽयं लक्षहोममतः कृणु ॥ मत्स्य 93. 84, अथर्वण IV. 141. 86-87. The notes
will show that several verses are common to both Yāj. and Matsya and the
latter is far more elaborate than याज्ञ. or वै. स्म. सू. It is probable that Yāj.
is the earliest of the three, that वै. स्म. सू. comes next and मत्स्य is the latest
of the three.

The procedure in Yāj. being concise and probably the earliest among the extant works on *grahayajña* is set out here, with a few additions from Matsya and Vaikhānasa. The images of the nine planets should respectively be made of copper, crystal, red sandalwood, gold (for both Mercury and Jupiter), silver, iron, lead, bronze or (if all these be not available) they should be drawn on a piece of cloth with powders having colours appropriate to each planet or should be drawn on circles with fragrant substances (such as sandalwood paste). The Matsya¹²⁰² (93 11-12) prescribes that in drawing the images the Sun should be in the middle, that Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Moon, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu should be established with grains of rice respectively in the south, north, north-east, east, south-east, west, south-west and north-west. Yāj. (I 298) proceeds garments, flowers and fragrant substances

Planet	Mantra in Yāj. I. 299-301	Mantra in Matsya 93 33-37	Mantra in Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra IV 14.
Sun	Ā kṛṣṇena, Rg. I 35 2	Same.	Ā satyena (Tai. S. III 4 11. 2)
Moon	Imam devā, Vāj. S IX 40, X. 18	Āpyāyasva Rg. I 91. 16 or IX 31 4.	Somo dhenum (Rg. I. 91. 20, Vāj. S. 31. 21)
Mars	Agnir-mūrdhā divah kakut, Rg. VIII. 44 16,	same	same
Mercury	Uḍbudhyasva, Vāj. S. 15.54, Tai. S. IV. 7.13.5	Agne Vivasvad-usasah, Rg. I. 41 1	Same as in Yāj.
Jupiter	Brhaspate atī yad-aryah Rg. II 23 15.	Brabaspate parī diyā rathena, Rg. X. 103 4	Same as in Yāj.
Venus	Annāt parī-srutah, Vāj. S. 19.75, Maitrā. S. III. 116.	Śukram te anyat, Rg. VI. 58. 1.	Same as in Matsya
Saturn	San-no devir, Rg. X. 9. 4	same	same
Rāhu	Kāndāt, Vāj. S. 13. 20, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 2,	Kayā naś-citra, Rg. IV. 31. 1.	Same as in Matsya
Ketu	Ketum kṛvan, Rg. I. 6 3.	same	same

1202 मत्स्ये 93 11-12 are quoted by the मितक्षरा on या. I. 297 and वै. स्म. सू. (IV 13) specifies the same as 'मध्याह्नयेदक्षिणैशान्योत्तरपूर्वपश्चिमवैश्वानरायस्याभिताः' in the order of the seven week days, राहु and केतु.

of the colour ¹²⁰³ appropriate to each should be offered to the planets, also offerings should be made, *guggulu* is to be the incense for all planets and oblations of boiled rice accompanied with the mantras (specified below) should be offered respectively to the nine planets.

The Visnudharmottara (I. 102. 7-10) gives the same mantras as Yāj. does, Bhavisiya (IV. 141. 34-36) gives the same except for Rāhu, for which it gives 'Kayā naścitra,' as in Matsya, Padma (V. 82. 30-32) is same as Matsya. Yāj. then proceeds (I. 301-302) that in homa for each of the planets the fuel sticks (*samidh*)¹²⁰⁴ were to be 108 or 28 anointed with honey or clarified butter or with curds or with milk and they were respectively to be of the arka plant, palāśa, khadira, apāmarga, pippala, audumbara, śamī, dūrvā and kuśas for the sun, the moon and so on in order. A man ¹²⁰⁵ of the three varnas should honour brāhmanas according to the prescribed procedure (washing their feet &c.) and should feed them respectively (Yāj I. 304) with boiled rice mixed with jaggery, or cooked in milk and sugar, sacrificial food (*havisiya*), boiled rice from paddy becoming ripe in 60 days from sowing mixed with milk, boiled rice with curds, boiled rice with ghee, boiled rice with pounded sesame, rice mixed with meat, rice of various colours, for the sun, the moon and so on in order or with food that is available and according to his ability. The *dakṣinā* (fee) to the brāhmanas should be a milch cow, conch, draught bull, gold, garment (*vāsa*), a horse (white), dark cow, iron weapon, a lamb, in honour

1203. The colours appropriate to the nine planets and their presiding deities are stated by वै. स्म. सू. as follows: रक्तसितातिरक्तश्चामपीतसितासितकृष्णधूम्रवर्णाः । अनलाप्यतिगृह्णतिन्द्रशचीमजापतिशेषपमाधिदेवत्याः ॥ The मत्स्य slightly differs on both these; chap. 93. 16-17 provide that the colours are: red for the Sun and Mars, white for the Moon and Venus, yellowish for Mercury and Jupiter, dark for Saturn and Rāhu and smoky for Ketu. The presiding deities of nine planets according to Matsya (93. 13-14) are Śiva, Umā, Skanda, Hari, Brahmā, Indra, Yama, Kālā and Citragupta for the planets, Sun, Moon and so on respectively.

1204. कर्त्तव्या मन्त्रवन्तश्च चरवः प्रतिदेवतम् । अर्कः पलाशः खदिरस्त्वपामार्गोऽथ पिप्पला । औदुम्बरः शमी द्वर्जा कुशाश्च समिधः क्रमात् ॥ एवैकस्य त्वद्विंशतमष्टाविंशतिरेव वा । होतव्या मनुष्यपितृणां दध्ना क्षीरेण वा शुक्ताः ॥ याज्ञ. I. 298, 301-302, मत्स्य 93, 32. 24-28. विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 101. 2-4 are very similar.

1205. शुद्धोदन-पायस-शुद्धोदन-दध्योदन-गौडिक-चित्रीदन-कसरमाषौदन-कणौदनानि क्रमेण निवेदयेत् । वै. स्म. सू. IV. 13; मत्स्य (93. 19-20) slightly differs from this and also from Yāj. मत्स्य (93. 38-41) prescribes Vedic mantras for the presiding deities of planets, which are mostly different from those in वै. स्म. सू.

respectively of the sun, moon and so on. The Visnudharmottara (I. 103. 1-6) contains the same fess.¹²⁰⁶ He should offer special worship to that planet that may be unfavourably situated (as regards his nakṣatra or horoscope) at a particular time. Yāj. winds up by saying that the rise and fall of kings depend on planets (vide note 800 for this verse). Visnudharmottara (I. 106. 9-10) also has the same verse. Kṛtyakalpataṛu (on Śāntika, folio 5 b) quotes Bhaviṣya to the effect that planets are always favourable to him who abstains from injury to others, who is self-restrained, who acquires wealth by righteous means, and who always observes the *niyamas* (restrictive rules of conduct as in Yāj. III. 313). The Śāntimayūkha (p. 21) also quotes this verse.

The Vaikhānasaśmārtasūtra (IV. 13) provides slightly different kinds of *navedya* food for the nine planets (as in note 1205) and prescribes separate Vedic mantras for the presiding deities (of the planets) to whom oblations of ghee were to be offered. The Matsya remarks at the end of the description of Ayutahoma: 'just as armour is a protection against the wounds by arrows, so śānti (graha-yajña) is protection against the strokes of Fate.'¹²⁰⁷

The Matsya (93 92) declares¹²⁰⁸ that Lakṣahoma is ten times of the Ayutahoma and Kotihoma is one hundred times of Lakṣahoma in the matter of oblations, fees and rewards, that the procedure of invoking and bidding goodbye to the planets and presiding deities, the mantras for homa, bath and gifts are the same in Lakṣahoma and Kotihoma. The Matsya gives¹²⁰⁹ the warning

1206. The दक्षिणा 10 वै स्मा सू. (IV 14) is रक्तधेनुनादित्याय शङ्खं सोमाय ताम्रमङ्गरकाय हिरण्यं बुधाय शुक्लं वासो बृहस्पतये हयं शुक्राय कृष्णं गा शनैश्चराय राहोश्चरान् केतोरायसदृशमिति । मत्स्य (93. 60-62) slightly differs from both याज्ञ and वै स्मा. सू as to दक्षिणा and prescribes Paurāṇika mantras that are to accompany these gifts (verses 64-72)

1207. यथा बाणप्रहाराणां कवचं भवति वारणम् । तद्वद् दैवोपघातानां शान्तिर्भवति वारणम् । मत्स्य 93. 81, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 105 14 मत्स्य 228 29 is a similar verse 'बाणप्रहारा न भवन्ति यद्वत् राजगृहणा संनहनैर्दुःखानाम् । दैवोपघाता न भवन्ति तद्वद्धर्मात्मना शान्तिपरायणानाम् ॥'

1208. अस्माच्छतशुण. भोक्तुं कोटिहोमं स्वयंभुवा । आहुतीभिः प्रयत्नेन दक्षिणाभिः फलेन च ॥ पूर्ववद् ग्रहदेवानामावाहनविसर्जने । होममन्त्रास्त एवोक्ता स्नाने दाने तथैव च । मत्स्य 93. 119-120,

1209. अकहीनो बृहद्वाङ्मन्त्रहीनस्तु कालिजः । यद्यारं दक्षिणाहीनं नास्ति यज्ञसमो रिपुः । न वाप्यल्पधनः कुप्यल्लक्षहोमं नरः कश्चित् । यस्मात्पीडाकरो नित्यं यज्ञे भवति विग्रहः ॥ मत्स्य 93. 111-112 q. by कृत्यकल्प (on शान्तिका) folio 10a.

that a sacrifice devoid of distribution of food burns (i. e. brings disasters on) the country, devoid of (proper) mantras burns the officiating priests, devoid of (proper) fees burns the sacrificer; there is no enemy as (disastrous as) a sacrifice and that a poor man should not start on a Laksahoma, since wrangling (about food or fees) in a sacrifice always causes trouble or misfortune (to the sacrificer). The Brhadyogayātrā of Varāha (chap. 18 verses 1-24) deals with *grahayajña* and closely follows Yāj. though some details are added here and there. Verses about the sun are quoted below (n 1213). The Yogayātrā also (chap. 6) deals with the same matter. The Agnipurāna (chap. 164) is a wholesale copy of Yāj. (I. 295-308). The Matsya (in chapter 239¹ again deals with Koti-homa which continues for a year. The Matsyapurāna (chap. 94) contains nine verses on the manner in which the figures of the nine planets were to be drawn or painted and these are quoted by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 297-298 and by Kṛtyakalpataru (on śānti) folio 5a. Vide Kotihoma in list of vratas (p. 290).

The Grahayajña in Yāj. is short and simple, but in some purāṇas such as the Bhaviṣyottara (141. 6-85) and medieval and modern works it has become an elaborate affair by the addition of numerous details. One or two details may be pointed out. Each planet was supposed to have a gotra and was¹²¹⁰ deemed to have been born in a certain country (vide note 875 p. 588 for the countries of the birth of planets). Therefore, in invoking the presence of each planet these two details have to be added (as specified below in the note for the sun by way of illustration). The gotras of the grahas from the Sun to Ketu are respectively Kāśyapa, Ātreya, Bhāradvāja, Ātreya, Āngirasa, Bhārgava, Kāśyapa, Pāithīnasa, Jaimini. The Samskāra-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 946) sets out from Skanda the gotras and countries of birth of the nine grahas and provides that if worship is offered to them without mentioning the gotras and countries that would be disrespectful to them. The Grahayajña

1210. ग्रहपीठस्य मध्ये बर्हिर्ले द्वादशाङ्गुले प्राङ्मुखं सूर्यं रक्तपुष्पाक्षतैः, आ कृष्णेन (अ १ ३५. २) हिरण्यरूप. सविता त्रिष्टुप् सूर्यावाहने विनियोग.। ओम्। आ कृष्णेन०। ओं मूर्ध्वः स्वः कलिङ्गदेशोद्भव काश्यपसगोत्र सूर्येहागच्छेह तिष्ठ सूर्याय नमः सूर्यमावाहयामीति सूर्यं स्थापयेत्। अग्नेदिनां ब्रह्मकर्म p. 145, it must be pointed out that Yāj. does not lay down a procedure for अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम nor does he even refer to them, as stated by ज्ञान्तिमयूख (p. 22) 'किं च याज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिषु न तावदयुतहोमादीनां विधिर्निर्णयः'।

may be simple (*kevala*) as in Yāj. or Ayutahoma or Laksahoma or Kotihoma. A few further remarks are added here from the Agnipurāṇa (chap. 149), Narasimha-purāṇa (chap. 35), Matsya (chap. 93 and 239), Bhavisyottara (chap. 141 and 142), Atharva-parīśista XXXI (for Kotihoma) and other works. The Kṛtyakalpataṛu¹²¹¹ (Rājdharmā) quotes the Brahma-purāṇa as follows. The king should perform two Laksahomas every year and one Kotihoma which confers freedom from the fear of all calamities and he should at once perform a Mahāśānti that removes all evil consequences when there are eclipses of the Sun and the Moon and an earthquake. The Agni (149.12) says 'Ayutahoma confers slight success, Laksahoma drives away all distress, while Kotihoma tends to destroy all kinds of trouble and confers all desired objects'. The Visnudharmottara (II. 36. 3-4) states that Āsvapati, father of the famous *pativrata* Sāvitrī performed a Laksahoma with the Sāvitrī (Gāyatrī) mantras for securing a son. 'There is no *utpāta* in the world that is not conjured away by Laksahoma, there is no more auspicious thing that surpasses Laksahoma. In the case of the king who gets a Kotihoma performed by brāhmanas the enemies cannot stand up against him in battle excessive rainfall, drought, mice, locusts, parrots, evil spirits and the like and all enemies on the battle-field are conjured away from him.'¹²¹² The Bhavisyottara (142. 11-12) calls kotihoma a śānti rite, which yields all desired objects, by which even grave sins like brāhmana-murder are removed at once, all utpātas are conjured away and great happiness follows. Bhavisyottara (chap. 142. 7-54) contains an elaborate procedure of Kotihoma and also a briefer one (in chap. 142. 56-80). Atharva-parīśista (No 31) describes the procedure of Kotihoma; it was to be begun on an auspicious tithi in the bright half, on the *mukūrta* called, Vijaya and on one of the nakṣatras viz. Rohinī, Pūṣya, Anurādhā, the three Uttarās, Abhijit, Mrgaśīras, Śravana, Citrā, Revatī. The firepit was to be of eight cubits (for Laksahoma half of this), the brāhmanas may be 20, 100, 1000 or even one crore, who

1211 मध्यपुराणे । द्वौ लक्षहोमौ कुर्वीत तया संवत्सरं प्रति । एकं च कोटिहोमं च यन्ना-
स्तर्ताभयमददम् । ...ग्रहणे सूर्यशशिनोर्दुर्गमोत्पातदहने । तत्क्षणं च नृदशान्तिं कर्तव्यानिष्ट-
नाशिनी । राजधर्मकाण्डे of कृत्यकल्पतरु p. 166

1212 नास्ति लोके सङ्घातो यो ह्यनेन न शाम्यति । मङ्गल्य परमं नास्ति यदस्मादतिरिच्यते ।
कोटिहोमं तु यो राजा कारयेत्पूर्वम् द्विजैः । न तस्य शत्रवः सख्ये जातु तिष्ठन्ति कर्हिचित् । अति-
बृद्धिर्नाष्टिर्भूयसा शब्दभा शुभा । राधाभायाश्च शाम्यन्ति सर्वे च विप्रो रणे ॥ अग्नि 149 5-8.

should offer fuel sticks anointed with ghee. The Bihadyoga-yātrā 1213 verses are quoted below.

Some of the medieval works like the Śāntimayūkha (p. 12) quote verses from the Skandapurāṇa that state how the unfavourable aspect of Saturn led Saudāsa to eat human flesh, that of Rāhu made Nala wander over the earth, that of Mars led to Rāma's banishment to forest, that of the Moon led to the death of Hiranyakaśipu, that of the Sun brought about the fall of Rāvana, that of Jupiter led to the death of Duryodhana, that of Mercury made the Pāṇdavas do work not fit for them, that of Venus led to the death of Hiranyākṣa in battle.

Some of the medieval digests (*nybandhas*) such as the Dharmasindhu lay down that certain special gifts should be made when any one of the planets is unfavourable to a person. They are set out here from the Dharmasindhu (p. 135). For the Sun—Ruby, wheat, cow, red garment, jaggery, gold, copper, red sandalwood, lotuses; for the Moon—rice grains in vessel made from bamboo, camphor, pearl, white garment, jar full of ghee, a bull; for Mars—coral, wheat, *masūra* pulse, red bull, jaggery, gold, red garment, copper; for Mercury—blue garment, gold, bronze vessel, *mudga* pulse, emerald, slave girl, ivory, flowers; for Jupiter—topaz, turmeric, sugar, horse, yellow corn and yellow garment, salt, gold; for Venus—garment of various colours, white horse, cow, diamond, gold, silver, unguents, rice grains; for Saturn—sapphire, *māsa* beans, sesame and sesame oil, *kulittha* (pulse), she-buffalo, iron, dark cow; for Rāhu—*gomeda* (a kind of gem of four varieties), horse, blue garment, blanket, sesame and sesame oil, iron; for Ketu—cat's eye gem, sesame and sesame oil, blanket, musk, lamb, garments. In the author's youth these directions about *dānas* (gifts) were followed by many people and even now they are being followed to some extent. The Madanaratna (on Śāntika-paustika, folios 5a to 7a) gives separate *śānti* procedure for each of the *grahas* from the Sun to Ketu from the Bhaviṣyottara.

1213. तत्रार्च्यं ताम्रमयी सविहः पालाशिकाः सुचः सनिधः । आ कृष्णेनेति मन्त्रो रक्तं गन्धः सहायुष्मता ॥ मापातसीतिलाश्वेकसंयुद्धग्रणकान् विहाय भोज्याविधिः । यकुलाकारिस्त्य-पलाशककुसुमपूजा च ॥ अष्टशतस्तिभ्यो विभेभ्यो वृक्षिणादितान्निभ्यः । देया वृषकनकमयी सप्तकिरणसुहृद्वि ॥ बृहद्योगः 18,3-5 (ms) It may be mentioned that the mantras for the nine *grahas* in बृहद्योगः do not agree completely either with Yāj. or with Matsya. They are आ कृष्णेन, आप्यायस्व, अग्निर्भूया, उद्बुध्यस्व, बृहस्वते अति, अक्ष-वरेन्नतः, शक्रो देवीः, कया नश्चित्र, केतुं कृण्वन्केतवे. Compare table above on p. 750,

Another śānti refers to the placating of Saturn when that planet occupies the 12th, 1st and 2nd rāsis from the rāsi of a man's birth. This is roughly a period of seven years and a half and is called 'sāṇḍha-saptavārsika-pīḍā' in Sanskrit and 'sāḍe-sāṭi' in Marāṭhi. The śānti consists in worshipping an image of Saturn made of iron placed in a vessel of iron or clay, covered with two dark garments or a blanket and offering to it dark and fragrant flowers, food or rice mixed with sesame. That food and the image are to be donated to a dark brāhmana or to some brāhmana with the mantra 'san no devīr' (Rg X. 9. 4). If the worshipper be a śūdra he is to repeat a paurāṇika¹²¹⁴ mantra (noted below) which refers to Nala getting back his kingdom by placating Saturn. This should be done every Saturday for a year or one should every day repeat the mantra containing ten names of Saturn (in note 1214) and should also repeat a Śānistotra (eulogy of Saturn) every morning. By doing so the trouble that Saturn causes for seven and half years is averted.

Some of the medieval digests try to furnish an accurate definition of Śānti. Only one may be cited here. The Śānti-mayūkha¹²¹⁵ of Nīlakantha (first half of 17th century A. D.) defines it as a rite prescribed by the śāstra, which (rite) has its motive or urge sinfulness that is not clear (i.e. that is only inferred or presumed), that removes evil effects relating only to this world, and the performance of which does not lead on to sin. The first clause excludes gifts made to remove diseases like tuberculosis; ¹²¹⁶ the 2nd clause distinguishes śāntis from sacri-

1214 The Paurāṇika mantra is यः शुनर्नष्टराज्याय नलाय परितोषितः । स्वमे
द्वदौ निजं राज्यं स मे सौरिः प्रसीदतु ॥ नमोऽर्क्षपुत्राय शनैश्वराय नीहारवर्णान्ननेत्रकाय ।
श्रुत्वा रहस्यं भव कामदस्त्वं फलप्रदो मे भव सूर्यपुत्र ॥ धर्मसिन्धु p 135, the ten names of
Saturn are कोणस्थः पिङ्गलो बभ्रुः कुण्ठो रोद्रोन्मत्तो यमः । सौरिः शनैश्वरो मन्दः पिण्णलादेन
संस्तुतः ॥ q by मदनरत्न on ज्ञान्तिकपौष्टिक folio 8a

1215. अस्पृष्टपापनैदानिकैदिकमात्रानिष्टनिवर्तक पापप्रयोजक वैधं कर्म ज्ञान्तिकम् ।
क्षयादिहरदानादावतिप्रसङ्गं वारयितुं वैदानिकान्तम् । आहुग्निकानिष्टनिवर्तक वारयितुं नैदिकेति ।
मायश्चित्तं वारयितुं मात्रप्रदम् । मायश्चित्तं तु आहुग्निकानिष्टनिवर्तकमपि । अभिचारप्रत्यभि-
चारौ वारयितुं पापप्रयोजकमिति । तयोः फलतो हिंसात्वेन तदनुष्ठाने प्रायश्चित्तोक्तेश्च पाप-
प्रयोजकत्वात् । ज्ञान्तिकपौष्टिक p 2

1216. It was believed in ancient India that diseases and bodily defects were due to sins committed in past lives. Vide H. of Dh Vol. IV pp 174-175 Yāj (III 207 and 209) remarks that the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from tuberculosis after passing through the births of deer, dog, hog, and camel. शुगन्धकरोद्राणां ब्रह्महा योनिमुच्छति । ब्रह्महा क्षयरोमी स्यात्सुरापः श्याव-
क्षुत्तकः ॥

fices (intended to secure other worldly rewards) and *māyāśuttas* (that yield consequences in this world as well as in the next) and the last clause distinguishes śāntis from rites of black magic (for destroying one's enemies or securing a married woman's love &c.) which is sinful.

The number of śāntis is legion. They are prescribed for conjuring away the effects of rare natural phenomena such as eclipses, earth-quakes, rainfall (of peculiar kinds, of blood &c.) hurricanes, fall of meteors, comets, halos, Fata Morgana; for protection against the evil effects of the positions and movements of planets and stars for the world and for individuals; for strange births among human beings and animals; for the good of horses and elephants; for certain untoward happenings about Indra's banner and about images of gods falling or weeping, the cries of birds and beasts, the fall of lizards and the like on a person's limbs and on certain stated periods or on solemn occasions.

All rites of Śānti, Paustika rites and the Mahādānas were to be performed in ordinary fire, since there is no authority to prove that they are to be performed in śrauta fires or in smārta fire. Manu 3. 67 and Yāj. I. 97 refer only to ceremonies laid down in the Gṛhyasūtras. On Yāj. I. 285-86 the Mitākṣarā prescribes ordinary fire for offerings in Vināyaka-śānti. Vide also Śānti-mayūkha p. 4.

Both Manu ¹²¹⁷ and the Visnudharmasūtra prescribe that homas in which the Sun is the deity worshipped and Śāntihomas should be performed by a householder on the *parvans* (i. e. on Purnamāṣi and Amāvāsyā). These were śāntis at fixed periods. Similarly, when a person, male or female, of any caste completed sixty years, there was the possibility that he may die soon, or that he may lose his mother or father or his wife or sons or that various diseases may affect him; for removing this danger a śānti is prescribed (and is often performed even now) in order that he may enjoy a long life, be free from all calamities and for his complete prosperity. This is called *Ṣastyabdapūrti* (completion of sixty years) or Ugrarathaśānti.^{1217a}

1217. सवित्राञ्च शान्तिहोमांश्च कुर्यात्पर्वसु नित्यज्ञः । मनु IV 150; पर्वसु शान्तिहोमं कुर्यात् । वि ध सू. 71. 86

1217a Vide Mitra's Notices vol IX No. 3234 for a ms of Ugraratha-śānti and F. W. Thomas Presentation volume pp. 43-45 for 'ṣastyabdapūrti'.

One of the oldest available descriptions of the Ugrarathasānti is found in the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra (V. 8.). It is brief and the main items in it are set out here. It should be performed in the month of one's birth and on the nakṣatra of birth. A *vedi* as large as a bull's hide should be made, a jar full of water should be placed thereon and on the jar an image of Mrtyu (Death) manufactured with two *uskas* (i. e. gold probably weighing as much) should be placed in the south-east corner; worship should be offered to the image and a *japa* of each of the mantras 'apaītu mrtyuh' ('may Death go away', Tai. Br. III. 7. 14 4), 'param Mrtyo' (O Death! follow the path beyond &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 14. 5 and Rg. X. 18. 1), 'mā nas-toke' (O Rudra! do not injure our progeny' &c., Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2 and Rg. I. 114. 8), and 'Tryambakam' ('we offer sacrifice to Rudra', Tai. S. I. 8. 6 2 and Rg. VII. 59. 12) be made 108 times; he offers oblations of cooked food with the *puṇuvūkyā* (invitatory prayer) 'mā no mahāntam' (O Rudra! do not destroy our grown up ones &c., Tai. S. IV. 5. 10. 2 and Rg. I. 114. 7) and the *Yūjyā* (offering prayer) 'Mā nas-toke' (Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2 and Rg. I. 114. 8). Then he makes subsidiary offerings of ghee with each verse of the Ghrtasūkta¹²¹⁸ Then he sprinkles himself with water from the jar to the accompaniment of mantras from the Mrtyusūkta, from the Āyusyasūkta and with Paurāṇika mantras, honours the officiating priest, gives dakṣiṇā to the brāhmanas and a dinner.

There is a Ms. (of only three folios in D. C. No. 609 of the year 1882-83, now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona) which deals with this sānti attributed to Śaunaka and is called Ugrarathasānti at the end. The sānti is to be performed on the day or nakṣatra of one's birth. On that day the person of 60 years should take an auspicious bath, perform his daily religious duties, should invite brāhmanas and choose one to officiate who is learned in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and is well conducted. First Ganeśa worship should be performed, then

1218 It is difficult to say what hymn is intended here by the word 'ghrtasūktena'. It is probably Rg. VI. 70. 1-6 (ghrtavati bhuvanānām &c.) The Mrtyusūkta is probably the same as Rg. X. 18. The Āyusya hymn is a *Kṛṣṇa* hymn after Rg. X. 128 and begins 'āyusyam varcasyam rāyasposam audbhīdam.' The Karmapradīpa of Gobbhila (I. 17) prescribes that Āyusya hymns should be recited in śrāddha for sānti. The Smṛticandrikā (śrāddha p. 503) quotes Gobbhila I. 17 and explains that they are hymns like the one beginning 'ā no bhadrāḥ' Rg. I. 89. 1.

punyābhavācana, worship of Mother goddesses, then nāndīśrāddha. He should bring together *sarvaśāntis*,¹²¹⁹ twigs and leaves of five trees, five jewels, *pañcagaṇya*, and *pañcāmṛta*; then worship of nine planets should be performed; an image of Mārkaṇḍeya was to be made from one *pala* or $\frac{1}{2}$ *pala* or $\frac{1}{4}$ *pala* and the image was placed in a jar full of water surrounded by two garments; he should offer the 16 *upacāras* and offer to Mārkaṇḍeya 1008, or 108 or 28 or eight offerings of fuel sticks, boiled rice, ghee, *dūrvā*, superior dishes with the mantra (quoted below¹²²⁰). Then he should make a *homa* in honour of Mrtyuñjaya (Śiva) with oblations of *dūrvā* grass and sesame 10000, or 5000, or 3000 or one thousand in number and then he should sacrifice separately to the secondary objects of worship, viz. Āsvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanumat, Bibhīṣana, Kṛpa and Paraśurāma. Then he should perform a *homa* with fried grams according to his ability and should recite Śrisūkta,¹²²¹ Rudra, the Āyusya-mantras, the Purusaśūkta and specially the complete recitation of the Veda; he should finish the *homa* and offer *pūrnāhuti*; then water from the jar should be sprinkled over the *yajamāna* (i.e. person who has completed 60 years), his wife and his near relatives; then there should be a *japa* of śānti hymn, the Purusaśūkta, the mantra Rg. X. 18. 1, the Āyusya hymn, Pāvamāna hymn (hymn to Soma from Rg. IX.), the six verses of Śivasankalpa (Vāj S. 32 1-6), and Mahāśānti. Then the jar should be donated and the garments rendered wet by the *abhiṣeka* and a decked cow with calf should be donated to the officiating priest; ten *dānas*¹²²² to brāhmanas and gold weighing one hundred *mānas*; he should perform *ājyāveksana* and offer '*bal*' (to all beings, crows &c.); he should then receive the blessings of the brāhmanas and put on a new garment; then he should have *nīrājana* performed and bow to deities and feed a thousand or a hundred brāhmanas and then himself partake of food along with his relatives. Whoever performs this śānti, according to the rules prescribed for grahaśānti, would certainly

1219. For सर्वैषधि, vide p 444 above, for five twigs vide pp. 336, 339 above under पञ्चमङ्गदल and पल्लव, for five jewels p. 337.

1220. मार्कण्डेय महाभाग सप्तकल्पान्तजीवन । आयुरारोग्यमैश्वर्यं देहि मे मुनिपुङ्गव ॥

1221. श्रीसूक्त begins हिरण्यवर्णी हरिणीम्; रुद्र is the eleven anuvākas of तै. सं. 1V. 5 1-11, beginning with नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यव; आयुष्यमन्त्रः are those like ऋ 11 38 5, VII. 90 6 or आयुर्वर्णपरिज्ञेह XXXII. 9.

1222 For the ten dānas vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 869 and above p. 334 for नीराजन.

live for a hundred years, all misfortunes will vanish and all prosperity will be his. The *prayoga* (procedure of this *śānti*) is given below¹²²³ since it is often performed even now.

It is difficult to say why this *śānti* was called *Ugraratha*. Another *śānti* on the completion of 70 years or on the 7th night of the 7th month of the 77th year is called *Bhaimarathi-śānti*, according to the *Śabdakalpadruma*, which quotes some verses from *Vārdyaka* without stating what work is meant.^{1223a} Baud. *grhyaśeṣasūtra* I. 24 prescribes a *śānti* for one who has lived up to 100 years or one who has seen 1000 *amāvāsyās*.

The general rule about the time for *śāntis* is that no definite time can be fixed for them, since *śānti* rites are performed with the object of removing the evil consequences of men's lapses suggested by such indications (or omens) as dreams, the evil aspects of planets and the like i. e. they are to be performed as and when omens or portents occur or are observed and one should not wait for such times as the northward passage of the Sun, bright fortnight and that one may perform *śāntis* even in the southward passage of the Sun or even in an intercalary

1223 अथ प्रयोगः । देशकालौ संकीर्त्य अमुकगोत्रोत्पन्नस्यामुकशर्मणो मम आयुष्याभि-
वृद्धयर्थं श्रीमार्कण्डेयादिदेवतामीत्यर्थं सग्रहमखासुग्रथशान्तिं करिष्ये । तदङ्गुणेशपूजामातु-
पूजानान्दीश्राद्ध-आचार्यादिवरणं च करिष्ये-इति सङ्कल्प्य तानि कृत्वा वृत्ताचार्यं शरीरशुद्धयर्थं
देवयजनं रक्षस्वेत्यन्तमुक्त्वा ग्रहस्थापनं कृत्वा मार्कण्डेयाय नम इति मन्त्रेण पीठोपरि कालशे-
मार्कण्डेयमावाह्य परिवारदेवतावाहनं कुर्यात् । अश्वत्थाम्ने नमः अश्वत्थामानमावाहयामि । एव-
मुत्तरत्रयं नमः बलिमावाहयामि, व्यासाय, हनुमते, विभीषणाय, कृपाय, परशुरामाय
एता अवाह्य काण्डाहसमयेन पदार्थाहुसमयेन वा सम्पूज्याग्निमितिष्ठपनादि चक्षुषी
आज्येनेत्यन्त, तत्र प्रधानं आदित्यादीन् यथालाभं समिदादिद्रव्यैः मार्कण्डेयं समिदाख्य-
चरुद्रव्यापायसद्रव्यैः मत्स्येकमष्टोत्तरसहस्राष्टोत्तरशताष्टाविंशतिरष्टसख्याभिर्वा आहुतिभिः,
मृत्पुत्रं दूर्वाद्रव्येणाहुतसख्यया पञ्चसहस्रसख्यया त्रिसहस्रसख्यया सहस्रसख्यया वा, पुन-
र्हृत्पुत्रं तिलद्रव्येण पुनोक्तसख्यया । अश्वत्थामादीन् लाजद्रव्येणाष्टोत्तरादिसख्यया यक्ष्ये
शेषेणेत्यादिमग्न्याहोमाह्नं कृत्वा श्रीसूक्तं रुद्राध्यायं आयुष्यसूक्तं पुरुषसूक्तं यथाशास्त्रं वेद-
पाठायणं च कृत्वा बलिदानं पूर्णाहुतिं च कृत्वा होमशेषं समाप्य, अभिषेकं यजमानस्य सपत्नी-
कस्य बन्धुवर्गसमन्वितस्य कृत्वा शान्तिदूतं पुरुषसूक्तं परं मृत्योर्मुपरेतीति आयुष्यसूक्तं पाठवान्
निवसङ्कल्पं मदाशान्तिं च जप्त्वा अभिषेककालीनवस्त्रमाचार्याय दत्त्वा सालङ्काराणां च दत्त्वा
दशदानानि विभ्रम्यो दत्त्वा सुवर्णदानं च कृत्वा आज्यावलोकनं तिलदानं ब्राह्मणभोजनसङ्कल्प-
आशीर्वाहणं देवताभिवादनं च कृत्वा कर्मश्रवणं कृत्वा बन्धुजनैः सह शुक्लीतेति शौनकोका
उग्रथशान्तिः । देशकालः अमुकगोत्रोत्पन्नस्य अमुकशर्मणः मम जन्मतः सखातपदचन्द-
कालनिमित्तदुःस्वप्नदन्तरोगहृदिमान्यछायाविकृतिमुवादिनक्षत्रदर्शनभूतमेतपिशान्यादि- नानाविध-
शरीरक्लेशापसृष्टमहोग्रपीडा राजभयादि - सकलारिष्टनिरसनपूर्वकदीर्घायुरारोग्यैश्वर्यसम्पत्त्याप्या-
दिसद्भीष्टसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीमार्कण्डेयादिदेवतामीत्यर्थं सग्रहमखासुग्रथशान्तिं करिष्ये । श्रीगजा-
ननापणमस्तु ।

1223 a. सप्तसप्ततिवर्षाणां सप्तमे मासि सप्तमी । रात्रिभीमरथी नाम नराणामतिदुस्तरा
तामतीत्य नरो योऽस्ती दिनानि यानि जीवति । कर्तुमिस्तानि तुल्यानि सुवर्णशतदक्षिणै
...इति वैधकम्

month.¹²²⁴ If there is no hurry, then a śānti was to be performed on an auspicious week-day, an auspicious tithi and on certain nakṣatras, viz. the three Uttarās, Rohini, Śravana, Dhanisthā, Śatātārakā, Punarvasu, Svāti, Maghā, Āśvini, Hasta, Pūṣya, Anurādhā and Revatī.¹²²⁵ As regards the Laksahoma the Matsya (93. 86) prescribes that it should be performed after securing favourable planets and Tārās (stars). Vide also p. 290 above about Kotihoma prescribed by the Atharva-pariśista (XXXI pp. 187-191). The Matsya prescribes that a Kotihoma should be begun in Caitra or Kārtika (239 20-21); the invisibility of Jupiter and Venus and similar matters need not be considered when a śānti has to be performed immediately on the occurrence of an omen (or portent) or when the śānti is meant for alleviating the disease from which a person may be suffering.

As against several *adbhūtas* and *utpātas*, texts prescribe a rite called Mahāśānti. The Śāṅkhāyana Gr. (V. 11) speaks of a Mahāśānti, when an ant-hill grows in one's house, which has been referred to above on p. 730 note 1162. The details of a Mahāśānti differ in different texts and on different occasions. The Adbhūta-sāgara provides that where no specific details about śāntis against certain utpātas like a fall of meteors are prescribed one should have recourse to a śānti consisting in homa offerings to the accompaniment of one million repetitions of the sacred Gāyatrī verse ('tat-savitur' &c. Rg III. 62. 10) or to the Mahāśānti called Abhaya according to the nature (grave or light) of the omen or portent.¹²²⁶ In the Marāṭhi commentary on the

1224. अत एव द्वय । नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि निपतन्ति यथा यथा । तथा तथैव कार्याणि न कालस्तु विधीयते । नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानीति समानाधिकरणम् । निमित्ताद् ग्रह-दौर्गन्ध्यदुःस्वमादेः कर्तव्यत्वेन प्रतीतानि नैमित्तिकानि निमित्तसूचितदोषशान्तिकामनया क्रियमाणानि तान्येव काम्यानि । न कालस्तु विधीयते इति उदगयनशुक्लपक्षदिनपूर्वभागादिरूपः कालो नादृश्यते । तेन एतद्व्यतिरिक्ते दक्षिणायनादौ निश्चिते मलम्लुचादौ च शान्तिकं कर्तव्यमिति शान्तिकपौष्टिके कल्पतः । मलमासतत्त्व p 796 (vol. 1). This whole passage of the कल्पकल्प (on शान्तिकपौष्टिक) occurs on folio 4a and b in the Baroda ms of it.

1225. ऋतुरा-रोहिणी-श्रवण-धनिष्ठा-शततारका-पुनर्वसु-स्वातीमघाश्विनी-हस्तपुष्याशु-षाढाश्रवण-शुक्लपक्षदिनपूर्वभागादिरूपः कालो नादृश्यते । तेन एतद्व्यतिरिक्ते दक्षिणायनादौ निश्चिते मलम्लुचादौ च शान्तिकं कर्तव्यमिति शान्तिकपौष्टिके कल्पतः । मलमासतत्त्व p 796 (vol. 1). This whole passage of the कल्पकल्प (on शान्तिकपौष्टिक) occurs on folio 4a and b in the Baroda ms of it.

1226. अत्रादुक्तविशेषशान्तिकपौष्टिकापत्तेषु सान्निभिमन्त्रकदशशुभहोमादिका शान्तिरभ्यारूपा वा महाशान्तिरौत्पातिकफलशुभलाभवमवगम्य कर्तव्या । अ सा p 341; the शान्तिस्तु of कमलाकर (folios 208-211 a.) prescribes a mahāśānti put in the Bhavisyapurāṇa in the name of Kṛṣṇa to be performed at the coronation of a king or before starting on an invasion, or when a person has a bad dream or the planets are unfavourable, or when there is an earthquake &c Vide also शान्तिमयूख pp. 106-108 for महाशान्ति.

Nirnayasindhu (p. 233) about the question of a rite on the first appearance of a woman's monthly illness a *japa* of Mahāśānti is prescribed after an elaborate homa and worship and the Mahāśānti is explained as consisting of the recitation of Rg I. 89. 1-10 (beginning with 'a no bhadrā'), Rg V. 51. 11-15 (beginning with 'svasti no mimitām &c.') and Rg. VII 35. 1-15 (beginning with 'san-na Indrāgni'). The Bhavisyottara (143. 2-46) describes a Mahāśānti to be performed at a king's coronation, on his marching out on an invasion, when one has bad dreams or inauspicious omens (*nimittas*), when the planets are unfavourable or when there is lightning and the fall of meteors, when a Ketu appears, in a hurricane, earthquake, birth on a Mūla nakṣatra or Gandānta, on birth of twins, when parasols and banners fall on the ground, when a crow, owl or pigeon enters a house, when malefic planets are retrograde (especially in the nakṣatra or rāsi of birth), when Jupiter, Saturn, Mars and the Sun are in the 1st, 4th, 8th or 12th houses (in a person's horoscope), when there is *grahayuddha*; when garments, weapons, horses and cows, or jewels and hair are lost, or when rainbow is seen at night in front, when the beam on a house pillar is smashed, when a she-mule conceives, on eclipses of the Sun and the Moon—on these a Mahāśānti is commended. The procedure is briefly as follows. Five learned and well-conducted brāhmanas should officiate in a *mandapa* ten or twelve cubits on each side, in the midst of which there should be a raised platform four cubits on each side and in the south-east corner of that platform there should be a *kunda* (receptacle for fire). Five jars should be placed, four in the four intermediate quarters (south-east &c.) and the fifth in the middle of the platform and numerous things such as twigs and leaves of some plants, jewels, sandalwood, mustard grains, *śamī* and *dūrvā*, *kuśas* and grains of rice should be collected thereon; Vedic mantras such as 'āśuh śiśāno' (Rg. X 103 1) on north-west, 'isā vāsyā' (Vāj. S. 40. 1) on north-east, were to be recited over the jars, worship is to be offered with *gandha*, flowers, lamps, fruits like cocoanut to the jars and fire should be placed in the *kunda* with 'agnim dūtām' (Rg I. 12 1), seat (*āsana*) should be offered with the mantra 'hiranya-garbhah' (Rg X. 121. 1), then *pāyasa* should be cooked to the accompaniment of Purusa-sūkta (Rg X. 90), eighteen fuel sticks of *śamī* and seven palāśa ones should be cast into Agni, seven *āhutis* of clarified ghee and seven of rice boiled in milk should be offered to Agni with a mantra 'Jātavedase' (Rg I. 99 1), four more with the hymn

'tarat sa mandī' (Rg. IX. 58), seven with 'yamāya' (Rg. X. 14 13) and again seven with 'idam Visnur' (Rg. I. 22. 17) and 27 āhūtis to the 27 nakṣatras, then performance of 'svistakṛt' homa, grahahoma with sesame covered with ghee, then prāyaścitta; thus ends the homa; then the *yajamāna* sitting on a throne of kāmārya wood should have sprinkled over him to the accompaniment of drum-beating and conch-blowing water from the five jars with five different mantras, then an offering to all the directions (*digbali*) with the mantra 'salutation to all bhūtas'. After the bath, brāhmanas recite a śānti over him after letting fall a stream of śānti water all round; then *puṇyāha-vācana* and then close of the śānti rite, then gifts of land, gold, beds, seats according to the person's ability to brāhmanas; he should treat to a sumptuous meal the poor and helpless and men learned in the Veda. On doing this he secures long life, quick victory over enemies, even difficult undertakings succeed.

The huge work *Adbhutasāgara* is mostly concerned with rare natural phenomena such as halo, rainbows, hurricanes, glowing horizon (*digdāha*), meteors, comets, earthquakes, rain without clouds, red rain, shower of fish, Fata Morgana &c.

A few words must be said about some striking ones out of these. First comes earthquake. The Br. S. (32.1-2) puts forth four theories of his predecessors about the cause of an earthquake viz. it was caused by huge animals dwelling inside the seas (view of Kāśyapa) or according to others (Garga) it was caused by the heavy breaths emitted by the elephants of the quarters when tired by carrying the weight of the earth; others (like Vasistha) said that earthquake noise is caused by the winds striking against each other (in the sky) and falling on the earth; other ācāryas (like Vṛddhagarga) held that an earthquake was caused by *adrsta* (i. e. by the sins of the people on the earth¹²²⁷). In verses 3-7 of Br. S. (chap. 32) Varāha narrates the myth that mountains had in the dim past wings and the earth being much shaken by their movements approached Pītāmaha (Brahmā) and Brahmā seeing her sad plight asked Indra to discharge his thunderbolt for clipping the wings of mountains and for removing the anger (or sorrow) of the earth; Indra did so, but he told the earth that Vāyu, Agni, Indra (himself) and

1227. The *ब्रह्मपुराण* sets out a novel cause of earthquake 'यदा विजृम्भतेऽ-
मृतो मदाधुर्गितलोचनः । तदा चलति भूरेवा साद्रितोयाधिकानना ॥ 21. 23-24; अ. सा.
p. 383 quotes this verse from *विष्णुपुराण* with slight variations.

Varuna would (each) at different parts of the day and night make the earth shake in order to indicate (to mortals) the fruits of their good and bad deeds. In Br. S 32 8-22 Varāha describes the spheres and premonitory signs of Vāyu, Agni, Indra and Varuna with the nakṣatras and the countries they affect. The *Adbhuta-sāgara* (pp 383-409) quotes most of the verses of Varāha and prescribes śāntis for each of the four deities that are deemed to be connected with earthquakes. The *Adbhutasāgara* refers to earthquakes that happened when angry Arjuna got no sleep after he made a vow that he would kill Jayadratha before the next day's sunset (*Dronaparva* 77 4) and when Duryodhana challenged Bhīma for a mace fight (*Śālyaparva* 56 10 and 58 49).

It should not be a matter for surprise that ancient and medieval Indians regarded earthquakes as punishments sent by God for the sins of men. The English poet Cowper gives vent to this belief in his poem 'Timepeace'.¹²²⁸ The most distinguished Indian of modern times viz Mahātmā Gāndhī, regarded the earthquake in Bihar that occurred on January 15, 1934, and affected an area of about 30000 square miles and a population of about 15 millions and that killed thousands and made millions homeless, as God's punishment for the prevalence of the evil system of untouchability in Hindu¹²²⁹ society. To the natural and usual query why God should punish a small country or a small community with frightful earthquakes and overwhelming waves when other countries and millions of other people are guilty of the same misdeeds, Cowper endeavours to give a reply

1228, What then? Were they the wicked above all,
And we the righteous, whose fast-anchored isle
Moved not, while theirs was rocked like a light skiff,
The sport of every wave. Not none are clear,
And none than we more guilty. But where all
Stand chargeable with guilt, and to the shafts
Of wrath obnoxious, God may choose his mark,
May punish, if he please, the less, to warn
The more malignant

'Timepiece' lines 150-158

1229. Vide the eight volume life of Mahātmā Gāndhī by D. G. Tendulkar, vol 3 pp 304-308 and vol 4 pp. 41-42. The characteristic sentences are 'A man of prayer regards what are known as physical calamities as divine chastisement alike for individuals and nations', 'A man like me cannot but believe that this earthquake is a divine chastisement sent by God for our sins' (vol 3 p 303), 'I share the belief with the whole world, civilized and uncivilized, that calamities such as the Bihar one come to mankind as chastisement for their sins' (*ibid.*, p 305).

in the lines quoted above It appears that, in spite of the beliefs now discredited, Vrddha Garga and Varāha appear to have also believed that comets had orbits like planets and were visible in the firmament at certain long intervals of time.

The rules to be observed about eclipses have already been stated above (pp. 243-250). Though the real causes of lunar and solar eclipses were known long before the time of Varāhamihira as shown above (p. 242, n 622) this knowledge was not accepted by the masses for centuries and even now many people in India still entertain the old beliefs about eclipses.¹²³⁰ Varāha criticises ancient writers like Vrddha Garga and Parāśara who prophesied an eclipse when five planets including Mercury came together or there were such *numittas* as halo of the Sun, dim rays ¹²³¹ (Br. S. V. 16-17). Here the Śānti for it will be briefly described. One view was that an eclipse was auspicious ¹²³² to a person, if the eclipse occurs when the Sun or the Moon is in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th rāśi (zodiacal sign) from the rāśi of the birth of a person, it is neither auspicious nor inauspicious when any one of the two is in 2nd, 5th, 7th or 9th rāśi from that of birth and it is inauspicious when the eclipsed sun or moon is in the 1st, 4th, 8th and 12th rāśi from the rāśi of birth. The view of Garga was that if an eclipse occurs when the sun or moon is in the rāśi of the birth of a person or if any of them is in the 1st, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th or 12th rāśi from that of birth or if any of them occupies the nakṣatra of the birth of a person or the 9th nakṣatra from that of birth, it leads to calamities for that person. If an eclipse occurred when the Sun or Moon occupied the nakṣatra of the day of the coronation of the king, that portends the ruin of the kingdom, the loss of friends and

1230. Vide Bertrand Russell in 'Impact of science on society' p. 11 for remarks on eclipses and for the use even Milton makes of popular beliefs about them

1231. न कथंचिदपि निमित्तैर्ग्रहणं विज्ञायते निमित्तानि । अन्यस्मिन्नपि काले भवन्त्यथोपातरूपाणि ॥ पञ्चग्रहमयोगात् किल ग्रहणस्य सम्भवो भवति । तैलं च जलेष्टम्यां न विचिन्त्यमिदं विपश्चिद्धिः ॥ बृहत्संहिता V. 16-17 Vide उत्पल's quotations on these from पराशर and बृहत्संहिता.

1232 जन्मसप्तादरिःफाङ्गदशमस्ये निशाकरे (v. 1. दिवाकरे) । ह्योरिष्टयदो राहुर्जन्मक्षे निधनेपि च । मदनरेत्ने गर्गः q by नि. सि. p. 68 which explains. रिःफं द्वादशं, अङ्का नव, निधनं सप्तमतारा, घुराणान्तरे । सूर्यस्य संक्रान्ते वापि ग्रहणं चन्द्रसूर्ययोः । यस्य त्रिजन्मनक्षत्रे तस्य रोगोऽथवा मृतिः । तस्य दानं च होमं च देवाचर्चनजपौ तथा । उपरागाभिषेकं च कुर्याच्छान्तिर्भविष्यति । स्वर्गेन वायु पिष्टेन कृत्वा सर्पस्य चाकृतिम् । ब्राह्मणाय ददेत्तस्य न रोगादिश्च तत्कृतः । जन्मनक्षत्रं तत्पुर्वोत्तरे च त्रिजन्मनक्षत्रमुच्यते, जन्मदशमेकोनविंशतितारा इति केचिद् । नि. सि. p. 68.

the death of the king¹²³³ Atri said that when the eclipse of the Sun or Moon occurs in the nakṣatra of a person's birth, disease, journeys and death are portended, and great danger for the king (whose nakṣatra is so affected) The averting of evil would follow if the man makes gifts and is engaged (that day) in worship of gods and *japa*.¹²³⁴ Several modes of *śānti* are prescribed, particularly for him whose *rāśi* or nakṣatra of birth or one of three nakṣatras (viz. that of birth, the one preceding and the one following the nakṣatra of birth) is occupied by the eclipsed Sun or Moon. One way is to make the figure of a serpent (that represents the demon Rāhu) with gold or silver and to donate it to a brāhmana. Another was to make a serpent out of gold weighing a *pala* (i.e. 320 *guṇjas*) or one half, one fourth or one eighth *pala* and to fix a jewel on its hood and place the serpent figure in a vessel of copper, bronze or cast iron full of ghee and donate it with a *dakṣiṇā* and also donate a silver disc of the moon and a golden serpent when it is a lunar eclipse and a golden disc of the Sun and a golden serpent when it is a solar eclipse. Further gifts of a horse, chariot, cows, land, sesame, ghee and gold also are recommended. The mantra accompanying the gifts addressed to Rāhu is quoted below.¹²³⁵ The *Nirṇayasindhu* also sets out a far more elaborate *śānti* from the *Matsyapurāṇa*, which is passed over for reasons of space.

The fall of meteors (*ullū*) required a *śānti*. There were several beliefs about them. Garga held that they were missiles discharged by the Lokapālas¹²³⁶ who send down flaming meteors as missiles for indicating (coming) auspicious or calamitous events. Another view was that they were really souls that fell

1233 यस्य राज्यस्य नक्षत्रे स्वर्भातुपपरज्यते। राज्यभङ्गं सुदृष्ट्वाश मरणं चात्र निर्दिशेत्। भार्गव q by अ सा (q. 10 नि ति. p. 68).

1234 आह चात्रि। यस्य स्वजन्मनक्षत्रे ग्रस्येते शक्तिभास्करौ। श्याधिं प्रगातं सुखं च राज्ञश्चैव महद्भयम्॥ तस्माद्दानं च दातव्यं देवार्चनजपस्तथा। कुर्यात्तस्मिन्दिने युक्तस्तस्य शान्तिर्भविष्यति॥ q by कालविवेक p 543

1235. The दानमन्त्रः is तमोमय मरुभूमि सोमसूर्यविमर्दन। हेमताम्रद्वानेन मम शान्तिप्रदो भव॥ विश्वस्तु नमस्तुभ्यं सिद्धिकामन्दनान्नुत। दानेनानेन नागस्य रक्ष मा वेध-जान्दयात्॥ नि ति p 68, धर्मसिन्धु p 35 Vide ब्रह्मपुराण chap. 106 and Matsya 251 for the story of Rāhu at the time of the churning of the ocean and I. A. vol 16 p 288 (for the same) and I. A. vol. 21 p. 123 about the customs connected with eclipses

1236. Lokapālas are guardians of the world or of the four cardinal directions and four intermediate ones from the east onwards in order viz. Iodra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuna, Vāyu, Kubera, Soma. Some substitute Nirṛti for Sūrya Vide Maou V 96.

own to the earth (for fresh births) after enjoying in heaven the favourable results of their actions.¹²³⁷ Meteors are often referred to in the epics as falling on serious occasions e. g. the Śalya-parva mentions¹²³⁸ the fall of a flaming meteor accompanied by a great noise and whirlwind when Duryodhana fell in the macefight with Bhīma. In Dronaparva a flaming meteor is referred to as indicative of the coming death of the great ācārya and warrior Drona. The Adbhutasāgara (pp. 342-344) quotes a long passage (of 23½ verses) from Ātharvanādbhuta about the fall of meteors¹²³⁹ by day. It is said therein that such a fall of meteors by day portends the destruction of the country and its king and therefore a Mahāśānti called Amṛtā should be performed. There is an Ātharvana-pariśista LVIII b on *ulkā*, but the Adbhutasāgara verses do not appear to have been extracted from that.

Certain natural phenomena, though they may be called *utpātas* if they occur at certain times, are not to be regarded as such at certain other times. In Br. S. 45. 82 Varāha says that certain occurrences natural to certain seasons do not lead to any unfavourable consequences; one should know them from the verses composed by Rṣiputra that are concise. Then he proceeds: in Madhu and Mādhava (Caitra and Vaiśākha) the following occurrences lead to good viz. lightning, meteors, earthquake, glowing twilight, noisy whirlwinds, halo (of Sun and Moon), dust in the sky, vapour (in forest), red sunrise and sunset; possibility of getting from trees food, rasas (sweet &c.), oily substances, numerous flowers and fruits, and amorous activities among cows and birds. The following are beneficial (auspicious) in summer (Jyestha and Āśāḍha) viz. sky rendered dusky by the fall of stars and meteors, or in which the appearance of the Sun and the Moon is dark-brown, which is full of fiery glow without a flaring fire, loud noises, vapour, dust and

1237 उल्कास्वरूपमाह गर्गः । अस्त्राणि विद्युज्जल्येते शुभाशुभनिवेदकाः । लोकपाला महात्मानो लोकानां ज्वलितानि तु ॥ उत्पल ०० बृहत्सं. 33. 1 and अ. सा. p. 321: दिवि शुक्रशुभफलानां पतता रूपानि यानि तान्युल्काः । बृहत्सं. 33. 1.

1238. तस्मिन्निपतति वीरे पर्यौ सर्वमहीक्षिताम् । महास्वना पुनर्दीप्ता सनिर्वाता भयङ्करा ॥ पपात योल्का महती पतिते पृथिवीपतौ । जल्यपर्व 58 50-51, अपतद्दीप्यमाना च सनिर्वाता सकम्पना । उल्का ज्वलन्ती संग्रामे पुच्छेनावृत्य सर्वज्ञाः ॥ द्रोणपर्व 7 38-39, मत्स्य 163. 43 has . अपतन्मलनाडुल्का विद्युद्रूपा महास्वनाः । (among the numerous portents in the fight of हिरण्यकाशिपु with वृत्सिंह).

1239 अथर्वणश्रुते । दिवा पतति योल्का सा हन्याद्विशं सम्भूयति । महाशान्तिं तत्र कुर्याद्वत्सो विश्वमेपजीम् ॥ अ. सा. p. 342.

winds, in which evenings are like red lotus and which look like a stormy sea, and when rivers are dried up. In the rains (Śrāvana and Bhādrapada) the following portend no danger viz. rainbow, halo (of Sun and Moon), lightning, dried trees giving out fresh sprouts, the earth quaking or rolling or showing other than its usual appearance, noises in the earth or gaps therein, or when lakes increase in expanse of water or rivers rise up (in floods), or when wells are full or when houses on hills roll down. In Śarad (Āśvina and Kārtika) the following are not of evil import viz the sight of divine damsels, ghosts, gandharvas, air conveyances and other *adbhūtas*, the planets, nakṣatras and other stars becoming visible by day in the sky, noises of song and music in forests and on mountain peaks, abundance of crops and reduction of waters. In Hemanta (Mārgaśīrṣa and Pausa) the following are auspicious viz. the presence of cool winds and frost, loud cries of birds and beasts, the sight of rakṣas (evil spirits), *Yakṣas* and other (usually invisible) beings, non-human voices, directions darkened by vapour together with the sky, forests and mountains, the appearance of the rise and setting of the Sun at a higher point than usual. The following appearances are auspicious in Śisira (Māgha and Phālguna) viz the fall of snow, portentous winds, sight of terrible beings and *adbhūtas*, sky resembling dark collyrium and rendered reddish-yellow by the fall of meteors and stars, the birth of various strange issues from women, cows, sheep, mares, beasts, and birds, strange appearances of leaves, sprouts and creepers. These when seen in the proper seasons are auspicious in those respective seasons, but when seen at other than the proper seasons they are very terrible portents. Two verses ¹²⁴⁰

1240. ये च न दोषास्त्रयन्त्युत्पातारतादृष्टस्वभावकृतान् । ऋषिपुत्रकृतैः श्लोकैर्विधातैः
समाप्तौ ॥ वज्राशानिषहोक्तसन्धानिचोत्तानि स्वना । परिवेदरजोभूमरकाकास्तमनोदया ॥
द्रुमेन्योऽक्षरसत्त्वेहवह्वपुष्पफलोद्भवा । गोपक्षिमद्वृद्धिश्च शिवाय मधुमाधवे ॥ ...अहस्वभावजा
ह्येते दृष्टा स्वर्गो शुभ्रमदा । ऋतोरन्यत्र चोत्पाता दृष्टास्ते चातिदारुणाः ॥ बृहत्स 45 82-84
and 95 The occurrence of these twelve verses (45, 83-94) both in Br S.
and Viṣṇudharmottara raises the important question of the chronological
relation of the two works. Varāhamihira expressly tells us that he took the
twelve verses (45 83-94) from Rṣiputra or shortened them. Therefore, he
did not borrow from the Viṣṇudharmottara. Rṣiputra has been often quoted
by Varāha in his works (vide above p 593 and my paper in JBRAS for
1948-49, vol 24-25, p 15). The अ सा pp 743-744 quotes the verses
from बार्हस्पत्य, मत्स्यपुराण, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and बराहसंहिता. The twelve verses occur
in मत्स्य 229, 14-25, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II, 134 15-26. It must be stated that अ सा

(Continued on next page)

about Madhu-Mādhava and the last one (Br. S. 45. 84-85 and 95) are quoted below. The Br. S. further provides¹²⁴¹ that whatever Gāthās (*prakrit* verses or simply verses) are recited by persons of distracted intellect, the utterances of children and what women speak out does not turn out to be wrong and that a person that understands utpātās, even though he may be devoid of mathematics (about planets), becomes famous and a favourite of the king, and by knowing the secret (or esoteric) words of the sage (Ṛsiputra) which are stated (by me), a person sees the past, the present and the future.

Another very curious portent mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Kausikasūtra¹²⁴² (kandikā 105), Matsya (243), Viṣṇudharmottara, Brhatsamhitā and the Abhūtasāgara (pp. 425-436), Hemādri on Vrata vol. II (pp. 1078-79) and Madanaratna (on śānti, folio 54b) is the trembling, dancing, laughing and weeping of the images of gods. The Bhīsmaparva¹²⁴³ refers to the images in the temples of the Kaurava king doing these acts. In the encounter of Hiranyakaśipu with the Man-lion form of

(Continued from last page)

agrees most closely with वृहत्सं., while in the मत्स्य the readings and the order of verses differ a good deal from the अ. सा. In my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) pp 64-70 I arrived for the Viṣṇudharmottara at a date between 500-600 A. D on other evidence. In my opinion it is probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara borrows the verses from the Brhat-samhitā. If that he accepted, the Viṣṇudharmottara (at least the 2nd section of it) must be later than 600 A. D. It is possible to argue that the Purāṇa might have taken them from Ṛsiputra. But the Purāṇa does not say so and in keeping with the assumed character of the Purāṇas as composed by the semi-divine Vyāsa at the beginning of Kali-yuga, the Purāṇas generally take care not to admit any borrowing from a merely human author. It should be noted that three of the verses quoted only from Yogayātrā of Varāha by अ. सा. p. 494 occur in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 176. 9-11

1241 उत्सन्नानां च या गाथा शिशूनां यच्च भाषितम् । स्त्रियो यच्च प्रभाषन्ते तस्य नास्ति व्यतिक्रमः ॥ " उत्पातान् गणितविवर्जितोऽपि ज्ञद्ध्वा विख्यातो भवति नरेन्द्रवृद्धभश्च ॥ एतत्सङ्गन्निवर्चनं रक्षयस्तुतिं यज्ज्ञात्वा भवति नरलोकालदशी ॥ बृहत्सं. 45 96 and 98

1242. अथ यज्ञैतद्देवानि दृष्ट्यन्ति ज्योतन्ति हसन्ति गायन्ति वान्यानि वा रूपाणि कुर्वन्ति य आसुरा मनुष्या मा नो विदुस्त्वमो देववधेभ्य इत्यभयेर्जुह्यात् । सा तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिः । कौशिकसूत्र 105 य आसुरा मनुष्याः is a मन्त्र in कौशिकसूत्र 104.2, मा नो विदुः is अथर्व. I. 19. 1 and नमो देववधेभ्य is अथर्व VI 13. 1. This prescribes a śānti viz. the offering of āhatis (of ghee) with these mantras called *Abhaya*.

1243. देवतायतनस्थाश्च कौस्वेन्द्रस्य देवताः । कम्पन्ते च हसन्ते च दृष्ट्यन्ति च रुदन्ति च ॥ भीष्म 112 11.

Visnu the Matsyapurāṇa¹²⁴⁴ states 'the images of all gods shut and open their eyes, laugh, weep, scream, emit smoke, blaze, and these signs indicate that great danger impends.' In the Ātharvana-pariśista¹²⁴⁵ LXXII this matter is treated (in prose). It says 'there are portents called *divya* which occur in temples, they (images) laugh, sing, weep, shriek, perspire, cause smoke to issue out of them, they blaze, they tremble, open their eyes and shut them, blood oozes from them, they move to and fro.' These strange phenomena are said to forebode drought, danger from weapons, famine, epidemic in the country and destruction of the king and his ministers (or relatives). The śānti prescribed in the same Ātharvana-pariśista (4 7) is as follows: one should boil *pāyasa* in the milk of 108 *kaplā* cows, if such cows are not available one should cook *pāyasa* with the milk of one hundred milch cows; he should put on the fire fuel sticks with ends towards the east, should spread round the fire darbha grass and should offer oblations (of rice) in fire to the accompaniment of the mantras addressed to Rudra¹²⁴⁶ and called Raudra-gana and also offer clarified butter (in fire) He should present white flowers, he should treat brāhmanas with boiled rice and should donate the same cows (the milk of which was used for cooking *pāyasa*) or donate the kingdom for a limited period for the satisfaction of a brāhmana, he should give to the officiating priest a thousand cows and donate a good village.

Now śāntis on the birth of human beings should be referred to. There are several śāntis concerning the birth of a human being, such as a child's birth on Mūla, Āślesā, Jyesthā nakṣatras, on *ganḍānta*, on the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight or on

1244. उन्मीलन्ति निमीलन्ति हसन्ति च रुदन्ति च । विक्रोशन्ति च गम्भीरा धूमयन्ति ज्वलन्ति च । प्रतिभाः सर्वदेवाना वेदयन्ति (v I वेदयन्त्यो) महद्भयम् । मत्स्य 163 45-46 = पञ्च V. 42 137-138

1245. दिव्यानीत्याचक्षते देवगृहेषु । अथ हसन्ति गायन्ति रुदन्ति क्रोशन्ति मत्स्ययन्ति प्रधूमयन्ति प्रज्वलन्ति प्रकम्पन्त्युन्मीलयन्ति निमीलयन्ति लोहितं स्रवन्ति परिवर्तयन्ति । आथर्वण-परिशिष्टे LXXII (महाब्रह्मसूतानि) p. 525. It may be noticed that three of these actions occur in the भीमपर्व and six in मत्स्य

1246 The रौद्रगण (the string of mantras addressed to Rudra in a śānti) specified in आथर्वणपरिशिष्टे XXXII. 17 is as follows रुद्रजलाशमेयजः, येऽस्याय, ग्राची दिक्, उदितखयो अक्रमन्, भवा शर्वो मन्त्रे वाम्, ब्रह्म जज्ञानम्, अनाता ये, सहस्रधार एव, ग्रीष्मो हेमन्तो, अनहुदम्पस्त्वम्, मलमापो, वैश्वानरो, यमो मृत्यु, या ते रुद्र, योऽग्नौ रुद्रो, भवाशर्वो मृदतम्, भवाशर्वाविदं द्रुमो, यस्ते सर्पो वृश्चिक, तस्मै प्राच्या दिशो अन्तर्दिशादिति रौद्रगण । Vide note I on p 146 in Bloomfield's edition of the कौशिकसूत्र 50. 13 for identification of these *pratikas* from the Atharvaveda.

amāvāsyā, on Vyatipāta-yoga or on Vaidhṛti or in an eclipse, or on the birth of twins, or when a girl is born to a person after three successive births of sons or a son is born after three successive births of girls. Some of these śāntis are performed even now. Therefore two of them which are still in vogue, though gradually becoming infrequent, are briefly described here. The consequences of birth on Mūla, Jyesthā and Āślesā are more or less similar. Here the śānti for birth on Āślesā is briefly set out.

The Āślesā nakṣatra has a mean measure of 60 ghaṭis. It is to be divided into ten parts in order^{1246a} viz. 5, 7, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 6, 9 and 5; birth of a son in these parts indicates in order the loss of kingdom, death of father, death of mother, addiction to lovemaking, he has devotion to father, has strength, loses property, has proneness to charity, pleasures, wealth. If the nakṣatra be divided into four parts, birth in the first part is auspicious but in the other three parts indicates loss of wealth, death of father, death of mother. If the child is a girl born on the last three quarters of Āślesā indicates the death of the future mother-in-law of the girl; if the child be a boy and is born in the last three quarters of Āślesā, that indicates death of his future mother-in-law. One should perform a śānti for birth on any quarter of Āślesā, either on the 12th day from birth, or if that be not possible, on the next Āślesā or on any auspicious day. On that day he (the father or other performer) should make a sankalpa¹²⁴⁷ as noted below

1246 a अथाश्लेषाफलम् । सूर्यास्त्यनेत्रगलकांसयुगं च बाह्वृज्जातुल्यपवमित्यहिदेह-
भागः । बाणादिनेत्रहस्तयुक्-श्रुतिनागरुद्र-पद्मन्द-पञ्च शिरसः क्रमशस्तु नाह्वयः । राज्यं
पितृकथो मातृनाशः कामक्रिया रतिः । पितृमक्तो बली स्वप्नस्वामी भोगी धनी क्रमात् । नि. सि.
p. 244; शान्तिरत्नाकर folio 88 b. The presiding deity of Āślesā is serpent. The first half of the first verse mentions the head, month and other parts of a serpent's body (in all ten). Separate as गलक plus अंसयुगम्.

1247. अस्य शिशोराश्लेषाजननद्यचित्सर्वारिष्टपरिहारार्थं सग्रहमखा शान्तिं करिष्ये, इति
सङ्कल्पयेत्. The गोशुखमसवशान्ति is described in the मदनरत्न (on शान्तिक-पौष्टिक,
folios 35 b and 36 a) and in शान्तिनयूर pp. 59-60 On a new śūrpa
(winnowing basket) a red piece of cloth is spread, the new born child is
placed thereon, and is covered with cotton thread from head to the soles
of the feet and is put on a heap of sesame, then the child is brought near a
cow's mouth. Then (pretending that) the infant is born from a cow's mouth,
the child is bathed with cow's milk with the hymn 'Viṣṇur-yonim kalpa-
yāt' (Rg X.184 1, अथर्व. V 25. 5 and बृह. उप VI 4.21). The infant should
receive the touch of the cow's limbs at the hands of the priest with the
mantra of Viṣṇu (Rg. X. 184 1). The officiating priest should take the
child that is (now imagined as) born from (the mouth of) the cow and

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after performing the Gomukhaprasava-sānti. He should worship Rudra and Varuna on two jars, should invoke the serpents, the lords of Āślesā, on an image placed on a jar established on the figure of a lotus with twentyfour petals and invoke Brhaspati, the lord of Pusya nakṣatra, to the south of the jar (for serpents) and the *pitrs* (the lords of Maghā) to the north of Āślesā jar and invoke on the twentyfour petals, beginning from the petal which is due east and proceeding to the right therefrom, twentyfour deities beginning with Bhaga, the lord of Pūrvā Phalguni up to Aditi, lord of Punarvasu, then he should invoke the *lokapālas* (eight); then worship all the deities invoked, establish fire (for *homa*) and the planets and perform *amvādhāna* (putting fuel on the sacred Agni). After the *amvādhāna* of the Sun and other planets he should offer to the principal deities, viz the serpents, 108 or 28 of each of the materials viz. pāyasa mixed with ghee, fuel sticks, clarified butter and boiled rice, to Brhaspati and *pitrs* 28 or 8 offerings of the same materials and to the 24 deities (of nakṣatras) viz Bhaga and the rest eight *āhuts* of pāyasa to each with the verse 'raksohanam' (Rg. X. 87 1) The other deities are to be worshipped as in *sānti* for birth on Mūla nakṣatra and the offerings and mantras are to be the same as in that *sānti*. A *sānti* for the birth of a child on the 14th tithi of the dark half is still in vogue and the author knows about it personally; it is described at length in the Madanaratna (folio 24 from Gārgya) and in *Sānti-kamalākara*. The *sānti* on the birth of a child on Mūla nakṣatra is described in Madanaratna from Garga (folio 27b to 28b,) one peculiarity of which is that the father had to collect one hundred roots of trees and plants (*mūla* means 'root'). Vide also *Sānti-kamalākara* (folio 77a).

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hand it over to the mother who should pass it on to the father who should then return it to the mother. The child should be placed on a piece of cloth and the father should look at the face of the infant. Then the priest should sprinkle the infant with drops from the mixture of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee with the mantras beginning with 'Āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X. 9 1). The father then smells thrice parts of the child's head with the mantra 'thon art born from each limbs of the father &c.' (अङ्गाद्वात्सम्भवसि हृदयादधिजायते । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामास्ति स जीव इतरद् इत्यम्) and places it with the mother. This mantra is quoted in *Nirṅkta* III 4 and in the Br. Up. VI 4 8. It would be noticed that there is a symbolic simulation of the child (that was born on an unlucky nakṣatra &c.) as having been born from the mouth of a cow (a very sacred animal from Vedic times). Vide धर्मसिन्धु pp. 171-172 for details of गोमुखप्रसवज्ञान्ति. The mantra 'Visaṇṇa yoniṃ kalpayatu' is employed in the Garbhādhāna rite.

The birth of a girl after three successive births of boys or of a boy after three successive births of girls was supposed to indicate unfavourable consequences to the parents and the family and death of the eldest, loss of wealth and great sorrow. Therefore a śānti was recommended on the 11th or 12th day from the birth of a girl or boy (as the case may be) or on an auspicious day. He (the father) should choose ācāryas (chief officiating priest) and other priests, then perform a sacrifice to planets and offer worship to the golden images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra on a jar placed on a heap of grains. On a fifth jar he should worship Rudra and one brāhmaṇa should recite four hymns to Rudra eleven times and all śāntisūktas when homa is being performed. The ācārya should cast into the fire fuel-sticks, ghee, sesame and boiled rice 1008, 108 or 300 times to four deities viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahēśa and Indra respectively with the mantras 'Brahma jajñānam' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2, Vāj. S. 13. 3), 'idam Viṣṇur' (Rg. I 22. 17), 'Tryamabakam yajāmahe' (Rg. VII. 59. 12), 'Yata Indra bhayāmahe' (Rg. VIII. 61. 13). Then he should perform 'Svistakṛt' homa,¹²⁴⁸ then offer bali and *pūrnāhuti*. The family members should be sprinkled with the sacred water. The performer should honour the ācārya and donate some gold and a cow to him and give *dakṣiṇā* to the other priests, should look into a vessel full of ghee and should make the brāhmaṇas recite śānti verses. The images with the additions or decorations thereof should be donated to the guru, brāhmaṇas, poor and helpless people should be fed according to his ability. By doing this śānti all misfortunes are destroyed. (Nīrnayasindhu p. 248 and Śāntiratnākara, folio 109).

The Kauśikasūtra (kandikās 110 and 111), Brhatsamhitā¹²⁴⁹ (chap. 45. 51-54) and the Adbhutasāgara pp. 559-569 deal at length with the portents of births to women, cows, mares, she asses &c. A few passages only are set out here. Varāhamihira¹²⁴⁹ says 'when women give birth to monstrosities, or to two, three, four or more children at the same time or they are delivered much before or after the proper time, then results

1248. For 'Svistakṛt,' vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 208, 1257 (2nd note) Vide Nīrnayasindhu p 248 and Dharmasindhu p. 186 for this śānti called 'Ārikaprasavaśānti' i e śānti on the successive births of a group of three (sons only or daughters only) The शान्तिमयूख (p. 20) prescribes that the 'pūrnāhuti' is to be cast into fire with the mantra 'Mūrdhānam divo' Rg. VI. 7. 1, Vāj. S. VII. 24, Tai. S. I 4. 13.

1249 प्रसवविकारे स्त्रीणां द्वित्रिचतुःप्रसूतिर्नमस्तौ वा । हीनातिरिक्तकाले च देशकुल-संक्षयो भवति ॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 52.

destruction of the country or family'. The Matsyapurāṇa 235. 1-3 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 140. 1-3 have identical verses similar to the above. The Bhīṣmaparva¹²⁵⁰ (chap 3 2-7) refers to portentous births such as the following; 'pregnant women and women who had never before given birth to sons produce monstrosities; so also even wives of men who are Vedic scholars are giving birth to eagles and peacocks, mares give birth to calves, dogs to jackals; some women have given birth to four or five girls (at the same time) &c'. The Br. S. proceeds¹²⁵¹ 'If mares, camels, she-buffaloes and cow-elephants give birth to twins, that portends death to them. The effect of such births will come to pass about six months later; Garga has declared two slokas as to the sānti in such cases. The women that give birth (to twins or monstrosities) should be removed to another place (or country) by one that desires his own happiness, he should gratify brāhmaṇas by gifts of things desired by them and should cause a sānti (propitiatory rite) to be performed; as to quadrupeds, they should be removed from their flocks or herds and be abandoned in other countries; otherwise there would be ruin of the town, the owner and the flock or herd.'

Various modes were employed to divine the future, viz. (1) the position of planets and stars, (2) individual horoscopes, (3) flight and cries of birds like khañjana and crow, (4) natural phenomena (eclipses, meteors &c), (5) dreams, (6) voices suddenly heard, (7) the physical and mental conditions of men, animals &c. The first four have already been briefly dealt with. Now dreams will be taken up for discussion.

It has already been seen (p 728, notes 1157 and 1158) how in the Vedic literature dreams had been associated with good luck or ill-luck. The two epics, the Svapnādhyāya (of Ātharvana-pariśiṣṭa LXVIII pp 438-449), the Bṛhad-yoga-yātrā of Vārāha (chap 16. 1-31), Purāṇas such as Vāyu (chap 19. 13-18), Matsya (chap. 242), Viṣṇudharmottara (II 176), Bhāviṣya I. 194, Brahma-vairavarta-purāṇa (Ganeśa-khaṇḍa 34. 10-40), describe good or bad dreams; Agni (229, many verses of which are the same

1250. गर्भिण्योजतपुत्राश्च जनयन्ति विनीषणात् । 'तथैवाप्याश्च दृश्यन्ते स्त्रियो वै ब्रह्मवादिनाम् । वैतरेयान्नपूराश्च जनयन्ति दुरे तव ॥ गोवर्तं वदवा द्युते स्वा शृगालं महीपते ॥
"स्त्रियः काश्चित्जनयन्ते चवन्नः पञ्च कल्पकाः ॥ भीष्म chap 3. 2, 5-7; अ सा pp 562-63 quote these

1251. वदवोऽन्नमहिपगोहस्तिनीषु यमलोद्भवे मरणमेवान् । दग्मासात् द्युतिर्गुलं शाल्नी श्लोकौ च गर्भौ ॥ नार्य परस्य विदये त्यक्तपान्ता हितार्थिना । तपेयश्च द्विजान्कान् । शान्तिं चैवात्र कारयेत् ॥ बहुपुत्रदा. स्वयमेवत्यक्तपान्ताः परद्विषु । नगरे त्वाग्निं दूयन्त्यया तु विनाशयेत् ॥ बृहत् ५३-५४, q. by अ सा p. 563.

as those of Matsya chap. 242), Bhujabala of Bhoja (pp. 298-304 verses 1347-1378), the Adbhutasāgara pp. 493-515 deal at length with the matters relating to dreams and śāntis therefor. Śāṅkarācārya in his commentary on Vedāntasūtra¹²⁵² remarks that those who have studied the Svapnādhyāya declare that to see oneself riding on an elephant or the like is auspicious and to see oneself sitting in a conveyance drawn by asses is inauspicious (or unlucky). It appears that rarely an ancient writer like Angiras¹²⁵³ said 'the movements of planets, dreams, nimittas (like throbbing), utpātas (portents) produce some consequences by chance; wise men are not afraid of them'. Numerous dreams are mentioned in the Rāmāyana on several occasions. Some examples may be given. In the Sundarakāṇḍa (chap. 27, 23 ff) Trijātā (a *rākṣasī*) details several dreams that she saw and that indicated the destruction of rākṣasas and that were favourable to Rāma. Among the evil omens that she saw in her dream about Ravana were; he had his head shaved, he drank oil with which he was drenched, he was dressed in red garments, was intoxicated, wore wreaths of Karavīra flowers, he fell on the earth from his puṣpaka balloon, he was carried in a chariot drawn by asses, he was wearing red flowers and was anointed with red unguents &c. (verses 19-27). Similar dreams occur as seen by Trijātā in the story of Rāma contained in the Vanaparva chap. 280. verses 64-66. In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (chap. 69. 8. ff) Bharata who was with his maternal uncle saw in a dream his father (Daśaratha) dirty and with dishevelled hair, falling from a mountain peak in a turbid lake full of cowdung, drinking that dirty water and oil; he also saw the ocean dried up and the moon fallen on the earth, he saw his father seated on a dark seat of iron and wearing black garments and beaten by women dark and tawny in colour, he saw him going to the south in a chariot drawn by asses &c. Bharata says that these dreams indicated the death of the king (Daśaratha) or of Rāma or Lakṣmana. In the Mānsalaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 3. 1-4) the Yādavas saw in dreams a black woman with whitish teeth running to Dvārakā with a laugh and kidnapping their women and terrible vultures were seen to be devouring the Vṛṣṇī and Andhakas in their own houses in which sacred fires had been established &c

1252. आचक्षते च स्वमाध्यायविदः। कुजरातोहणादीनि स्वमे धन्यानि खरयानादीन्यधन्यानीति। शङ्कराचार्येण वेदान्तसूत्रे III. 2 4.

1253. गीतश्रायमर्थोद्धिरता। ग्रहाणां चरितं स्वमे निमित्तौत्पातिकं तथा। फलानि काकतालीयं तेन्यः प्राज्ञा न विन्यति॥ वेणीसहस्र II 15,

It is impossible to point out the unlucky and lucky dreams as their number mentioned in *Adbhutasāgara* (pp 502-513), quoting the *Purāṇas*, *Parāśara*, the works of *Varāha* and others is extremely large. One passage from the *Matsyapurāṇa* (242 verses 2-14, quoted in *Adbhutasāgara* pp 502-503) is cited here by way of illustration; 'the springing of grass and plants from one's body (except from the navel); bronze vessels dashed against one's head and pulverized; shaving of the head; nakedness; wearing dirty garments; bath with oil; being smeared with mud; fall from a high spot (hill &c); sitting in a swing, collecting mud and iron, killing horses; ascending trees that have flowers and over circles and riding boars, bears, asses and camels; eating of (the flesh of) birds and fishes and oil and rice mixed with *mudga* or *māṣa*, dancing, laughing, marriage and singing; playing on musical instruments other than stringed ones; going for a dip in a river, bath with water mixed with cowdung or mud or with water fallen on bare earth; entering the womb of one's mother, ascending a funeral pyre; the fall of *Indra's* banner; the fall of the Sun and the Moon; seeing portents of the three kinds (heavenly, those in atmospheric regions and earthly); anger of gods, *brāhmanas*, kings and one's *gṛīva*, embracing maidens; sodomy, loss of one's limbs; vomiting and purging, going to the southern direction, being overwhelmed by a disease; fall of fruits and of flowers; fall of houses; sweeping of houses with a broom; playing with goblins, birds or animals that subsist on putrid flesh, monkeys, bears and men, humiliation by strangers (or enemies); arising of calamity brought on by another person (or enemy); wearing ochre-coloured garments; playing with women; plunging into oil or drinks; wearing red flowers and applying red unguents; these and others are inauspicious dreams.

In the *Brhadhyogayātra*¹²⁵⁴ *Varāha* prescribes that the king wearing silken garments, pearls and jewels and accompanied by

1254. यज्याग्रतो हूरसुदैति देवमावर्त्य नन्वात्र मरुतस्त्रितान् । लब्धेकमुद्रक्षिप्यामर्षशापी
स्वम् परीक्षेत यथोपदेशम् ॥ नमः शम्भो त्रिनेत्राय रुद्राय वरदाय च । वाननाय विल्लपाय स्वमावि-
पतये नमः । भगवन् देवदेवेश शूलचूडपुवाहन । इदानीं ते समाचरेत् स्वमे सुतस्य शाम्भतम् ॥
बृहद्योगयात्रा १. by अ सा p 494; the two verses नमः शम्भो occur in विष्णुधनोत्तर II
176. 9-10 and also the reference to 'yajjāgrato' (occurs in verse 11) That
first mantra is यज्याग्रतो हूरसुदैति देवं तदु सुतस्य तथैवेति । हूरकृन् ज्योतिषां ज्योतिरेक तन्मे
मनः शिवसङ्कल्पनम् ॥ (वाज. सं 34. 1) This hymn is called शिवसङ्कल्प (vide मनु
XI. 250).

astrologers and *purohita* should enter the temple of his favourite deity, should place the images of the *dikpālas* therein, worship them with mantras, place four jars full of water in the four directions, should thrice repeat the mantras beginning with 'Yajāgrato dūram' (Vāj. S. 34. 1), should eat only once that day, sleep on his right side and pray to Rudra (as noted in n 1254) and examine the dream, auspicious or inauspicious, seen towards the close of night.

The Matsya (242. 21-35) sets out¹²⁵⁵ lucky dreams as follows: ascending (or riding on) mountains, palaces, elephants, horses and bulls; going among trees having white flowers; the shooting of trees and grass from the navel and seeing (the sleeper) endowed with many hands or heads; wearing garlands of very white flowers and very white garments; eclipse of the Sun, Moon and nakṣatras; sprinkling water (on one's body) all over; embracing or raising the banner of Indra, seizure of the earth and seas; slaughter of enemies; victory in disputes, in gambling and in battle; eating of wet (fresh) meat, of fish and of pāyasa (rice boiled in milk and sugar); seeing blood or being bathed with it; drinking liquor, blood, intoxicants and milk; being surrounded on the earth with intestines; sight of bright sky; sucking the udders (the milk) of cows and she-buffaloes and of lionesses, cow-elephants and mares; receiving favours from (images of) gods, *gurus* and brāhmanas, bath with water flowing from the horns of cows or falling from the Moon (this prognosticates the acquisition of a kingdom); being crowned as a king; the cutting of one's head, one's death; being burnt by fire; one's house and the like being burnt down by fire; securing the insignia of royalty; playing on the lute, swimming beyond waters, crossing difficult places; the delivery in one's own house of cows, mares and cow-elephants; being mounted on horses; weeping; obtaining of handsome women or embracing them; being bound with fetters; being smeared with excreta; seeing living kings and friends; seeing images of gods and pure (or pellucid) waters. On seeing such auspicious dreams a man easily secures permanent wealth and he who is suffering from a disease becomes free from it

In the Jain Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu (S. B. E vol. XXII. p 129) fourteen very auspicious dreams seen by the brāhmaṇi Devānandā are enumerated, viz. an elephant, a bull, a lion,

1255. This long passage from Matsya about auspicious dreams is quoted as from Viṣṇupurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara by ॐ सा. pp 499-500.

anointing of the goddess Śrī, a garland, the Moon, the Sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, celestial abode, a heap of jewels, a flame and on pp. 231-238 elaborate details of these dreams are given.

Matsya (chap 243. 2-12) sets out the sights that are unlucky when they come before a king who is going on an invasion (such as improper drugs, corn with dark exterior, cotton, grass, dry cowdung and many others) and prescribes that on seeing these for the first time he should worship Keśava with a laud and that if he sees it a second time he should enter his palace Yogayātrā (chap. 13. 4 ff) provides what the king starting on an expedition should hear viz such recitations as that of the Veda, Vedāngas, Dharmaśāstras, Arthaśāstra, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Purāna passages Matsya (chap 243. 15-25) prescribes the sights that are auspicious (such as white flowers, jars full of water, aquatic birds, meat and fish, flaming fire, courtezans, Dūrvā grass, fresh cowdung, gold, silver, copper and all jewels besides several others and winds up with a fine sentiment,¹²⁵⁶ viz the ease (or satisfaction) of one's mind is the highest sign of success; on one side are all prognostications and on the other is the mind's ease. The Brhad-yogayātrā of Varaha has a similar verse Vide H. of Dh. vol, II pp. 511, 876 and notes 1192 and 2048 therein for two sets of auspicious sights. The Jyotistattva (pp. 729-730) quotes several verses on the objects that are auspicious or inauspicious when seen by a person starting on a journey or expedition and remarks that the same objects when seen in a dream are of the same (auspicious or inauspicious) quality. The Vasantarāja-śākuna (V. 2-6) sets out fifty objects that are auspicious when starting on a journey or entering a home such as curds, sandal wood, ghee, dūrvā, a jar full of water &c. and (V. 10-11) specifies the thirty objects that are inauspicious.

The Matsya provides¹²⁵⁷. "dreams seen in the first watch of the night bear fruit in a year, those seen in the 2nd watch after

1256 मनसस्तुष्टिरेवात्र परमं जयलक्षणम् । एकतः सर्वलिङ्गानि मनसस्तुष्टिरेकतः ॥
मत्स्य 243 27, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 163 32, मष्टव्यो देवविदा विश्वन्धसुपद्धरे नराधिपति ।
रिपुनिधनमणिधान प्रति भवतां किं मनं कुरुते । द्यूतास्त च्चेन्मम मनः मोक्षहते हर्षयेततश्चैनम् ।
चित्ताहकूलता सिद्धिलक्षणं तत्र श्लोका ॥ शुभाशुभानि सर्वाणि निमित्तानि स्थिरेकतः । एकतस्तु
मनं शुद्धिस्तद्विशुद्धं जयावहम् ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा chap 14 1-3 (ms. rather corrupt).
एकतश्च सकलानि निमित्तान्येकतश्च मनसः परिशुद्धिः । चेतसोऽपि सहयानरणे (v. 1 सह-
सास्ति रणे) भीमांश्चोपि विजयाजयहेतुः । बृहद्योगयात्रा XIX. 1

1257 एषां सङ्कथनं घन्यं भूपः प्रस्थापनं तथा । कल्कस्तान् तिलैर्होमो जाह्नवाणां च
पूजनम् । स्तुतिश्च वासुदेवस्य तथा तस्यैव पूजनम् । नागेन्द्रमोक्षभरणं ज्ञेयं तु स्वमनाशनम् ॥

six months, those seen in the third watch after three months and those seen in the last watch in a month. If on the same night one sees both auspicious and inauspicious dreams, one (the astrologer) should declare that the last dream (alone) will yield consequences. Therefore, when a person sees an auspicious dream he should not go to sleep thereafter. Declaring a bad dream to another is commended as also sleeping after seeing it; bath with water mixed with the viscous sediment of oily substances, *homa* of sesame, honouring brāhmanas, hymn of praise to Vāsudeva and worship of him and listening to the story of the liberation of Gajendra—these remove the evil effects of bad dreams." In connection with the vrata called 'Siddharthakādi-saptamī' performed for gaining the favour of the Sun the Bhavisya (Brāhma-parva, 194. 1-25) sets out the dreams which are auspicious or favourable to the person performing the vrata. Those verses are similar to those in the Matsya and are quoted by Kṛtyakalpataṛu (on vrata pp. 176-179). One verse says 'on seeing a favourable dream one should not sleep again, but declare in the morning the dream as seen to Bhojakas and brāhmanas (or to Bhojaka brāhmanas).' The Brhadyoga-yātrā contains similar verses as quoted by Adbhutasāgara p. 501.

The Jyotistattva quotes ¹²⁵⁸ a verse 'I shall declare what matters seen in dreams tend to bring knowledge (of impending consequences) to men who do not understand the true nature

(Continued from last page)

स्वमास्तु प्रथमे यामे संबत्सरविपाकिनः । पञ्चमिमसिर्हृत्तीये तु त्रिमिमसिस्तृतीयके । चतुर्थे मासमात्रेण पश्यन्ते नात्र संशयः । ...एकस्यां यदि वा रात्रौ शुभं वा यदि बाह्यभम् । पश्चाद् दृष्टुं यस्तत्र तस्य पाकं विनिर्दिशेत् । तस्माच्छ्रेयमनके स्वप्ने पश्चात्स्वप्ने न शक्यते । मत्स्य 242. 15-20 ; all these are q by अ सा. on pp 501, 502 and 514 and the first four also from विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे by अ. सा. p. 514. For नामेन्द्रमोक्ष (i e. more familiarly नमेन्द्रमोक्ष), vide वामनपुराण 85, विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे I 194, पद्म VI. 112. 18-20 The अथर्वपरिशिष्ट LXVIII (2, 56 at p. 445) says: 'शुभं वाप्यशुभं वापि यत्पश्चात्तत्कलं लभेत् । स्वमास्तु प्रथमे यामे संबत्सरविपाकिनः ॥ द्वितीयेऽष्टमासौ तु तृतीये तु तदर्थमाह । मासिके गोवितर्से तु सद्यः पाकः प्रभातिके ॥'. दृष्ट्वा तु शोभनं स्वप्नं न शूयः शयनं ब्रजेत् । पातश्च कीर्तयेत्स्वप्नं यथा दृष्टं स्वगाधिप । प्राज्ञो भोजकविभक्त्यं सुहृदां देवतासु च । भविष्य q. in कृत्यकल्प० on व्रत pp 178-179 For सप्त and भोजकस्य vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 722 note 1727. In वेणीसंहार II (between verses 2 and 3) the वेदी says 'अकुशलदर्शना अपि स्वमा महांसया कुशलपरिणामा भवन्तीति श्रूयते ।'

1258. अविज्ञातरूपपाणां नराणां ज्ञानहेतवे । स्वप्ने दृष्टानि वदयानि पुण्यपापीन्द्रवानि च ॥ एवं चैषां सूचकत्वं न कारकत्वम् । ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 730 ; सूचकश्च हि स्वप्नेराचक्षते च तद्दिद । वेदान्तसूत्र III 2. 4, on which the शाङ्करभाष्य is "सूचकश्च हि स्वप्नो भवति भविष्यतोः साध्वसाधुनो । तथाहि श्रूयते 'यदा कर्मसु' निदर्शने ॥" This last verse is छा. उप V 2. 9.

(significance) of objects seen in dreams that arise from their meritorious or sinful actions (in previous lives)' and remarks that from this verse it follows that dreams are purely indicative and do not *produce* consequences (by themselves). The higher thought in India held that dreams were only indicative or suggestive of future auspicious or inauspicious events, as affirmed by the Vedāntasūtra (III, 2 4) and by Śaṅkarācārya's commentary thereon. On the other hand Bhujabala provides¹²⁵⁹ 'to sleep again (after a dream), not to declare it to another, bath in the Ganges, *japa* (of holy texts), *śānti*, *śrāśṭyayana* (asking brāhmanas to say 'it would be auspicious'), to resort in the morning to cows and an Aśvattha tree, honouring brāhmanas with food mixed with sesame, with gold and flowers according to one's means, merit-giving recital of the Mahābhārata—these tend to destroy (the effects of) bad dreams' Bhujabala further says that all white objects except cotton, ashes, bones, buttermilk are auspicious (in dreams) and all dark objects except cows, images of gods, elephants, horses and brāhmanas are inauspicious.

The Ātharvana-pariśista¹²⁶⁰ LXVIII (pp. 438-449) states that persons have different dreams according as their constitutions (*prakṛti*) are choleric or windy or phlegmatic (*pitṭa*, *vāta* and *kapha*) and long lists of dreams and their interpretations are given and it prescribes the same remedies against bad dreams as Varāha does.

1259 भूयः प्रस्वपन् न चास्य (तथास्य ?) कथं न गङ्गाभिषेको जपः शान्तिः स्वस्त्ययन निषेवणमपि प्रातर्गवाश्वत्थयो । विमेष्यश्च तिलाक्षहेमकुसुमै पूजा यथाशक्ति' गुण्यं भारतकीर्तनं च कथितं तु स्वमविच्छिन्नये ॥ सर्वाणि कृष्णानि सुशोभनानि कार्पासमस्मादिह च तक्रवर्जम् । सर्वाणि कृष्णानि न शोभनानि गोदेवहस्तिहजिवाजिवर्जम् ॥ भुजबल p. 304 (first verse) and p 310 (2nd verse) अ सा p 514 quotes the verse भूयः प्रस्वपन् न च नराह On अथ स्वस्त्ययनं वाचयीत (आश्व य I 8 15), नारायण explains 'ओं स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रह्मन्त्विति ते च ओं स्वस्तीति प्रहृष्टुः ॥'

1260 विमेष्यः शक्तितो दानं शान्ति स्वस्त्ययनाद्यम् । विनाशयन्ति तु स्वम प्रातश्वाश्वत्थ-सेवनम् ॥ अश्वत्थसेवा विलापात्रदानं गोस्पर्शनं ब्राह्मणतर्पणं च । शान्तिक्रिया स्वस्त्ययनक्रिया च तु स्वममेतानि विनाशयन्ति ॥ आथर्वणपरिशिष्टे LXVIII (स्वमाध्यायः) 2 60 (p. 445), 'अथ तु स्वमदर्शने कृत्यम् । यो मे राजजिह्वा च सूर्योपस्थाने तु स्वमनाशः । अथ स्वमस्येति जपाद्वा कवि-दर्शवच्छात्रेन तु स्वमनाशः, चण्डीसप्तशतीपाठेन वा । यद्वा श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रजपः कार्यः । अथवा श्रीमारुतस्थस्य श्रीमद्भगवत्स्थस्य वा राजेन्द्रमोक्षस्य श्रवणं पाठो वा । धर्मसिन्धु p. 361. अ II, 28.10 is यो मे राजजिह्वा च सखा वा स्वमे भयं भीरवे मद्यमाह । स्तेनो वा यो दिप्तति यो युको वा त्वं तस्माद्हरणं पाह्यस्मान् ॥ This is obviously addressed to वरुण and it is strange that it is recommended for the worship of सूर्य by the धर्मसिन्धु For Saptasatī, vide above p 155 n 396. For the thousand names of Viṣṇu, vide Anuśāsanaparva 149, 14-120 and for राजेन्द्रमोक्ष भागवत VIII. 2

The *Dharmasindhu* (pp. 359-360) collects in one place numerous dreams that are lucky or auspicious and that are unlucky or inauspicious and then prescribes (p. 361) the remedies to avert the consequences of unlucky dreams viz worship of the Sun with the mantra (Rg II 23.10, Tai S. IV. 14-123) 'O king Varuna! protect us from the danger which my helper or friend declares to me (from what I saw) in a dream or from the thief or wolf who desires or is about to injure us'; or one may recite inaudibly the verse 'Adha svapnasya' (Rg. I. 120.12) or perform a śrāddha like the one on Amāvāsyā, or should recite the *Saptaśati* in honour of Candi or the thousand names of Visnu or recite or listen to the recitation of the liberation of Gajendra in the *Bhārata* or *Bhāgavata*.

All ancient countries and peoples believed in dreams and satisfied their curiosity to know the future by interpreting them. The Chaldean astrologers and dream-interpreters were in high favour at Babylonian and Assyrian courts. The Book of Daniel (chap 2) tells us how Nebuchadnezzar, a great king of Babylon, asked the Chaldeans not only to interpret dreams but commanded them on threat of death to make known to him the dream which he had forgotten and then to interpret it. Plato, the greatest of the Greek philosophers, regards dreams as important physical and psychic symptoms while certain dreams are conceded as of supernatural origin and explains in his *Timaeus* (chap. 46 and 47) that dreams are prophetic visions received by the lower appetitive soul (through the liver). In *JRAS* (old series) vol. 16 pp. 118-171 N. Bland contributes a long and interesting article on 'the Mahomedan science of *Tābir* or interpretation of dreams'. There are striking parallels between the rules to be observed by the dreamer and by the interpreter and the principles of interpretation (of dreams) by contraries and by dependence upon the religion, country and bodily conditions (such as total fast or full stomach) of the dreamer. On p. 141 of *JRAS* there is an interesting account of a dream of Nushirwan, a Sassanian king (531-579 A. D.), who saw a dream that he drank from a golden goblet and that a black hog put its head in the goblet and drank from it. Then we are told 'Buzurmīhr, his minister, whom he consulted, told him it signified that his favourite princess had a black slave who was her lover and suggested that the women of his harem should be ordered to dance undressed in the presence of the king. One of them showing some hesitation in complying and being protected by the others was discovered to be a Hindu male slave and the

Vazir's interpretation was verified.' The name of the Vazir remarkably agrees in sound with the name Varāhamihira and it is not very fantastic to suppose that Varāhamihira, probably the most famous astrologer and astronomer of early times in India, had been patronized by Nushirvan and held a high position in his court. Chronology is quite in favour of this identification since Varāhamihira takes śaka 427 (505 A D.) as the starting point for finding out the *ahaṃ gana*.

In modern ¹²⁶¹ times many educated people think dreams as of no consequence whatever, while there are others who regard dreams as almost infallible indicators of coming events; there is also a third class of people who are willing to listen to the arguments advanced on behalf of the interpreters of dreams and also of those who regard thoughts on the use and value of dreams as frivolous. To those who want to hear arguments on both sides and to form a judgment of their own about dreams, I would recommend the 'Fabric of Dreams' by Catherine Taylor Craig (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1918); Freud's 'Interpretation of dreams' is the most important of his works, in which he develops his psycho-analytic technique. Then there is the work 'Second sight in daily life' by W. H. W. Sabine who has a theory of his own. His work deals with precognition (or foreknowledge) which according to him is a subdivision of Extra-sensory perception. He propounds the theory that the mind comprises of not only normal memory appearing to derive from physical perception but also 'anticipatory memory' deriving from the Basic Experience which from time to time passes to some degree into conscious awareness. Time is one and does not exist except as a verbal convenience and that what we call 'future' has already happened but it is not indicated in what form it has happened. Considerations of space and relevance preclude further discussion of this subject here.

Certain other interesting śāntis will now be described. When a great-grandson (prapautra i.e. a son's son's son) ¹²⁶²

1261. Dr R G Harshe contributes to the 'Shri K M Munshi Jubilee volume' (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1948) an interesting paper (pp 241-268) on 'two illustrated manuscripts on dreams', the contents of which do not attempt any elaborate theory about dreams but record empirical observations on dreams for the guidance of people in general.

1262. For the importance of the great-grandson, vide the verse उन्नेण लोकाञ्च जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते। अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण ब्रह्मसास्यामोति विष्टपम् ॥ मनु IX, 137 = वसिष्ठ 17.5 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15.46

is born to a person a *śānti* has to be performed when he sees the face of the great-grandson. The *sankalpa* ¹²⁶³ is given below. He should perform the rites beginning with the worship of *Ganēśa* and ending with *Mātrpūjā*, then establish a jar full of water and worship (the image of) *Varuna* therein, perform the rite of *nīrājana* ¹²⁶⁴ to the accompaniment of the sound of drums, sit on a seat of *udumbara* tree covered with a blanket and should request *brāhmanas* to sprinkle sacred water on his person. The *brāhmanas* should sprinkle water on him to the accompaniment of a hymn to *Varuna* and a hymn to the *Ganges*. At the end of the *abhiśeka* the performer should give up old garments and wear new ones and should worship the *Ganges*. Melted ghee should be put in a vessel of bronze and the performer should see the reflection of his face therein and then should see the face of his great-grandson in the light of a lamp placed in a golden vessel. Then he should sprinkle drops of water on the great-grandson with one hundred flowers of gold. Then he should sprinkle the great-grandson with water from the jar used for *abhiśeka*. For completing the ceremony of seeing the face of the grandson, he should donate a cow and feed *brāhmanas* according to his means. Then he should worship an image of *Viṣṇu*, offer *pāyasa* to it and address the following prayer ¹²⁶⁵ 'O *Viṣṇu* ! by your favour I have seen the face of my great-grandson. Therefore, O Lord ! in all ways and always do what I desire'. Then the image should be donated with the mantra 'by the donation of the image (of *Viṣṇu*) may all evil influences of planets be always conjured away in the case of the child, O enemy of *Kamsa* and the Lord of the worlds,' and he should donate to the *brāhmanas* the ghee in which he saw his face.

One of the *śāntis* that is frequently performed even in these days is '*Udakaśānti*'. It is performed for averting the consequences of many happenings and for securing certain benefits

1263. मम ब्रह्मलोकावासिसर्वीर्ययात्रासकलदानजन्यपुण्यजातावासिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वर-
शील्यर्थं प्रपौत्रसुखदर्शनं करिष्ये । तदङ्गं गणेशपूजनं स्वस्तिपुण्याहवाचनं मातृकापूजनं नान्दी-
आर्द्रं च करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य ।

1264. For *Nīrājana* 'waving of lights before men, horses', vide H. of Dh vol. III pp 230-231. The Br. S 43 2 regards *nīrajan* as a *Śānti* 'द्वादशयामदृष्ट्या कार्तिकशुक्लस्य पञ्चदश्यां वा । आश्वयुजे वा कृत्तिकाश्रीराजनसंज्ञितां शान्तिम् ॥'

1265 The *prārthanam* is: 'भो विष्णो त्वत्प्रसादेन सुखनालोकिं मया । तस्मात्सुखं
ममाभीष्टं सर्वदा सर्वथा भवो ॥'; the *दानमन्त्र* is: प्रतिमायाः प्रदानेन बालकस्य सदा ग्रहाः ।
कर्म यान्तु देवेश कस्तारे जगता पते ॥

such as good health, the removal of the diseases due to the three constituent elements of the human body, viz. bile, phlegm and *vāta* (wind), that may have already arisen or are likely to arise, or for mitigating all the trouble that is caused by planets occupying unfavourable positions from the *lagna* in a person's horoscope or from the *śāśi* of his birth, for removing the impurity on birth or death in one's house or family, for securing a happy life. Therefore, the *sankalpa* may assume various forms that are noted below ¹²⁶⁶. In modern times this is a very elaborate rite in which a very large number of Vedic verses are repeated and which takes up about three hours for its performance. Therefore, even a brief resume of the modern procedure is not attempted here. But one of the oldest available descriptions of this rite contained in the Baudhāyana-grhya-śesasūtra (I. 14) is set out here in order to convey an idea of this *śānti*. As the Baudhāyana-sūtras are closely connected with the Taittiriya-samhitā and Brāhmaṇa the references to mantras and texts are cited as far as possible from that Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa. Many of the mantras occur also in the R̥gveda and other samhitās. Here are the texts; waters indeed are faith, (when a priest takes water) he begins (the rite with) faith itself, waters are indeed the sacrifice, he begins sacrifice itself; water is indeed thunderbolt, he strikes the thunderbolt against enemies; waters are destroyers of malignant spirits (and it is taken) for destroying evil spirits, waters are the favourite abode (or seat) of the gods, waters are indeed nectar, therefore people sprinkle with water him who faints; waters are indeed all gods; he begins with gods. Waters indeed are well disposed, he (priest) removes with the kindly (waters) the pain of this person (the sacrificer); this is (what) the Brāhmaṇa (text) says.

Therefore (the priest) prepares propitiatory ¹²⁶⁷ water with two *kusas* dipped therein. One should commence a *śānti* on the nakṣatra of (a person's birth) or on an auspicious nakṣatra or when auspicious rites are to be performed, viz. marriage, a (child's) tonsure, *upanayana*, Vedic student's return home, hairparting (of a pregnant woman), establishment of the Vedic fires and other

1266 नम इतिरे उत्पत्तोत्पत्त्यमानकफगात्रपित्तोज्ञतसमस्तामयाना जीवच्छरीरानिरोधेन नमूना विदुस्त्रिपूर्वकस्मिन्नोपायमप्यर्थं नम जन्मद्वज्जन्मराशिभ्या सकाशादनिदृश्यान्निधत् रक्षादिप्रदानित-अभिष्यमाण-सकलपीडापरिहारार्थं नम शूरे अहृषित्यादिदोषपरिहारार्थं वा क्षमायु मिद्धयर्थं वा उदन्नान्ति करिष्ये।

1267. The words 'ajro vā āpah' (water is indeed thunderbolt) occur frequently in the Sat. Br. I 1 17, I. 2. 5. 20, I 7, 1. 20 &c.

rites, or when a planet is eclipsed, or when a planet indicates a portent, or when danger comes (to a person) from bipeds or quadruped animals.¹²⁶⁸ He should make an even number of brāhmanas wash well their hands and feet and make them sip water, seat them on seats in each of the directions, should smear with cow-dung a four-cornered altar of the extent of a bull's hide, should himself sit on *darbhas* with face towards the east, should hold *darbhas* and *dūrvā* grass, have two *kuśas* in his hand, should sprinkle with water the altar made by him, should draw lines thereon and sprinkle water over them and should spread over it *dūrvā* grass and *darbhas* and sprinkle it with water scented with sandalwood paste and cover it with flowers, should wrap with (cotton) threads the sacred vessel^{1268a} of *palāśa* leaves and place it on them (*darbhas* and *dūrvā*) with the mantra 'brahma jajñānam' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2). Then he pours water across the two blades of *darbha* grass and mutters 'tat-savitur-varenyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10) and throws in (the water) whole grains of rice and yavas with the formula 'bhūr-bhuvaḥ-suvarom' (Tai. Ā. X. 2.1). Then he spreads around flowers, *dūrvā* grass and fruits, covers it (jar) with *dūrvās* and *darbhas* and touches with the verse 'śan-no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). When the brāhmanas have placed themselves besides the officiating priest, he mutters the verse 'tat-savitur-varenyam' (Rg. X. 62. 10) separately by each foot and by half verse in one breath and mutters the first words of (all) the Vedas. Then he recites the following¹²⁶⁹ viz. the *anuvāka* beginning with 'krnuṣva pājah' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14) but omitting the half verse 'made cid-asya' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 7), the *anuvāka* beginning with 'indram vo' (Tai. S. I. 6. 12), with the two verses 'yata indra' (Rg. VIII. 61. 13, Tai. Ā. X. 1. 9), and 'svastidā' (Rg. X. 152. 2, Tai. Ā. X. 1. 9), with the two verses 'Mahān Indro' (Tai. S. I. 4. 41) and 'sajosā Indra' (Tai. S. I. 4. 42), with 'Ye devāḥ purassado' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 1) repeated

1268. Compare कौशिकसूत्र IX. 8 'अहतवासाः कंसे शान्दुदकं करोति ।'.

1268 a. Vide पैटीनसि quoted by स्मृतिच. I. p. 222 'ब्रह्मपात्रे तु यो भुंक्ते मास-मेक निरन्तरम् । विश्वान्द्राच्यणैस्तुल्यं महापातकनाशनम् ॥ सौवर्णे राजते पात्रे ताम्रे पद्मपलाशयोः ॥ भोजने भोजने चैव विराज्यफलमश्नुते ॥ ब्रह्मपात्रं पलाशपात्रम् । पुराणेषु । पालाशेषु च पत्रेषु मध्यमेषु च भारत । यः करोत्यशनं तस्य माजापत्यं दिने दिने ॥ Compare लघुज्ञातातप verse 162.

1269. It may be noticed that most of the verses to be recited speak of destroying evil spirits (*rakṣas*) or enemies, pray for welfare and happiness (*svasti* and *śarma*), for freedom from danger, for protection, for long life &c.

five times, with the five formulas 'Agnaye raksoghne' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 2), with the five formulas 'Agnir-āyusmān' (Tai. S. II. 3. 10. 3), with four clauses 'yā vām-indrāvarunā' (Tai. S. II. 3. 13. 1), with the eight clauses 'Yo vām-Indrāvarunau' (Tai. S. II. 3. 13. 3), with the four verses 'Agne yaśasvin' (Tai. S. V. 7. 4. 3), the Rāstrabhrt anuvāka beginning with 'rtāsād-rtadhāmā' (Tai. S. III. 4. 7. 1), with the three mantras 'namo astu sarpebhyah'¹²⁷⁰ (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 3), with 'ayam puro harikēśah' (Tai. S. IV. 4. 3. 1) repeated five times, with the Apratiratha¹²⁷¹ anuvāka beginning with 'āsuh śīśānah' (Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 1), the anuvāka beginning with 'śam came mayāśca me' (Tai. S. IV. 7. 3. 1), the anuvāka called 'vihavya' beginning with 'mamāgne varco vihavesvastu' (Tai. S. IV. 7. 14. 1), the Mrgāra anuvāka¹²⁷² beginning with 'Agner-manve' (Tai. S. IV. 4. 15. 1-11), the offering mantras to serpents beginning with 'samici nāmāsi prāci dik' six times repeated, the offering prayers to Gandharvas in the six clauses beginning with 'hetayo nāma stha' (Tai. S. V. 5. 10. 3-4); the five 'ajyāni (bricks)' offerings with 'śatāyudhāya' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3), the anuvāka beginning with 'bhūtam bhavyam bhavisyat' (Tai. S. VII. 3. 12. 1), the Atharva-śiras,¹²⁷³ the anuvāka beginning with 'Indro Dadhico asthabhih' (Tai. Br. I. 5. 8. 1, Rg. I. 84. 13), the Pratyangirasa beginning with 'cakusaso hete' up to 'bhrātrvyam pādāyāmasi' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 2. 1-4), the anuvāka beginning with 'prāno raksati viśvam-ajat' (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1. 1), the anuvāka beginning with 'simhe vyāghra uta yā prākau' (Tai. Br. II. 7. 7. 1); the anuvāka beginning with 'aham-asmi' (Tai.

1270 It is difficult to construe the printed text here. It runs: 'नमो अस्तु सर्पेभ्यः' इति तिसृभिरनु च चन्द्रस पञ्चचोढा 'अयं पुरो हरिकेश' इति पञ्चभिः पर्याये. &c. 'पञ्चचोढा' means a brick with five protuberances. The तै. स. V. 3. 7. 2 has पञ्चचोढा उपधारयन्सरस एवेनमेता भूता अहुर्निर्लोक उप हेरे' which means 'He puts down the bricks with five crests (protuberances), indeed these becoming Apsarases lie down near him in the yonder world'. But there is no mantra here. Besides अनु च चन्द्रस is not clear. Is it अनुचन्द्रसम् with च inserted between अनु and चन्द्रसम् or is it a printer's mistake?

1271 Kātyāyana in his Śrāddhasūtra prescribes that among the holy texts to be recited when the brāhmanas are eating the śrāddha dinner are the Rāksoghni verses and the Apratiratha hymn. Rg. X. 103 has most of the verses called Apratiratha in Tai. S. IV. 6. 4.

1272 The printed text reads 'srgāram'. Vide Kauśikasūtra IX. 1 for Mrgāra-sūltān.

1273. The Atharvaśiras is an Upaniṣad beginning with 'Devā vai sa argam lokam-ājan'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV, pp. 45-46 note.

Br. II. 8. 8. 1), the anuvāka 'tā sūryācandramasā' (Tai. Br. II. 8. 9. 1), the three anuvākas beginning with 'agnir nah pātu' (Vaj. S. 4. 15), the anuvāka 'rdhyāsma' (Tai. Br. III. 1.2.1), the anuvāka 'navo navo' (Tai. S. II. 3. 5. 3), with (the mantras of) supplementary sacrifices, with a verse containing the word 'surabhi' (Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 4 or VII. 4. 19. 4), with verses addressed to waters (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 = Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 4 ff), with verses addressed to Varuna, with the verses beginning with 'Hiranya-varnāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1), verses addressed to (Soma) Pavamāna (from Rg. IX. 1. 1 'svādīsthayā' to end of Rg. IX), with the Vyāhrtis (seven mystic words, bhūh, bhuvaḥ, svah, mahah, janaḥ, tapah, satyam), the anuvāka beginning with 'tao-chamyor' (Tai. B. III. 5. 11). He repeats thrice the concluding passage 'namo brahmane'.^{1273a}

The (officiating priest) makes the performer rise from his seat and sprinkles water on him to the accompaniment of the Vyāhrtis (bhūh &c.). (The performer) makes gifts (to the officiating priest). Then the officiating priest sprinkles sacred water on those that are possessed by an evil spirit or attacked by fever or troubled by ghosts, that are the friends, relatives, agents of the king's and of the royal priests, and the young and old members (of the performer's family), pregnant women, persons suffering from bad diseases, persons suffering from diseases for a long time, persons that are emaciated and are sick, also sprinkles sacred water on the elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and servants of the performer; in this way the rite is performed for one day, three or five or seven days. Thus doing he wards off death; so says the blessed Baudhāyana."

When a person's nakṣatra of birth is afflicted by an evil planet or aspect Parāśara provided a śānti as follows: ¹²⁷⁴ after putting in a jar full of water the dung and urine of a white bull and the milk of a white cow and kuśas the person should be

1273 a. The तै. आ. II 13. 4 has the very words 'नमो ब्रह्मण इति परिधानीया निरन्वाह' that occur in बौ. सु. शो. सू. The verse is 'नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोऽस्त्वग्रे नम. पृथिव्यै नम ओषधीभ्यः । नमो वाचे नमो वाचस्पतये नमो विष्णवे बृहते करोमि ॥' (तै. आ. II. 12). The verse occurs in आश्व. सु. (III 5. 4), which reads महते for बृहते

1274. अथ शान्तिमाह पराशरः । तत्र जन्मक्षोपतापे श्वेतवृषभस्य शकुन्मूत्रे तद्वर्णायाश्च गो. पयः कुशांश्चोदकुम्भे निधायाभियेचनं कुर्यात् । अ. सा p. 271. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर is quoted by मदनमोहन (on शान्तिक folio 20b) 'शकुन्मूत्रे तु संयुज्य श्वेतस्य वृषभस्य तु । श्वेतगोपयसा सार्धं स्नातव्यं कुशवारिणा । जन्मनक्षत्रपीडायां तस्माद् क्लेशाद्विशुध्यते ॥'

sprinkled with the mixture Similarly, the Matsya ¹²⁷⁵ prescribes for one in whose birth rāsi an eclipse takes place a sacred bath with water from four jars full of water in which earth from the stables of horses, elephants, from an ant-hill, from a confluence, a deep reservoir of water, from a cowpen and from entrance of a palace is cast, and also *pañcagaṇya*, five jewels, *rocānā*, lotuses, sandalwood, saffron, *usira*, *guggulu*; mantras also are to accompany the bath; Indra, Varuna, Kubera and other gods are invoked for removing the evil results of eclipses.

If a person suffers from fever the Madanaratna (folio 11) provides for *sāntis* for the tithis (from the first onwards) on which the fever started, derived from Baudhāyana in which the presiding deity of each tithi is to be offered worship (*pūjā*) and homa, for each of which the mantra (of which *japa* is to be made) is different, and the incense, flowers, *naivedya* also are different There are also *sāntis*, when a person suffers from fever, about the weekday on which the fever started and images of the presiding deity of the weekday made of different metals according to the name of the day are to be worshipped with different mantras (Madanaratna, folio 12a). For example, if fever started on a Sunday or on a Monday, then the images of Rudra (for Sunday) and Pārvatī (for Monday) were to be made of gold or silver and the mantras to be recited were respectively 'yā te Rudra' (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1. 1), 'gaurīr-mimāya' (Rg. I. 164. 41). The *gandha*, flowers, incense, lamp and *naivedya* were different in each case. If the fever starts on any one of the 27 *nakṣatras*, the Madanaratna (folios 12b-15b) prescribes *sāntis* for all the 27 *nakṣatras*, specifying the deity of each *nakṣatra*, the figure of the deity, its colour, mantra, the five *upacāras* from *gandha*, the kinds of fuel-sticks to be employed, the *dhūts*, the gifts &c. If the mantra ¹²⁷⁶ be not known, the

1275 यत्नं राशिं समासाद्य भवेद्ग्रहणसम्भवः । तस्य स्नानं प्रवक्ष्यामि मन्त्रैरपि सन्निवृत्तम् ॥ मत्स्य ५ by कृत्यकल्पः (on Śānti folio 21b), हे. (on इत, vol. II, p. 1021), नि. सि. p. 69 and Śāntikāṇḍa folio 157b अ. सा. pp. 87-90 and नि. सि. p. 69 quote this and about 25 verses more from मत्स्य on this

1276. The mantras prescribed for religious worship and rites have a certain pattern, that is, they either refer to the rite to be performed and the deity or to the benefit prayed for or there is some word therein that indicates an application of it to the deity For example, the mantra 'जातवेदसे सुन्वाम' (Rg. I. 99. 1) is employed for invoking the presence of Durgā, because therein occurs the word 'durgāni' (स न पर्यदति दुर्गाणि विश्वा) or the verse 'Gaurī-

Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62. 10) was to be employed and the *ahutis* were to be 1008 or 108 according to the nature of the disease. The Madanratna (folios 15b-20b) quotes from Ātreya further details about the 27 *naksatras*, viz. the number of stars in each *naksatra*, whether a *naksatra* is masculine, feminine or neuter, its figure, colour, deity, tree, its *gaṇa*^{1276a} (whether *devagaṇa* or *rāksasagaṇa* or *manusyagaṇa*), what actions should be done on each, the *Visanāḍī* of each.

The Dharmasindhu provides a *śānti* for the extremely rare occurrence of a person coming to life after people thinking him to be dead take his body for cremation to a cemetery. The person in whose house such a person enters meets death. Therefore, a *homa* should be performed wherein eight thousand *udumbara* fuel-sticks anointed with milk and ghee are to be offered to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62. 10). At the end of the *homa* a *kapilā* cow and a bronze vessel full of sesame should be donated to a *brāhmaṇa*; the bronze vessel should weigh 81 *palas* or 40½ or 20½ or 9, 6 or at least three *palas* according¹²⁷⁷ to one's means.

Some works prescribe a *śānti* on the delivery of a cow in the month of Bhādrapada, of a she-buffalo in Pausa and of a mare by day. The *śānti* is to be performed with 108 *ahutis* of ghee and sesame, the *Asyavāmiya* hymn (Rg. I. 164) and the mantra 'tad-Visnoh' (Rg. I. 22. 20) are to be recited. It was supposed that if a she-buffalo was delivered in Māgha and on a Wednesday, or a mare in Śrāvana by day or a cow while the

(Continued from last page)

mīmāya (Rg. I. 164. 41) is said to be mantra for Pārvatī, the presiding deity of Monday, because the word 'Gaurīr' suggests Gaurī, which is a name of Pārvatī. The requirement is stated in the following Brāhmaṇa passage 'एतद्देव्यस्तस्य समुद्धं यद्रूपस्तस्यद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमुत्तमं यद्विदति' (quoted in निरुक्त I. 16). It occurs in ऐतरेयब्राह्मण several times (e g ऐ. ब्रा. I. 4, which reads merely ऋगभिवदति)

1276a For the *gaṇas* of the 27 *naksatras*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 514-515.

1277. A *pala* = 4 *karsas*, a *karsa* = 16 *māsas* and 80 *ratas*. Hence a *pala* was equal to 320 *raktikās*. Vide Manu VIII. 134 and 136 and Yāj. I. 363-365.

Sun is in the Lion sign, that portends death of the¹²⁷⁸ owner in six months. It may be stated that in the author's boyhood such *sāntis*, particularly in the case of ehe-buffaloes, were performed. The *Adbhutasāgara* provides that the *sānti* should be performed on the 4th, 9th, 12th or 14th tithi, as these are declared to be auspicious tithis for *adbhuta-sānti*¹²⁷⁹

In modern times the entrance into a newly built house is preceded on the same day or on a previous day by a *sānti* called *Vāstuśānti*¹²⁸⁰ or *Vāstu-śamana* (in *Matsya* 268 3) It has been described at some length in H of Dh vol. II, pp 834-836. The description^{1280a} there is based on *Matsya*, chapters 256 and 268. *Vāstuśamana* is also described in the *Āśvalāyana grhya* II. 9 6-9, *Pār gr. III* 4 5-18, *Baud gr III* 5 (which are certainly older than *Matsya* by several centuries), in *Baudhāyana-grhyasāsa-sūtra* I 18, the *Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa* III. 3. 5 and several medieval works. The *Baud Gr S S* calls it *Grhasānti* and recommends that it be performed every month, every season or every year in the bright fortnight on an auspicious *nakṣatra* by one who desires prosperity in his house. It is therefore passed over here. The *Āśv. gr* is very brief. It says¹²⁸¹ Then

1278 गर्ग उवाच । दिवा प्रसूता वटवा आवणे च विशेषतः । माघमासे शुधे चैव प्रसवे-
न्महर्षि यदि । शान्तिकमलाकर folio 180, भानो सिद्धये चैव यस्य गो. समसूयते । नरणं तस्य
निर्दिष्टं षड्भिमर्सेन सशय ॥ तस्य शान्तिं मयदयामि येन सम्पद्यते शुभम् । नारद प by अ सा
p 568

1279 चतुर्थी चाष्टमी चैव द्वादशी च चतुर्दशी । एता वै तिथयः पुण्या स्मृता अद्भुत-
शान्तये । नारद प by अ सा p 568.

1280. *Vāstu* (n in the *Rgveda*) means a house. Compare 'tā vām *vāstūnyuśmasi gamadhyai*' (*Rg. I*. 154. 6) It is derived from 'vas' (to reside). Vide *Nirukta* X 17, where *Rg VII*. 55. 1 is explained. There is a deity in the *Rgveda* called '*Vāstospati*' (lord of the house) *वास्तोष्पति* is either (as in *Rg. VIII* 17 14) *Indra* or *Rudra* (as *Durga* says). The *sānti* is performed for averting all evil after entering a newly built house

1280 a The *सङ्कल्प* in modern *Vāstuśānti* would be somewhat like the following अनुकरोन्नत्याहुकशर्मणो मम सपरिवारस्यास्मिन्यास्ते चिरकालसुखनिवासपूर्वमसिल-
रोगविघ्नादिशान्ति-सम्पदार्थेण पुत्रपौत्रधनधान्यादिसमृद्धि-चिरजीवन-स्वर्निवाससिद्धिद्वारा श्री-
परमेश्वरमीत्यर्थमस्य वास्तो शुभतासिद्धयर्थं सग्रहमखा वास्तुशान्तिं करिष्ये । तदङ्गतया गणेश-
पूजा-स्वस्तिवाचनमातृकापूजाभ्युदयिकआङ्गाचार्य-कस्मिन्वरणानि च करिष्ये ।

1281 अथैनच्छमयति । त्रीदिवसमीभिरङ्गिर्हिरण्यमवधाय शान्तातीयेन त्रि-प्रदक्षिण
परिव्रजन् भोक्ति । अविच्छिन्नया चोदकधारया आपो हि धा मयोऽयं इति वृत्तेन । मध्येऽगारस्य
स्थातीपाकं अपयित्वा वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीह्यस्मानिति चतसृभिः प्रत्येकं हुत्वाक संस्कृत्य
आह्वणान्भोजयित्वा शिव वास्तु वास्त्विति वाचयति । आश्व शु II. 9 6-9 क VII 35
(1-15) is called *शान्तातीय* because the word *शं* occurs in each of the first
thirteen verses several times

he makes the house śānta (as follows). He deposits gold in water that has rice and barley thrown into it, he sprinkles the house three times going round it with his right side turned towards it with the śāntātiya hymn (Rg. VII. 35) and he does so again three times pouring out an unbroken stream of water with the three verses 'O waters! you are wholesome' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3). In the middle of the house he cooks boiled rice, offers from it four oblations with each of the four verses 'Vāstospate pratijānīhyasman' (Rg. VII. 54. 1-3 and VII. 55. 1), should then prepare food, should feed the brāhmanas with it and make them say 'lucky is the house, lucky is the house.' Some details from Baud. Gr. (III. 5) may be mentioned here. It provides that oblations are offered from cooked food with the invitatory prayer (Puronuvākya) 'Vāstospate pratijānīhi' ('O Lord of houses! accept us as your devotees,' (Rg. VII. 54. 1, Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 1) and the offering prayer (Yājya) with 'Vāstospate śagmayā' (O Lord of houses, may we be endowed with fellowship with thee &c.' Rg. VII. 54. 3, Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 1) Then he offers *āhuts* of clarified butter with the mantras viz. 'Vāstospate dhruvā sthūnā' (Rg. VIII. 17. 14), 'grhyam bhayam yac-ced',¹²⁸² 'aksispande-angacale', 'duh-svapne pāpasvapne', 'Vāstospate pratarano' (O Vāstospati! mayst thou be our saviour', Rg. VII. 54. 2), 'amivahā Vāstospate' (O Vāstospati! Mayst thou be our friend destroying diseases' Rg. VII. 55. 1). Then he places the remainder of the food from which offerings were made on bunches of darbhas in front of the Fire with the words 'salutation to Rudra Vāstospati! I offer (oblations to him) who protects when we approach, or run, walk out, depart, turn round or return.' Having brought together in a plate the water for cleansing the cooking vessel, the remainder of the clarified butter and the water (used in the rite) he sprinkles water therefrom on all sides with a twig of udumbara or palāśa or śami tree or with a handful of darbhas, he goes round the house thrice with his right side towards it with the verse 'tvam viprah' (Rg. IX. 18. 2). He prepares food, honours the brāhmanas (with food and fees), makes them recite blessings in the words 'lucky is the house, lucky is the house'.

In the later digests the Vāstuśānti is a very elaborate affair which is passed over here for reasons of space.

1282 I was not able to trace the three verses cited in the Baud. Gr. III, 5 viz. 'सुह्य भयं यज्ञेद् द्विपालु यदु चेच्चतुष्पालु &c.', 'अक्षिस्पन्देऽङ्गचले च यज्ञस्य यद्विशिते यदु चेद्दुश्चक्रे', 'दु.स्वमे पापस्वमे च यज्ञस्य &c.'

Various prognostications were based on the sounds produced by the house lizard (called *pallī*, *pallikū*, *kuḍyamatsya* or *grhagodhukū*), by its movements and by its fall on the several limbs of a person by Vasantarāja śākuna, chap. 17 (32 verses), the Adbhutasāgara pp. 666-668 (quoting 28 verses of Vasantarāja), Jyotistattva pp. 706-707, Śāntiratna or Śānti-kamalākara (folio 198), the Dharmasindhu (pp. 347-348). A few words based on the last two are set out here. A fall of the lizard on the right side of a male and on his head (except the chin), chest, navel and stomach is auspicious, while in the case of a woman such a fall would be auspicious on the left side. The same applies to a chameleon. If a lizard or chameleon falls on a limb or creeps up a person's limb the person should take a bath with clothes on and perform a śānti for removal of the inauspiciousness or for increase of auspiciousness. If a person has a mere contact with a house lizard or chameleon he should bathe, drink *pañcagavya*, look into clarified butter, should pay honour to (a golden image of) the lizard or chameleon clothed in a red piece of cloth, offer to the image *gandha* and flowers, worship Rudra in a jar full of water, offer into fire 108 fuel sticks of *khadira* tree to the accompaniment of the *Mṛtyuñjaya*^{1282a} mantra and offer 1008 or 108 *āhuts* of sesame into fire with the *vyāhrtis* and perform the rites from *svistakṛt* to sprinkling with drops of water and then donate gold, clothes and sesame^{1282b}

The Yogayātrā chap. 7 (verses 1-12) and Hemādri on Vrata (vol. II pp 894-897) mention ceremonial baths on and worship of nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī and their presiding deities as yielding various benefits. The Ātharvāna-pariśista I (called nakṣatrakalpa) sections 37-50 deal with *nakṣatrasnāna* from Kṛttikā to Bharanī. Sections 37-41 contain the mantras employed in worshipping and placating the presiding deities of the nakṣatras beginning with Kṛttikā. Section 42 describes the general procedure of *nakṣatrasnāna*; sections 43-45 set out

1282a *Mṛtyuñjaya* mantra is the Tryambaka mantra, according to Vidyākara quoted in Jyotistattva (p 707). The Tryambaka mantra is "Tryambakam yajāmahe" (Rg. VII. 59 12, Tai. S I 8 6 2, Vāj. S. III, 60)

1282b. It is somewhat remarkable that Vasantarāja is entirely silent about the fall of the house lizard on a person's body and devotes thirty-two verses merely to the interpretation of the sounds of the lizard in different directions and at different times of the day and to the prognostications derived from its movements on the walls. It is not unlikely that prognostication from the fall of the lizard on a man's limb was a later development

the substances to be added to the water for each nakshatrasnāna and the benefit to be derived from so doing. Sections 47-50 contain special rules in relation to each nakshatra from Kṛttikā to Bharanī, about the distribution of food to brāhmanas and gifts to be made on each nakshatra together with the rewards to be expected therefrom. But the Brhatsamhitā chap. 47 (1-87), the Ātharvāna-parīśista V pp. 66-68, Visnudharmottara II. 103, Yogayātrā (VII. 13-21), the Kālikapurāna chap. 89, and Hemādri (on Vrata vol. II. pp. 600-628) speak of a śānti called Pūsyasnāna or Pūsyābhiseka. It is said that Brhaspati performed this śānti for Indra, then Vrddha-Garga got it and he imparted it to Bhāguri. Most of the above works confine it to the king, since the king is the very root of the tree—the subjects—and since any harm to or welfare of that root (the king) results in misfortune or welfare of the people; therefore care must be taken for the increase of the king's welfare.¹²⁸³ As the treatment in the Brhatsamhitā is the fullest and is among the most ancient descriptions, it is briefly set out here. The royal astrologer and family priest should perform the rite of Pūsyasnāna for the king, than which there is nothing more holy and nothing more destructive of all evil portents. This may be performed on pūsyā-nakshatra every time, but the Śānti on this day when the Full Moon is in Pūsyā-nakshatra is the highest and if such a snāna is performed without there being Pūsyā nakshatra on that day, then it yields only half the fruit. There is no utpāta which is not averted or mitigated by this śānti and there is no other auspicious rite which surpasses this. About Pūsyā the Ratnamālā¹²⁸⁴ states 'Just as the lion is the strongest among

1283 मूलं मङ्गजाधिपतिः प्रजातरोस्तदुपचातसंस्कारात् । अष्टमं क्षुभं च लोके भवति यतोऽतो दृष्टतिचिन्ता ॥ या व्याख्याता शान्तिः स्वयम्भुजा सुरसुरेभिर्हेन्द्रार्यैः । तां प्राप्य बृहद्गर्गः प्राह यथा भासुरेः कृच्छ्रतः । पुण्यस्नानं द्रुपतेः कर्तव्यं देवदेवस्योद्योग्याम् । नातः परं पवित्रं सर्वोत्पातान्तकरमास्ति ॥ एतत्पुण्यमानं प्रतिपुण्यं सुखयशोर्ध्वदुःखिकरम् । पुण्याद्विनार्थफलदा पौषी शान्तिः परा मोक्षा ॥ नास्ति लोके स उत्पातो यो ह्यनेन न शान्यति । मङ्गलं चापरं नास्ति यदस्मादतिरिच्यते ॥ बृहत्स 47 1-3 and 82, 84, vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 103 31-32 for the story about Indra and Brhaspati. मत्स्य says 'प्रजातरोर्दुर्लभिहावनीशस्तद्भक्षणान्नाद्रुपेति बृहद्भिः' (219 34) q. by कल्पतरु (on राजधर्मकाण्ड).

1284. सिंहो यथा सर्वचतुष्पदानां तथैव पुण्यो बलवाद्युद्भवात् । चन्द्रे विरुद्धेऽप्य गोचरे वा सिध्यन्ति कार्याणि कृतानि पुण्ये ॥ रत्नमाला VI. 70 According to बृहत्संहिता 103, 2 if the moon is in the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 10th or 11th rāśi from the rāśi of birth it is auspicious and it is inauspicious in the other rāśis from birth. 'सूर्ये, पद्मनिदशस्थितद्विदशपदसप्तदशयशश्चन्द्रमाः ...सर्वेषुपान्ते शुभा. &c' Vide note 876a and p. 589 above for गोचरचन्द्र and other ग्रह and बृहत्सं. 103. 8-10 for the *phalas* of the moon being in the rāśi of birth or in the rāśis from the 1st to the 12th.

all quadrupeds, so is Pusya the most powerful among nakṣatras; undertakings begun on Pusya succeed even if the Moon be unfavourable or be *gocara*. Then Varāhamihira states in very poetic verses (47. 4-15) that the Pusyaśnāna of the king should be performed in a sylvan spot abounding in young and beautiful trees emitting fragrance and free from trees having thorne or trees like marking nut or from owls, vulturee and the like or on rivers or on lakes or near lotus pools or near a cow-house or seashore or hermitages of sages, grand mansions resounding with the sweet crie of cuckooe and the like or near a holy shrine or tirtha or a spot beautified by parks. Then the astrologer, the councillors and officiating priests should go out from the capital at night and make an offering (*baḥi*) in the East, North or North-east and the royal family priest, being himself pure and bowing down, should invoke with fried grains, aksata, barley, curds and flowers and with a mantra¹²⁸⁵ the gods, the (guardians of) quarters, the *nāgas* and *brāhmanas* to be present at the spot and then say 'tomorrow you will receive worship and depart after conferring welfare on the king'. The family priest and the others should stay in order to find the auspicious nature or otherwise of the dreams (of the king). On the next day in the morning they should collect materials (for the Pusyaśnāna) on the spot chosen the previous day. He should draw a mandala (a diagram) there and should place thereon various jewels and should assign places to *nāgas*, *yaksas*, gods, *pitr̥s*, *gandharvas*, *apsarasas*, sages, *siddhas*, planets, *nakṣatras*, *Rudras*, the *mātr̥s*, *Skanda*, *Viṣṇu*, *Viśākha*, *Lokapālas*, goddesses (such as *Lakṣmī*, *Gaurī*, *Indrānī*), which should all be drawn with charming coloured powders or chalk &c., should offer them worship with sandal wood paste, flowers &c., with various edibles, fruits and meat, with drinks viz. wine, milk and decoctions, he should follow the procedure of *Grahayajña* and worship the various deities invited with appropriate foods, incense, clarified butter, flowers, with lauds and salutations &c (versee 30-33). Then he should set up *Agni* on an altar to the west or south of the mandala drawn by him, should kindle it into flames and bring near it the materials and *darbhas*. He should offer worship on the altar to the west with fried grams, ghee, curds, honey, white mustard, fragrant substances, flowers, incense, fruits, and should donate plates full of *pūyasa* and ghee. Then in the four inter-

1285 The mantra for invoking the gods is आगच्छन्तु सुरा सर्वे देव्य पूजाभिलाषिणः । दिशो नामा द्विजाश्वेव ये स्वाप्यन्त्येऽशभाणि ॥ बृहत्स 47. 20.

mediate quarters of the altar he should establish four jars the necks of which are surrounded with white thread and that are covered with leaves, twigs and fruits of trees having milky sap and filled with water mixed with herbs and materials for puṣyaśnāna and jewels. In verses 39-42 Varāhamihira names about 15 plants the leaves¹²⁸⁶ of which are to be cast in the jars and also seeds and *sarlausadhis*, sarvagandhas, bilva fruit &c. He should spread an old bull's hide with its neck to the east on the altar and thereon he should spread the reddish hide of a bull trained for fighting, the hides of a lion and a tiger one over the other, when the Moon is in Puṣya-nakṣatra and there is an auspicious *muhūrta*. Over the hides a throne made of gold, silver, copper or of a tree with a milky sap should be placed. The king should occupy the throne after placing thereon a piece of gold, surrounded by his ministers, men of his confidence, the family priest, the astrologer, the citizens that have auspicious names (such as Jayarāja, Simharāja &c.).

There should be loud noises (for drowning inauspicious sounds) made by the bards and citizens and of the tabors and drums and of Vedic recitations. The king should wear linen and the *purohita* should cover the king with a blanket, drops should be sprinkled over the king from jars, 3, 28 or 108 in number, containing clarified butter, with two mantras¹²⁸⁷ praising its power to remove evil and then the priest removes the blanket and sprinkles on the king drops of water from water containing the substances collected for puṣyaśnāna with sixteen mantras¹²⁸⁸

1286. Several of the 15 plants mentioned in the Br. S. occur also in आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट V. 1-5. 2. 2. In the मत्स्यपुराण eight plants are mentioned as महोपस्थक (viz. सहदेवी, वचा, व्याघ्री, बला, अतिबला, कङ्कणुष्पी, सिंदी, सुवर्चला) that are to be employed in general for the *śnapana* of all gods (chap. 267.14-15).

1287. आज्यं तेजः समुद्दिष्टमाज्यं पापहरं वरम् । आज्यं सुराणामाहार आज्ये लोकाः प्रतिदिताः ॥ भौसान्तरिक्षं दिव्यं वा यत्ते कल्पयन्नागतम् । सर्वे तदाज्यसंस्पर्शात् प्रणाशसुपमच्छन्तु ॥ बृहत्सं. 47. 52-53. These are quoted by हेमाद्रि (on ब्रत vol. II. p. 615), but it is not clear from what work

1288. It may be noted that Hemādri (on ब्रत vol. II. p. 615) has the mantras of बृहत्सं. 47. 55-60 in the same order and (p. 616) has also the mantras (verses 67-70 first-half). Varāha first gives a long list (55-70) of Panrānika mantras and then (in verse 71) only mentions names of groups of mantras. इत्येतैरन्यैश्चाथर्वकल्पाहितैः सप्तद्रुग्णैः । कौष्माण्डमहाराष्ट्रदिणकुबेरद्वयैः समुद्दिष्टा च ॥ बृहत्सं. 47.71. The मत्स्यपुराण has verses (93. 51-56) similar to those of वराह's पौराणिक mantras.

(set out by Varāha in verses 55-70) in which gods, goddesses, sages are invited to join in the rite, besides mantras from the Atharvakalpa,¹²⁸⁹ the Rudragana mantras, Kūsmānda mantras, the Mahārauhina, Kubera-hṛdaya and Samrddhu verse. Then the king should take a bath and wear two cotton garments over which the three verses 'Āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X 9 1-3, Tai. S. IV. 1. 5. 1) and the four verses 'Hiranyavarnāh' (Tai. S. V. 6 1. 1-2, or Atharva I. 33. 1-4) have been inaudibly recited. He should sip water to the accompaniment of words like 'this is a lucky day' and to the sound of conches, should worship gods, gurus, brāhmanas, his parasol, banner, and weapons and then worship his special (or favourite) deity. Then he should put on new decorations that lead to victory, that confer long life and vigour and over which the Rāyasposa¹²⁹⁰ (bestowing increase of wealth) rk verses have been recited. To the south of the mandala an altar should be prepared and hides of bull, cat, *ṛṇu* deer, spotted antelope, lion and tiger should be arranged one over the other (tiger's being last) and the king should sit down on the hides. The purohita should offer in the fire in the principal place (to the south) offerings of fuel-sticks, sesame, ghee and the like to the accompaniment of rk verses addressed to Rudra, Indra, Brhaspati, Viṣṇu and Vāyu. The astrologer should observe and

1289. The Atharvana-pariśiṣṭa V. 3. 4-5 prescribes (p 67) the opening passage of each Veda, the mahāvyaṁbṛtis (bhūh, bhuvah, svah) and five gaṇas as accompanying the offerings into fire, viz. 'ज्ञर्मवर्मणिगणश्चैव तथा स्याद-पराजितः । आयुष्यश्चामयश्चैव तथा स्वस्त्ययनो गणः ॥ एतान् पञ्च गणान् हृत्वा वाचयेत् द्विलोचमान् ।'. For ज्ञर्मवर्मणिगणं विदे आथर्वणपरि. XXXII 14 p 195 containing 22 verses, the first of which is ज्ञर्मवर्मा, that is अपर्ज. 14 2 21. The अपराजितगण contains 15 verses beginning with 'aparājito' (vide आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट 32 13), the आयुष्यगण has 14 verses of the अपर्जवेद (in आ परि XXXII 9. p 195), for two अभयगण, विदे आ परि XXXII. 12 and 29, for स्वस्त्ययनगणं विदे आ परि XXXII 11 चद्रगण is आ. परि XXXII 16 or it may be Rudras in Tai. S. IV 5. 1-11. The कूष्माण्ड mantras are Vāj S 20 14-16 and Tai. Ā II 3. 1, II 4. 1 (beginning with 'yad-devā devabedanam') Vide H. of Dh vol IV. p 43 for Kūsmāṇḍahoma. For Rauhina-sāman vide H. of Dh. IV. p. 46 n. The Kubera-hṛdaya is probably the mantra in Tai. Ā I 31. 6 (Rājādhurājāya...mahārājāya namaḥ). It is not known which rk is called Samrddhu

1290. There are many verses of the Rgveda cited in the Taittiriya-sambitā which contain the word 'rāyasposa', but as Utpala in his commentary says that the verses are six, it is probable that the verses meant are (Rg. X. 17. 9-14), the first of which ends with the words 'rāyasposam yajamāṇeṣu dhehī'.

declare the prognostications derived ^{1290a} from the flames of the sacred Agni as laid down in the chapter on the festival of Indra's banner (Br. S. 42. 31-36). Then the purohita with folded hands should pray ¹²⁹¹ 'May all the groups of gods receive the worship from the king and depart after conferring (on him) abundant prosperity and returning (when again invoked)'. Then the king should honour the astrologer and the purohita with plenty of wealth and (honour) according to their deserts also others, viz. men learned in the Veda and the like who are well worthy of receiving gifts. Then the king should assure safety to all subjects, (order the) release of all animals taken to slaughter houses and release all persons put in jail except those guilty of offences against the king's person or his harem. Varāhamihira adds (47. 85) that this procedure of Pusyasnāna is commended for a king who aspires after imperial dignity or who ardently desires a son or when he is first crowned king. He further states that this very procedure of ceremonial bath should be employed in the case of the king's elephants and horses that then become free from diseases (verse 87).

A few remarks from other works may be added here. The Yoga-yātrā (chap. VII. 13-14) lays down ¹²⁹² that in the ceremonial bath clay should be collected from a mountain top, ant-hill, a river mouth, the two banks of a river, the foot of the Indra figure (in the Indradhvaja festival), (clay) dug up by the tusk of an elephant and by a bull's horn, (clay) from the royal palace-door and from the door of the house of a dancing girl (patronized by the king) and the king's head should be purified by rubbing on it the clay from a mountain top, his ears with

1290 a. One verse from chap. 42 about the auspicious indications conveyed by Agni flaming up by itself (i. e. without being fanned etc.) at the end of the shout 'svāhā' (when pūrṇāhuti is offered) and having its flames turned towards the right is cited here : स्वाहावसानसमये स्वयमुज्ज्वलाच्चिः स्निग्धः प्रदक्षिणाशिखौ हुतसुश्च स्यस्य । गङ्गादिवाकरमुताजलचारुहरां धात्री ससुद्रक्षणां वशगां करोति ॥ बृहत्सं. 42. 32, compare तस्यै सम्यग्बुद्धौ बद्धिर्वाजिनीराजनाविधौ । प्रदक्षिणाच्चिः श्याजेन हस्तेनेव जयं ददौ ॥ रघुवंश IV. 25 In the योगयात्रा (chapter 8) fifteen verses are devoted to अग्निनिमित्त of which verses 11-15 are the same as बृहत्सं. 42. 32-36.

1291. The prayer is well-known : चान्तु देवगणाः सर्वे पूजामादाय पार्थिवात् । सिद्धिं दत्त्वा तु विपुलां पुनरागमनाय च ॥ बृहत्सं. 47. 79

1292. गिरिवल्मीकनदीशिखकुलह्वयशकपादमुद्गिरतः । द्विपट्टभभविषाणपार्थिवगणिका-
द्वाराद्भूताभिश्च ॥ गिरिशिखरमुदा मूर्धानं बल्मीकमुदा च शौचयेत्कर्णौ । नद्यभयकुलसङ्गममुद्भिः
मक्षालयेत्पार्श्वौ ॥ इन्द्रस्यानाद् भीवा चाह् कर्षिपभयोर्विषाणघात् । हृदयं च चपह्वात्कार्द्विभि
वेश्मरुहद्वारात् ॥ योगयात्रा VII. 13-15.

clay from an ant-hill, his sides with clay from the two banks of a river and from its confluence with the sea, his neck with clay from the foot of the Indra figure, his arms with earth on the tip of the elephant's tusk and the bull's horns, his chest with earth from the door of the palace and his waist with clay from a royal courtesan's door. It will be noticed that there is a suggestive symbolism in all this. The king is to hold his head high and to attain eminence, therefore his head is to be rubbed with clay from a mountain peak.

It appears that *naksatrasnāna* was meant for all. For example, the *Ātharvana-pariśista*¹²⁹³ on *naksatrakalpa* (sec. 43 p. 22) states that a *Vaiśya* should undergo ceremonial bath on *Rohini*, being decked with all seeds, while verse 6 of the same section maintains that a *brāhmana* who undergoes *Pusyasnāna* thrice with a thousand grains of red paddy and with a thousand mustard grains and with (twigs and leaves) of *Sahasravīryā*, *Ananti* plants and with *Madayanti* and *Priyangu* plants acquires as much fame as a king.

From the *Matsya-purāṇa* it is clear¹²⁹⁴ that *Pusyasnāna* was an item in *Laksahoma*, undertaken by the king to counteract the evil effects of planets. That *Purāṇa* has a chapter (267. verses 3-4) on *Devatāsnāna*¹²⁹⁵ where also provision is made for casting clay into the jar, clay being collected from the tusk of an elephant, from a horse (stable), public road, ant-hill, (clay) dug up by a boar (with its tusk), from the shed where sacred fire is kept, from a *tirtha* (holy spot), cowpen and from the place where cows crowd.

The *Visnudharmottara* (II. 103. 1-10) provides that *Bārhaspatyasnāna* (i. e. *Pusyasnāna*, *Bṛhaspati* being the presiding deity of *Pusya*) should be performed in the bright half, in the

1293. रोहिण्यां स्नापयेद्देव्यं सर्वबीजैरलङ्कृतम् । "रक्तशान्तिसदृशेण तावद्भिर्गौर-सर्पैः । सप्तर्षीर्यामन्या च सद्यन्ती-मियङ्गुभिः । श्रीवृष्यान् ब्राह्मण स्नातः पार्थिवं लभते यशः ॥ आ परि (लक्ष्यकल्प, sec 42 verses 3 and 6, p. 22).

1294. कृत्वा शतसदृशं तु पुण्यस्नानं समाचरेत् । कुम्भैः पौदशसंरयेषु सप्तिर्ये-सुमन्त्रैः ॥ स्नापयेद्यजमानं तु ततः शान्तिर्भविष्यति । एव कृते तु यत्किंचिद् ग्रहपीडासहस्रवत् ॥ तत्सर्वं नाशमायाति दत्ता ये दक्षिणा द्युप ॥ मत्स्य 239. 12-14 q. by कृत्यकल्पः (on शान्तिक) folio 12a

1295. गजाभ्यर्चयान्तीकरादीन्प्रातमण्डलात् । अग्न्यगारात्तथा तीर्थात् ब्रजान्मण्डलादपि । कुम्भे तु भूतिजा दद्याद् उद्धृतामीति सन्निवृत् । मत्स्य 267 3-4. The मन्त्र is : उद्धृतासि घरादेण कुम्भेन शतपाद्वना । भूमिर्भोवर्षरणी लोकधारिणी ॥ It occurs in सैतित्तिरीयारण्यक X. 1. 8.

northern passage of the sun, on an auspicious day, nakṣatra and muhūrta or when the moon is in Pūṣya or Rohini nakṣatra or in Hasta or Śravana; two square mandalas of eight cubits on each of four sides should be made, one for offering *baḥ* and the other for an altar on which a fire is to be established, both being decked with various things. Four jars with waters of springs should be placed in each of the two mandalas, and also seven jars filled with seeds, corn and precious stones, one for being decked with leaves of trees and the other with flowers and fruits. It appears (verses 12-13) that the Viṣṇudharmottara contemplates Pūṣyasnāna for the three higher varṇas,¹²⁹⁶ since it provides that a brāhmana should sit on the hide of a bull as his seat, a kṣatriya may employ the hides of a lion and tiger and a vaiśya on the hides of a tiger and leopard. It provides mantras other than those mentioned by Varāhamihira. It provides that this rite of Pūṣyasnāna should go on for seven days and that the person undergoing it should give up during those days wine, meat, honey and sexual intercourse (verse 29). This Pūṣyasnāna drives away all ill-luck, destroys evil spirits, brightens the intellect, confers health, brilliance and fame, kills enemies, is auspicious, destroys sins and the evil effects of strife and bad dreams (verses 30-31).

It should be borne in mind that a rite on Pūṣya for prosperity called Pūṣya-vrata is mentioned by so early a work as the Āpastambadharmasūtra (for which p 346 above may be referred to).

In Brhadyogayātrā (chap. XIII. 1-10), Matsyapurāṇa (chap 241. 1-14) and in Vasantarāja (chap. VI. 4. 1-14 pp. 87-92) a good deal is said about prognostications derived from the throbbing (*spandāna* or *sphurana*) of the several parts of a man's body. All the three often closely agree in words and ideas as the notes below will clearly show. There is hardly any doubt that Vasantarāja's treatment is based on the other two works. It is difficult to decide whether Varāhamihira borrows from the Matsya or *vice versa* or whether both borrow from a common source. It is not unlikely that Varāhamihira might

1296 विप्रस्य स्नाहकामस्य सौरमार्दभकं ह्युभम् । क्षत्रियस्य तथा सैह वैयाङ्गं च तथा
विशः ॥ इतिपिचर्म च वैश्यस्य स्नाप्यस्तत्रोपवेशयत् । प्रशस्तलक्षणां भार्यी वामभागे तथैव च ॥
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II 103. 12-13. I am not sure what सौर means here, probably it means (dedicated to the Sun or to gods).

have followed the Matsya. They all agree that throbbing¹²⁹⁷ of the right side of the body is auspicious and of the left inauspicious in the case of males, while the reverse is true in the case of women. They all set out the consequences indicated by the throbbing of the several parts and limbs of the body from the top of the head to the soles of the feet. To set out all these in detail would occupy much space. A few are mentioned by way of illustration. The fruit indicated by the throbbing of the top of the¹²⁹⁸ head is the acquisition of land (or earth), of the forehead, the prosperity of the position already occupied; of the region between the eyebrows and nose, union with persons dear to one; of the region of the eye, death, of the portion near the eye the acquisition of wealth, of the upper arm, union with friends; of the hand, the acquisition of wealth; of the back, defeat; of the chest, success; of the upper part of the foot, the securing of a position; of the soles, journey with gain thereon. The Matsya-purāṇa¹²⁹⁹ prescribes that when inauspicious indications (by throbbing) occur, brāhmanas should be placated with the gift of gold.

From ancient times the throbbing of the limbs, particularly of the arm and eye, have been regarded in India as the harbingers of coming events, auspicious or inauspicious. Manu prohibits a *sannyāsin* (*parivrājake*) from obtaining alms by means of declaring prognostications from utpātas or nimittas, from nakṣatras and from Angavidyā etc. In the Śākuntala

1297 अङ्गदक्षिणभागे तु शस्त्रं मस्करणं भवेत् । अमशस्त्रं तथा वामे घृष्टस्य हृदयस्य च ॥
...विपर्ययेण विहितः सर्वं स्त्रीणां फलागमः । मत्स्य 241. 2 and 12 दक्षिणपार्श्वस्यन्दनमभि-
धार्य तत्फलक्षयो वामे । बृहद्योगः XIII 1, पुनरसदा दक्षिणदेहभागे स्त्रीणां च वामावयवेषु
लाभः । स्पन्दः फलानि भविष्यन्त्यवश्यं निहन्ति चोक्ताङ्गविपर्ययेण ॥ वसन्तराज VI. 4 10,
p 90.

1298. पृथ्वीलामो भवेन्मूर्ध्नि ललाटे रविनन्दन । स्थानं विवृद्धिमायाति भ्रूंसो मिय-
सङ्गमः ॥ मृत्पुलन्विश्वाक्षदेशो द्रुपुपान्ते धनागमः । .. सुहृत्स्नेहश्च बाह्व्या हस्ते चैव धनागमः ।
पृष्ठे पराजयः सद्यो जयो वक्षः स्थले भवेत् । * उत्तमं स्थानमागोति पद्भ्या मस्करयान्त्रप । सलाभं
चाध्वगमनं भवेत्सादृशे वृषे ॥ मत्स्य 241. 4-5, 8, compare बृहद्योगः XIII. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9
पृथ्वीलामः शिरसि स्थानविवृद्धिर्ललाटेऽसात् (? ललाटेऽक्षे स्यात्) । भ्रूनासिकान्तरे मियसमागमो
मृत्पुलन्विश्वाक्षदेशो । द्रुपुपान्तेऽर्थाति पूर्वं होयात्र चोत्कण्ठा ॥ ... असे भोगविवृद्धिर्भ्रूंसं द्वेन
संयोगः ॥ हस्तेऽर्थाति पृष्ठे पराजयो वक्षसि स्मृतो विजयः । .. देशेक्षदेशाक्षो जङ्घायां स्थानं
लब्धिरङ्गः ॥ उपरि । अध्वगमनं सलाभं चरणतले स्पन्दमाने तु ॥ मुग्धि स्फुरत्याङ्गु पृथिव्यवाति
स्थानमवृद्धिश्च ललाटेऽक्षेऽसात् । भ्रू-घ्राणमध्ये मियसङ्गमः स्यान्नासाक्षिनायै च सहायलाभः ॥
स्पन्दो भ्रुजस्येदसमागमाय स्पन्दः करस्य द्रविणातिरेह । स्पन्दश्च घृष्टस्य पराजयाय स्पन्दो
जयायोरसि मानवानाम् ॥ .. स्थानासिरुर्ध्वं चरणस्य कम्पे वात्रा सलाभादभितलप्रकम्पे ॥
वसन्तराज VI. 4, 2, 5, 9 pp 87-90

1299. अनिष्टचिद्भोगमे द्विजानां कार्यं सुवर्णेन तु तर्पणं स्यात् । मत्स्य 241. 14,

Kālidāsa twice mentions the throbbing of the arm of the hero as indicative of good fortune and the throbbing of the right eye of Śakuntalā as presaging¹³⁰⁰ misfortune. Shakespeare in "Othello" makes Desdemona speak about the itching of her eyes as a bad omen. The Brhad-yogayātrā (XIII. 10), Br. S. (51.10) and Vasantarāja declare that the throbbing of moles, boils, marks, eruptions (on limbs) are to be deemed to indicate consequences similar to the limbs on which they exist.¹³⁰¹

The Brhatsamhitā (chap. 93 verses 1-14), Brhadyogayātrā (chap. 21 verses¹³⁰² 1-21) and Yogayātrā (chap. 10 verses 1-75) dwell at length on the prognostications to be drawn from the arrangement of the tusks of elephants, from the marks seen when the tusks are cut, from the tired appearance and movements of elephants, particularly when the king is to march on an invasion, since as the Yogayātrā says the king's victory depends on elephants.¹³⁰³ These, however, do not describe any śānti and are hence passed over here as not relevant to the subject of śāntis. But the Agnipurāna (chap. 291 verses 1-24), Visnudharmottara (II. 50. 1-93), Baud. grhyaśesasūtra I. 20 and Hemādri (on Vrata, vol. II. pp. 1036-1051) prescribe śāntis for removing diseases of elephants and therefore a brief note is added here from Baud. grhyaśesa-sūtra, which is probably the earliest and simplest description of a Gajaśānti.

"On the 8th or 11th or 14th tithi of the bright half of a month or on Śravana nakṣatra, the owner should feed brāhmanas,

1300 Vide मनु VI. 50 न चोत्पातनिमित्तान्यां न नक्षत्राङ्गविधया । नाहुःशासन-
वादान्यां भिक्षां लिप्सेत कर्हिचित् ॥. The commentators give different explanations
of अङ्गविद्या. Probably it means साहसद्विक or lore about the indications from the
throbbing of the several limbs. A work Called Aṅgavijjā edited by Mnn.
Punyavijayaji is published by the Prakrit Text Society at Banaras. It speaks
of eight kinds of निमित्तसः viz. अङ्ग, स्वप्न, लक्षण, व्यञ्जन, स्वप्न, चिह्न, भौम and आन्तरिक्ष.
For कालिदास, vide ज्ञाननिन्दमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुतः फलमिहास्य । शाकुन्तल
I. 11: मनोरथाय नाशंसे किं बाहो स्पन्दसे इथा । शाकुन्तल VII. 13: शाकुन्तल । —अहो किं
मे वामतरङ्गयनं विस्फुरति । शाकुन्तल Act V after verse 11.

1301. इति पिदकविभागः शोक आ सूर्यतोयं व्रणतिलकविभागोऽप्येवमेव प्रकल्प्यः । भवति
मशकलस्मावर्तजन्मापि तद्वन्निगदितफलकारि प्राणिनां देहसंस्थम् । बृहत्सं. 51. 10, मशकं
तिलकं पिदकं वापि व्रणमथ चिह्नं किमपि कदापि । स्फुरति पदान्यधित्तिष्ठति यावत्स्यात् पूर्वोक्तं
फलमपि तावत् ॥ वसन्तराज VI. 4 11, p. 91.

1302. Verses 8-13 of the Br. S. 93 are the same as the verses of
Brhadyogayātrā 21. 9-14.

1303. आरिराधयिषुर्नराधिपं वारणाश्रितमिदं शुभाशुभम् । ज्ञेयमादरत्वतो विपश्चिता
वारणेऽप्युपतेर्जयः स्थितः ॥ योगयात्रा X. 1

make them declare 'it is an auspicious day, let there be welfare, let there be prosperity,' should first (or 'towards the east') take out for offering *havis* sesame and rice grains, bring water after repeating the Gāyatrī verse (Rg. III. 62. 10), should cover two jars with a new piece of cloth with the Gāyatrī, should close the mouths of the jars with some fruit (a cocoanut or the like) and keep the boiled food towards the west and place (the two jars) on a bunch of five *dūrvās*. Then after the elephant stable is decked with wreaths of darbhas the elephant inhales the smell of the food offered in fire. He then makes ready a spoon of *Āśvattha* wood and fuel and darbha grass. Then he goes through the items of ordinary *homa* ¹³⁰⁴ from drawing lines onwards and offers oblations of the boiled food with ghee to the accompaniment of the *Ghṛtasūkta* ¹³⁰⁵ (Rg. VIII. 81. 1-9). Then (the priest) offers 1008 additional *dhutis* with clarified butter with the five mantras beginning with 'namas-te Rudra manyave' (O Rudra! adoration to you that are fury incarnate' Tai. S. IV. 5. 1. 1-5). Then the procedure from *Svistakṛt* offering to the gift of the cow (should be gone through). He puts down on bunches of *dūrvā* grass the remaining portion of the food from which offerings were made in front of the sacred Agni with the words 'svāhā to the *bhūtas*' (spirits). Then he (priest) makes (the elephant) eat what remains of the food cooked in the *sthūli* (pan or cooking vessel) and the bunch of five *dūrvā* (on which the jars had been placed) to the accompaniment of the *Āyusya-sūkta*; ¹³⁰⁶ he sprinkles drops from the *pranīta* ¹³⁰⁷ water with the

1304 Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 207-211 for the description of a model *homa*.

1305 It may be noted that the first verse of the *Ghṛtasūkta* is 'अथ न इन्द्र धूमन्त चित्रं श्रानं सं शुभाय । महाहस्ती क्षत्रिणेन ॥'. Here the word महाहस्ती means 'great elephant' and also 'having long or big arms' (as applied to *Iodra*) and therefore is employed in the *Gajāsānti*, following the principle mentioned in note 1276 above. Vide n. 1218 above about *वृत्तसूक्त*.

1306. The *आयुष्यसूक्त* is the *खिलसूक्त* 'आयुष्यं वर्चस्व' occurring after Rg. X. 128. The *आयुष्यपारिशिष्ट* 32 9 p. 195 declares what the *आयुष्यगण* contains (from *Atharvaveda*). The *कौटिल्यसूत्र* 52. 18 says that *Atharva* I. 30. 1-4 are *आयुष्याणि* (conferring long life). Vide *सात्ययुधदर्शन* on आपृ. V. 12. 9 which regards the (first) eight verses of the *खिलसूक्त* 'आयुष्यं वर्चस्व' as constituting *आयुष्यसूक्त*. The com of *Nārāyaṇa* on आन्व. IV. 8. 16 (*आयुष्यमिति सूक्तेन मयि कण्ठे प्रतिशुष्य &c*) says that *आयुष्यसूक्त* here is the *खिलसूक्त* (of three verses) beginning with *नेजमेव* after Rg. X. 184.

1307. *प्रणीता* is water kept in a vessel to the north of the fire after repeating a mantra over it.

three verses beginning with 'āpo hi stbā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3, Tai. S. IV. 1. 3. 1-3) and the four verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarnāh' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1-4), purifies (the elephant with water) to the accompaniment of the anuvāka beginning with 'pavamānah suvarjanah' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8. 1); he then leads the elephant to its place (stable); the elephant becomes long-lived; so says the adorable Baudhāyana."

The Gajāśānti in Agnipurāṇa (chap. 291) is entirely different from the above. One should worship on the 5th tithi of the bright half Visnu, Laksmī, the Airāvata¹³⁰⁸ elephant and the other elephants (in all eight) and Brahmā, Śankara, Indra, Kubera, Yama, the Sun and the Moon, Varuna, Vāyu, Agni, the Earth and Ākāśa. The elephants should be sprinkled with *śāntyudaka* (propitiatory water). The Agnipurāṇa proposes an elaborate worship, on a lotus-shaped diagram drawn on an altar, of several gods, several weapons, sages, rivers and mountains &c., elephants &c. and provides that an astrologer should ride the principal elephant of the king and say into its ear 'you are made the chief of elephants, the king will honour you with *gandha*, flowers, best food and people at the order of the king will honour you; you should protect the king in battle, in his journey and in his palace. You should forget that you are a mere beast and revolve in your mind that you are divine!' &c. The king should then ride such an elephant and armed warriors should follow and various gifts should be made to the elephant keeper, the astrologer, the ācārya &c.

The Visnudharmottara (II. 50. 1-93) is far more elaborate than even the Agnipurāṇa. Its verses about the words to be muttered in the ear of the elephant (II. 50. 59-64) are the same as those in the Agni (291, 15-20). The Visnudharmottara adds (II. 50. 68-70) that this śānti should not be performed on the 4th, 9th or 14th tithi nor on Tuesday nor on Saturday and the recommended nakṣatras are Jyesthā, Citrā and Śravaṇa and that this śānti rite for elephants destroys all danger to elephants.

Hemādri (on Vrata vol. II pp. 1036-1051) contains a long Gajāśānti said to have been declared by Pālākāpya. Many of

1308. According to the Amarakośa, the eight elephants of the quarters are Airāvata, Pundarikā, Vāmana, Kumuda, Añjana, Puspādanta, Śārva-bhauma and Supratika. Vide Udyogaparva 103. 9-16 and Dronaparva 121. 25-26 for the numerous progeny of these semi-divine elephants. The Visnudharmottara (II. 50. 10-11) names eight *diggaḥjas*, but drops Śārva-bhauma from the Amarakośa list and substitutes Nīla.

those verses occur in the *Hastyaśurveda* (Ānandāśrama ed. chapters 35 and 36. Considerations of space and of importance prevent any description of that śānti derived from the *Hastyaśurveda*.

The *Brhatsamhitā* (chap 92. 1-14), the *Brhadhyogayātra* (22. 1-21) and the *Yogayātrā* (XI. 1-14) deal with the movements neighing, prancing, striking the ground with hoofs, postures of horses from which lucky or unlucky consequences are to be inferred. But they do not describe any śānti and therefore are passed over. The *Agnipurāṇa* (chap 290, 1-8), the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (II. 47. 1-42), *Baud. grhyésasūtra* I. 19 and *Hemādri* (on *vṛata*, vol. II. pp 1031-36 taken from *Śālihetra*) describe a śānti which averts all dangers to horses and removes their diseases.

The śānti from *Baudhāyana* is as follows:—"having carried out the usual details of an ordinary *homa* from drawing the lines onwards (the priest) offers into *Agni* oblations from the cooked food after reciting the *puronuvākya* (invitatory prayer) 'tadaśvināśvayujopayātām' (May the *Āśvins* that yoke horses come near, *Tai. Br.* III. 1. 2. 10) and the *yājña* (offering prayer) 'yau devānām bhīṣajau' ('that are physicians of the gods', *Tai. Br.* III. 1. 2. 11). Then he makes additional offerings with clarified butter 'śūhū to *Āśvins*, *svāhū* to the two that yoke horses, *śūhū* to the ear, *svāhū* to hearing' (*Tai. Br.* III. 1. 6. 13). Then he performs all details from *svistakṛt* offering to the gift of a cow. Then he puts down on *Āśvattha* leaves in front of *Agni* the food remaining after the offering of cooked food with the mantra 'yo *āśvatthah* ... *ketubhiḥ saha*' (*Tai. Br.* I. 2. 1. 8-9). He brings together in a plate the water with which the *sthālī* is washed, the remainder of the clarified butter and of the water, sprinkles drops from it with an *Āśvattha* twig and goes round the horses thrice with his right towards the horses with the *anuvāka* beginning with 'yo vā *āśvasya medhyasya lomāni veda*' (he who knows the hair of the holy horse). So said the adorable *Baudhāyana*."

Śāntis are connected with *śakunas* also. The word *śakuna* means 'a bird' in the *Rgveda* (IV. 26. 6, IX. 86. 13, IX. 96. 19 and 23, IX. 107. 20, IX. 112. 2, X. 68. 7, X. 123. 6, X. 165. 2) and is a synonym of *śakuni* (*Rg.* II. 42. 1, II. 43. 2 and 3) and *śakunti* (*Rg.* II. 42. 3, II. 43. 1). In *Rg.* X. 16. 6 (*yat te kṛṣṇaḥ śakuna atutoda*) the crow is referred to as 'the dark bird'. It has been seen above that birds like *kapola* were regarded even

in the Ṛgveda as harbingers of impending evil and misfortune. Hence the word śakuna gradually came to mean premonition of evil conveyed by cries, movements, positions of birds and then any prognosticatory sign (not necessarily connected with birds). There is an extensive literature on śakunas. Some of it is mentioned here, viz. the Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 237, 241, 243), Agnipurāṇa (chap. 230-232), Visnudharmottarapurāṇa II. 163-164, Padmapurāṇa (IV. 100. 65-126), Brhat-samhitā (chap. 85-95), Brhad-yogayātrā (chap. 23-27), Yogayātrā (chap. 14), the Nimitta of Bhadrabāhu (ms. in Bhanu Daji collection of BBRAS No. 385 in Prof. Velankar's Catalogue pp. 126-127), Vasantarāja-śakuna,¹³⁰⁹ Mānasollāsa of king Someśvara Cālukya (1126-1138

1309. Vāsanarāja's work on 'śakunas' was published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay (1906 A. D.), with the Sanskrit commentary of Bhānucandragani, who was patronized by Emperor Akbar (in the latter half of the 16th century A. D.) and a Hindi translation by Sridhar Jatasankara Bhatta. As Vasantarāja is quoted by Adbhūta-sāgara which was begun in śaka 1089 (1167 A. D.), it follows that Vasantarāja would have to be placed before 1100 A. D. He is probably not much earlier than 700 A. D. as he does not appear to have been mentioned by Utpala in his extensive commentaries on Varāhamihira's works. Vasantarāja tells us (in the Introductory verses 3-5) that he was the son of Vijayarājabhāta and Sarasvatī and the younger brother of Śivarāja, that he was honoured by king Candradeva (king of Mithulā, acc. to the Com.) and composed the work on śakuna at the request of that king. He mentions (I 10) Cūdāmani, jyotiśa-śāstra, horā-śāstra and Svarodaya and (in I. 27) informs us that Atri, Garga, Guru, Śukra, Vasistha, Vyāsa, Kautsa, Bhṛgu and Gaṇṭama were the principal ancient sages that declared the knowledge of śakunas for the benefit (of human beings). Cūdāmani is rather an early work quoted in the Sārāvalī (5. 20 and 39, 8) of Kalyāṇavarman in the same breath with Varāhamihira.

The Nimitta attributed to Bhadrabāhu is an extensive work containing 26 chapters and about 1460 verses. It is described in the colophon at the end as 'nairgrāthe (nairgrāthe?) Bhadrabāhūke Nimitte svapnādhyāyaḥ'. The first chapter states that in the time of king Senajit at Rājagṛha in Magadha pupils asked Bhadrabāhu to expound to them the *nimittas* and he did so. He is styled (in chap. II 1) a *digambara* and the best of *śramanas*. The contents of chapters 2 to 26 are: Ulkā (meteors), halo, lightning, evening glow, clouds, winds and hurricanes, rain-fall, gandharvanagara (Fata Morgana), march of kings on invasion, portents affecting the king and the country due to the ripening of actions in former lives (chap. XIV has 177 verses on this), grāhacāra as declared by Jina (chap. XV, 227 verses), the prognosticatory movements of Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Rāhu, Ketu, the Sun and the Moon; grāhayuddha; conjunctions of planets; dreams. It appears that the work is later than Varāhamihira. As it is not within the pale of Dharmasāstra Literature and hardly ever describes a śānti in the way in which the Purāṇas and medieval dharmasāstra works provide it has been referred to in this work only rarely,

thorns and other (dangerous) things and that if fate alone be the deciding factor what is the use of the science of politics and government by following which wise kings protect the world with great effort? Learned men declare that *daiva* (fate) is only the *karma* produced (accumulated) in past lives; the *karma* in past lives was acquired by human effort; how can one then say that *daiva* does not depend on human effort? The subjects in the 20 *vargas* and the verses allotted to each by Vasantarāja may be briefly set down at one place: 1. Śāstrapratisthā (establishment of the śakunaśāstra by reasoning, verse 31); 2. Śāstraeangraha, 13 verses (the statement of the contents of chapters and verses); 3. abhyarcana, verses 31 (how to honour the guru who expounds the śakunaśāstra and to offer worship to the birds, and the eight lokapālas according to the procedure laid down by sages); 4. miśraka, verses 72 (general directions such as that the person out of several with reference to whom a śakuna may be examined up to what distance a śakuna operates, if many beings exhibit prognostications which should be followed, what birds and animals are powerful in what directions as to śakunae; śānta, dagdha and other directions); 5. śubhāśubha (auspicious and inauspicious things and sights) verses 16; 6. nareṅgita, verses 50 (the appearance, dress, gestures, speech, throbbing of the limbs of men and women that are auspicious or inauspicious); 7. śyāmāruta (chirpings of the bird called śyāmā, female cuckoo) 400 verses (worship of two images of the bird practically as a deity, the auspicious or inauspicious sounds, activities, motions with reference to invasion, coronation, peace and war, victory, marriage, rainfall, crops); 8. Pakṣivīcāra, verses 57 (prognostications from the cries, sight, glances, movements of several birds such as swan, crane, cakravāka, parrot, mānā, peacock, kapiñjala, vulture, hawk, owl, pigeon, cock); 9. Cāśa (the blue jay) verses 5; 10. khañjana (wagtail), verses 27; 11. karāpikā (a kind of crane), verses 11; 12. kākaruta (the cawing of crows) verses 181; 13. Pingalikāruta (cries of an owl-like bird), verses 200; 14. catuspada (four-footed animals like elephant, horse, ass, bull, buffalo, cow and she-buffalo, goat and sheep, camel, musk-rat, rat, monkey, cat, jackal), verses 50; 15. six-footed, many footed and snakes (verses 13); 16. Pipīlikā (ants), verses 15; 17. Palli-vīcāra (lizard also called kudyamatsya and grhagodhikā), verses 32; 18. Śvaceṣṭita (barking and other actions of dogs), verse 222; 19. Śivāruta (howling of female jackals), verse 90; 20. Śāstraprabhava (the importance of this śakunaśāstra), verses 24.

A noticeable feature of Vasantarāja's work is that more than half of it (781 verses) is devoted to the sounds¹³¹² made by three birds viz. Śyāmā (400 verses), crow (187) Pingalikā (200) and that 312 verses are devoted to the barking, movements and howling of dogs (verses 222) and female jackal (verses 90). It is remarkable that among the Śāktas it is believed that a female jackal is a messenger of Kālī and is auspicious and on hearing its howl in the early morning a person should offer salutation and then success is in the hands of the sādhanika. The brief contents set out above will show that he extends the meaning of śakuna so as to include prognostications based on the actions of men and beasts. He himself says at the end that¹³¹³ is śakuna, which in this world is remembered, heard, touched or seen or which is declared in dreams, since they all yield results. He claims that the system of śakunas is as authoritative as the Vedas, smṛtis and purāṇas, since it never fails to convey correct knowledge.¹³¹⁴ Some of his interesting statements may be briefly set out. If an owl hoot at night on the top of a house that portends¹³¹⁵ sorrow and the death of the owner's son (VIII. 40). This is in line with modern popular belief in India. The cawing of crows is at the head of all prognosticatory sounds 'The barking of dogs is the essence among all śakunae.' The Brhad-yogayātrā¹³¹⁶ provides that certain animals and birds are useless for prognostications at certain seasons viz. the *rohita* (red) deer, horse, goat, ass, deer, camel, hare, are useless in winter (śisira); crow and cuckoo are

1312. लाभदधिलिचिलीतिनिनाद शूलिशूलिनिनदोपि तथैव । ...स्यान्नाय नियमेन चिच्छिति नि स्वन्धिलिकुनाद इहार्थः । कष्टदधिरिचिरिति विरावर्थीकुच्छीकु इति वैष्णव-विधायी । वसन्त० 7. 52-54 pp. 119-120 How an ordinary man could distinguish between the sound 'cilicili' (portending gains), cici (portending danger), ciriciri (portending trouble) and cikuciku (portending a wretched state) is difficult to say. Similarly, the Pingalā bird is supposed to make five sounds viz. किञ्, किचि, किचिचि, किचिकिचि, किचिकिचिचि (वसन्तराज 13. 27-28) with different consequences.

1313. यदस्ति किञ्चिज्जगतीह वस्तु स्मृतं क्षुतं स्पृष्टमथापि दृष्टम् । स्वमान्तराद्यत्ये-
पादितं तत्फलमद्वत्वाच्छकुनं वदन्ति ॥ वसन्त० 20. 2 p. 513

1314. वेदाः प्रमाणं वस्तुतः । प्रमाणं लोके पुराणानि यथा प्रमाणम् । विशुद्धबोधायनि-
चातिभावात्तथा प्रमाणं शकुनागमोऽयम् ॥ वसन्त० 20. 8 p. 517

1315. रात्रौ गृहस्योपरि भायमाणो दुःखाय युक्तं क्षुतमृत्पथे च । वसन्त० 8. 40, p. 246.

1316. रोहिताम्बाज्जबालेयकुरङ्गोद्भृगुया शशा । निष्फला शिशिरे ज्ञेया वसन्ते काक-
कोकिलौ ॥ न तु भाद्रपदे ग्राह्या चक्रस्ववृकादयः । शरद्वज्रादिगोक्ष्माः आवणे हस्तिचातकौ ॥
व्याघ्रक्षेवानर्द्धपिमहिषाः सविलेक्षया । हेमन्ते निष्फला ज्ञेया गालाः सर्वे विमादृषाः ॥
बृहद्योगयात्रा (ms.) chap. 23 22-24

useless in spring; boar, dog, wolf and the like should not be relied upon in Bhādrapada; in Śarad (autumn) lotuses (or conch), bull and birds like krauñca are useless; in Śrāvana month, the elephant and *cātaka* bird; in Hemanta (early winter), tiger, bear, monkey, leopard, buffalo and all animals resorting to holes (like snakes) are useless and so are all young ones except of human beings. Vasantarāja in IV. 47-48 pp. 56-57 has the same provisions almost word for word. Vasantarāja's work appears to have been based mainly on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* section on śakuna, chapters 85 to 95 (321 verses) in which Varāhamihira devotes 47 verses in chap. 85 to the cries of birds in general, deals with the movements and barking of dogs (88. 1-20) and female jackals (89. 1-15), the cries of crows (62 verses in chap. 94), to horses (92. 1-15), elephants (94. 1-14) and cows (90. 1-3).

Vasantarāja states¹³¹⁷ that there are five excellent ones in the matter of śakunas viz the Podaki bird, dog, crow, pingalā bird and the female jackal. Sarasvatī is the presiding deity of podaki, Yakṣa (Kubera) of dog, eagle of crow, Candī of pingalā and the friend of Pārvatī of the female jackal. He further says that all animals and birds are presided over by deities, therefore a person who interprets śakunas should not kill them, as deities presiding over them might become angry. His statements about 'upaśruti' (oracular voices or words) are worth citing. 'At the time of *pradosa* or about the morning twilight when people are hardly speaking anything, a person that is ready to undertake any matter (business) should consider everywhere oracular voices. What a child says without being prompted to do so would not turn out to be untrue even at the end of a *Yuga*. No such easily understood and true śakuna exists for men other than upaśruti' Both Mānasollāsa (II. 13, verses 920-926 pp. 112-113) and Vasantarāja (VI. pp. 78-80 verses 5-12) describe a curious mode of divining the future called 'upaśruti'.¹³¹⁸ 'When all people are asleep and the public

1317. पीदकी भयणकाकपिङ्गला जम्बुकामियतमा च पञ्चमी। एतच्च मुनिसत्तमैः सदा कीर्त्यते शकुनरत्नपञ्चकम् ॥ सरस्वती पाण्डविकामधाना यक्षीपि यक्ष गण्डश्च काकम्। चण्डी पुनः पिङ्गलिकां सदैव शिवं शिवावृत्यधितिष्ठतीह। वसन्तराज III 3-4, pp 22-23. कालिका-पुराणम्। यः शिवाविवर्तं श्रुत्वा शिवदूतीं शुभप्रदाम्। मणमेत्साधको भूत्वा तस्य कामाः करे स्थिताः ॥ अद्वैतकतरङ्ग (Jiv. I p 345).

1318. प्रदोषकाले यदि वा प्रभाते लोके कचिद् किञ्चन भाद्रमासे। उपश्रुतिः कार्य-समुत्पत्तेन सर्वत्रिकी वा परिभावेयीया ॥ यद्वा लोकेनोक्तमनेदितेन तत्स्यादसत्यं न शुभान्तरेति। उपश्रुतेर्नाप्यदिहास्ति किञ्चित्सत्यं सुबोधं शकुने जनानाम् ॥ वसन्तराज VI pp 80-81

(Continued on next page)

road is empty of people three married women accompanied by a maiden should worship Ganeśa (with gandha and flowers &c.); then, after making an obeisance to Candikā they should fill a measure of corn like *kudara* with *aksata* grains on which sacred mantras have been recited seven times; they should then place the image of Ganeśa in that measure surrounded by the grass blades of a broom. They should take with them the *kudara* measure with Ganeśa image inside and repair to the house of a washerman. In front of that house they should cast white *aksata* grains after (silently) revolving in their mind their thoughts (the matter they are intent on). Then they should with concentrated mind listen. When they hear any words coming from inside of the house talked by a man, a woman or a child or any one else uttered at pleasure (or without restraint of any kind), auspicious, or inauspicious, they should consider the sense of the words heard and the conclusion drawn as to the future project from the words would not turn out to be untrue. The same method may be followed by approaching the house of a cāṇḍāla.

(Continued from last page)

उपश्रुति occurs in the Rg. I. 10 3 and appears to mean simply 'coming near to listen'. Vide also Rg. VIII 8 5 and VIII. 34 11 अर्चयित्वा गणाधीशं सर्वविघ्नविनाशनम्। कुमार्या सहिता नार्यस्तिष्ठ। सुते जनेऽखिले। अक्षते पूरयेदुक्ता यत्किञ्चिद् कुडवादिक्म्। चण्डिकायै नमः कृत्वा सतकृत्वोऽभिमानितम् ॥ संमार्जनीकुताविदे स्थापयेद्युगणाधिपम्। ब्रजेयुस्त समादाय रजकरय निकेतनम्। तद्गृहस्य दुरोगे नमो निक्षिपेत् सितक्षताम्। मनोगतं सद्युद्दिश्य ह्युष्टु उस्समाहिता ॥ श्रूयते वचनं किञ्चिद् रजकालयमध्यगम्। नार्या नरेण बालेन प्रोक्तमन्येन केनचित् ॥ स्वैरसंलापनोन्मत्त ह्युभं वा यदि बाह्यम्। शृण्वन्तीभिः फलं ज्ञेयं तद्वाक्यार्थविचारतः ॥ चण्डालनिलयेऽप्येव श्रवणे बोधने क्रमः। यद् ह्युर्वचनं तत्र तत्तथा न तद्वन्त्यम् ॥ मानसोद्भास II 13, verses 920-926 वसन्तराज employs almost the same words. It is difficult to say whether one borrows from the other. Probably both draw on the same source. कुडव is a measure of grain, equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *prastha*. Acc to भविष्य प by हेमाद्रि (on व्रत vol I. p. 57 and परा भा II 1 p 141), 2 पलः = प्रश्रुति, 2 प्रश्रुतिः = कुडव, 4 कुडवः = प्रस्थ, 4 प्रस्थः = आढक, 4 आढकः = द्रोण, 16 द्रोणः = खारी शबर on जै X 3. 45 mentions कुडव, आढक, द्रोण and खारी पाणिनि mentions आढक and खारी in V. 1 53 and V. 4. 101. According to ancient smrtis, a washerman was one of the seven antyajās, vide रजकश्रमकारश्च नदो बुरुह एव च। कैवल्येदमिष्टाश्च सतेते चान्यथा. स्मृता ॥ अत्रि 199, अङ्गिरस् (Jiv I p. 554), यम 33 (Ānand ed of smrtis). While these pages were passing through the press, the author got a copy of a recent work 'The interpretation of dreams in the ancient Near East' with translation of an 'Assyrian Dream book' by A. Leo Oppenheim (as vol. 46 part 3, 1956, of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series). He could not refer to the interesting parallels from the book as regards dreams, but on p 211 the writer states that the use of chaotic utterances made by unconcerned persons was known in the ancient Near East not only in Palestine but also in Mesopotamia.

A peculiar mode akin to 'upaśruti' is described in the Padmapurāṇa, Pātālakhaṇḍa, chap. 100 verses 65-166. It is narrated in that chapter that Bibhīṣana was put in chains by Dravida when the former saw Śiva-linga established by Rāma at Rāmeśvara and when no one could explain how it happened, Rāma questioned Śambhu himself who explained that the Purāṇas (mentioned in verses 51-53) may be employed as containing prognosticatory words. The procedure is that a maiden more than five years of age and less than ten years or any girl who has not attained puberty may be honoured with *gandha*, flowers, incense and other upacāras, she should be made to recite the words 'speak the truth, speak what is agreeable, O blessed Sarasvatī' salutation to you, salutation to you!' She should be given three pairs of dūrva grass and she should be asked to cast them between two leaves of the book. The verse between two leaves would be indicative of success in the undertaking. The verse should be carefully considered and its meaning settled and applied to the matter in hand. This is like *sortes sanctorum* or *sortes Vergilianae* i. e. divination by opening at random the Scriptures or a book of Virgil or by pricking the text with a pin. Then directions are given as to what should be done if the leaves are half burnt or indistinct &c. and it is said that one should look upon the verse as sent by fate like the words in the upaśruti method.¹³¹⁹ It is further stated that this method should not be resorted to every day, but rarely and that then one should worship the Purāṇa the previous night and in the morning should consult the Purāṇa for śakuna (verses 114-116). The Skanda is the best among all Purāṇas for this purpose of śakuna; some hold that the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Rāmāyana also may be consulted, but the author of the Padma says that Viṣṇupurāṇa may not be used for this purpose, since if a man devoid of proper conduct honours it for consultation, then inauspicious indications come out (verses 122-125). Śambhu himself worshipped Skanda-purāṇa, asked the question why Bibhīṣana, devotee of Śiva, had fetters put on him (verses 131-132). Then three verses were seen that gave indications (verses 133-135), two of which¹³²⁰ are cited below. At the end the

1319 दैवागतो हि स श्लोको देवं हि बलवत्तरम् । उपश्रुतिषु यद्वच्च नापराधो हि ज्ञेयः तु ।
विस्मयो न च कर्तव्यो देवस्य कुटिला गतिः । पद्म, पाताल, 100. 77-78

1320. बद्ध्वा सधुर्दं स तु राववेन्द्रो करोष गुप्तान् क्षणदाचरेन्द्रान् । योद्धुं समागत्य
समाययस्ते लङ्कापुरस्थास्त्वत्तिकायमुत्पया ॥ अहंशूला जनपदाः शिवशूला हिजास्तथा । ममदाः
(Continued on next page)

Purāṇa says that the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata or all its *parvans* may be employed for this purpose of śakuna (verses 163-164).

A similar method of finding out omens and of divination from the two works of the great Hindi poet and saint Tulasidās (born in *samvat* 1589 i.e. 1532 A.D.) viz. Rāmājñā (or Rāmaśakunāvalī containing 343 *doha* verses) and Rāmaśalākā is described at some length by G. A. Grierson in I. A. vol. XXII pp. 204 ff and in Festgabe H. Jacobi pp. 449-455.

It is worthy of note that even scientific works like the Carakasamhitā ask the physician to notice the condition of the patient, of the messenger, and the actions of the physician and inauspicious omens. They are described in Indriyasthāna chap. 12. A few notable verses may be cited here. 'That patient would only live for a month on whose head arises only powder (dandruff or the like) resembling the powder of dry cowdung and that slides down (from the head); that patient will not live even for a fortnight whose chest dries up when he takes a bath and anoints his body with sandalwood paste while all other limbs are yet wet' (verse 12). 'Those messengers from a patient who come to a physician when the latter is offering oblations into fire or is offering pindas to his pitrs, will kill the patient (i.e. indicate the approaching death of the patient, verse 16); a woman who is in a pitiable state, terrified, hurried, troubled, dirty and unchaste, three persons (coming together), deformed persons, impotent persons—these are messengers of those who are about to die' (verses 21-22); 'a physician should not go (to see a patient) on being called by a messenger when the physician sees, while the messenger is describing the condition of the patient, an inauspicious omen or a sorrowing man or a corpse or the decoration meant for the dead', verses 67-70 dilate on the signs of an auspicious messenger and verses 71-79 set out auspicious omens such as the sight of curds, whole grains, brāhmanas, bulls, king, jewels, jar full of water, white horse &c. The physician is however advised not to declare an inauspicious omen even when he sees it that would give a shock or cause pain to the patient or even to anyone else (verse 63).

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केशशूलिन्यो भविष्यन्ति कलौ सुये ॥ पद्म, पाताल 100 133-134. The second verse is enigmatic and occurs in कलिस्वरूपवर्णनं. Vide Vanaparva, chap. 188, 42 where it occurs and H. of Dh. vol. III p. 893 (for explanation) and p. 1012 for quotation from Vanaparva.

last are designated Mahārudra and eleven Mahārudras are called Atirudra. The Rudra may take three forms viz. *japa* (muttering), *homa* (offering into Agni oblations to the accompaniment of the mantras), or *abhiśeka* (sprinkling a person with the holy water over which the mantras have been recited). For reciting Rudrādhyāya the yajamāna, if he cannot himself recite it, may employ one brāhmana and also for Ekādaśinī; but for Laghurudra and Mahārudra eleven brāhmanas are generally employed and for Atirudra eleven or 121. Ekādaśinī and Laghurudra are very much in vogue even now in Mahārāstra. Rudrābhiśeka is described in Baud. grhyaśāstrasūtra II, 18, 11-16.

The mantra 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Rg VII, 59, 12, Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2, Vāj. S. III, 60) is called Mrtyuñjaya. Japa of it is prescribed for relief against premature death. The Baudhāyana-grhyaśāstrasūtra (III, 11) prescribes a somewhat more elaborate rite and provides that the mantras to be recited are 'apātu mrtyuh' (Tai. Br. III, 7. 14. 4), 'param mrtyo' (Tai. Br. III, 7. 14. 5), 'mā no mahāntam' (Rg I, 114, 7), 'mā nas-toke' (Tai. S. III, 4. 11. 2), 'Tryambakam yajāmaho' (Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2), 'Ye te sahasram' (Tai. Br. III, 10. 8. 2).

It is unnecessary for the author to say what should be done in these days as to śāntis. Most of the śāntis except a few, as pointed out above in various places, are no longer performed. Even the few that are yet performed may cease altogether in the near future, if one is to judge from modern trends.

SECTION IV

THE PURĀNAS AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA

CHAPTER XXII

Origin and development of Purāṇa literature

The History of Dharmaśāstra (vol. I pp. 160-167) has a brief chapter on the Purāṇas. It has been shown therein how the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Chāndogya and Brhadāranyaka Upanisads mention Itihāsa and Purāṇa (sometimes collectively as 'Itihāsapurāṇam' and sometimes separately as 'Itihāsaḥ Purāṇam') and how some of the extant Purāṇas are much earlier than the 6th century A.D. It is further pointed out there that the number of the principal Purāṇas has been traditionally handed down as eighteen,¹³²⁴ that some purāṇas such as the Matsya, the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and Bhaviṣya contain much Dharmaśāstra material, that the Garuda-purāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa contain several hundred verses each that are identical with verses of the Yājñavalkya smṛti, that there is great divergence as to the extent of almost all Purāṇas, that some of the Purāṇas themselves enumerate minor works called Upapurāṇas, that the Purāṇas are divided into three groups, viz. *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* (as done by Garuda I. 223. 17-20, and Padma VI. 263. 81-84). Details were also furnished as to the chapters of the Purāṇas in which the several topics of Dharmaśāstra (such as *ācāra*, *āhnikā*, *dāna*, *rājadharmā*, *śrāddha*, *tīrtha*) were dealt with.

In the present section it is proposed to trace the great transformation that took place in the ideas, ideals and practices of the ancient Indian people owing to the influence of the Purāṇas in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

Before proceeding further several preliminary matters have to be dealt with. The mention of Purāṇas as a class of literature

1324. The Matsya (53. 18-19), Agni (272 4-5) and Nārada (I. 92 26) enumerate Vāyu among the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, while the Viṣṇu (III. 6.19), Mārkaṇḍeya (134.8), Kūrma (I 1.13), Padma (I. 62 2), Liṅga (I 39 61), Bhāgavata (XII. 7.23), Brahmavaivarta (III. 133 14) substitute Śaiva for Vāyu and omit Vāyu altogether from the list of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas.

goes back much farther than was pointed out in the H. of DH. vol. I, p. 160. The Atharvaveda¹³²⁵ mentions Purāna (in the singular) in XI. 7. 24 and XV. 6. 10-11 'The rk and sāman verses, the chandas, the Purāna along with the Yajus formulæ, all sprang from the remainder of sacrificial food, (as also) the gods that resort to heaven He changed his place and went over to great direction, and Itihāsa and Purāna, gāthās, verses in praise of heroes followed in going over.' The Śatapatha brāhmana also (XI. 5. 6. 8) mentions 'Itihāsapurānam' (as one compound word) and states that on the 9th day of the Pāriplava the *hotr* priest instructs among other matters as follows: 'The Purāna is the Veda, this it is; thus saying let him narrate some Purāna' (XIII. 4. 3 13.).¹³²⁶ The Śāṅkhāyana¹³²⁷ Śrautasūtra (XVI. 2. 27) and the Āśvalāyana Śrauta (X. 7) remark that on two days of the Pāriplava the Itihāsa-veda and Purāna-veda were to be recited. But the two sūtras (though affiliated to the Rgveda) differ as to the day on which they were to be recited. It is difficult to say whether the Atharvaveda, the Śatapatha Brāhmana and the Upanisads knew several works called Purāna or whether there was only a single work called

1325 ऋचं सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह। उच्छिष्टाज्जिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिविश्रितः॥ अथर्व XI 7 24; स बृहती दिशमनुष्पचलत्। तन्मितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराज्ञंसीश्चाजुष्यचलत्। अथर्व XV. 6 10-11. Vide Prof Hazra's interpretation of the first verse in ABORI. vol 36, 1955, pp. 190-203 and criticism there-of below.

1326. मन्वाहुतयो ह वा एता देवाना पदलुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाङ्मयमितिहासपुराण गाथा नाराज्ञंसीरित्यहरह स्वाध्यायमधीते। शतपथ XI. 5. 6 8, अथाष्टमेऽहन्। मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यह्नश्चोपसमेता भवन्ति। ताजुषदिशतीतिहासो वेदः सोपमिति कचिदितिहासमाचक्षीत। अथ नवमेऽहन्। 'ताजुषदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोपमिति किञ्चित्पुराणमाचक्षीत। शतपथ XIII 4 3. 12-13. According to the commentary Itihāsa means such cosmological myths as 'in the beginning there was nothing but water' and Purāna means stories such as that of Purūravas and Urvaśī Compare गोपथब्राह्मण (ed by Gaastra) I 1 21

1327 समाप्तासु समाप्तासु दक्षिणत आहवनीयस्य हिरण्यकशिपावासीनोऽभिषिक्तय पुत्रामात्यपरिहृताय राज्ञे पारिक्ष्वमाचक्षीत। मथमेहनि मजुर्वैवस्वतस्तस्य मजुष्या विशत् इम आसत् इति गृहमेधिन उपसमानीता स्तुताजुषदिशति। ऋचो वेद सोऽयमिति सूक्त निगदेत्॥ आश्व औ X 6, 10-X 7 1. समाप्तासु refers to the three istis to Savitr offered every day in the morning, mid-day and evening; the com. of गान्धर्वनारायण explains: समाप्तास्त्विति क्षीप्तावचनात् पारिक्ष्वाख्यानमपि संवत्सरमहरह कर्तव्यमिति गम्यते॥ The आश्व औ. connects Itihāsa with the 9th day and Purānavidyā with the eighth, while the शौ औ reverses this order The आश्व औ winds up 'एवमेतत्पर्यायश्च संवत्सरमाचक्षीत। दशमीं दशमीं समापयन्। सवत्सरान्ते दीक्षेत।' X 7 9-11; the शाङ्खायनश्रौत derives पारिक्ष्व 'तद्यजुन पुन परिक्ष्वते तस्मात्पारिक्ष्वम्' (XVI 2 36).

Purāṇa known to them. But from the fact that the Tai. Ār. (II 10) speaks of Itihāsas and Purāṇas (in the plural) it would not be unreasonable to suppose that in the later Vedic period at least some works (three or more) called Purāṇas existed and were studied and recited by those that were engaged in solemn sacrifices like the Āsvamedha. It is not unlikely that, where the singular 'Purāṇam' was employed in the Vedic texts, a class of works was meant. The facts that 'Itihāsa-Purāṇa' is called the fifth Veda in the Upanisads and that the Śatapatha employs 'Itihāsa-Purāṇam' as one compound word lead to the inference that the two categories 'Itihāsa' and 'Purāṇa' were similar in contents at least in several respects. The Āpastamba-dharmasūtra¹³²⁸ quotes two verses each in two places from a Purāṇa (in the singular), once cites the view of the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa and in another place gives the summary of a Purāṇa passage or verse which says that, when a person attacks another

1328. अथ पुराणे श्लोकादुदाहरन्ति । उच्यतामाहुतां भिक्षां पुरस्तादभवेदिताम् । भोज्या मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥ न तस्य पितरोऽनन्ति दश वर्षाणि पञ्च च । न च हृष्यं वदस्यत्रिंस्तामभ्याधिमन्यते । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 13; these two are the same as Manu IV 248-249 with slight variations, अटाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीपिरर्यः । दक्षिणेनार्यम् । पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥ अटाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजां नेपिरर्यः । उत्तरेणार्यम् । पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पन्ते ॥ इत्युद्धरितसां मशंसा । आप. ध. सू. II 9. 23. 3-6. These two verses respectively say that those who lead the life of a householder performing sacrifices and desiring progeny have to undergo deaths (lit. cemeteries, śmaśānāni) and hirths (i.e. they only reach heaven and are born again and again), while those that do not desire progeny but remain celibate throughout life become immortal (i.e. are not born again). शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on बृह. उप. VI. 2 15 quotes a स्मृति verse as follows - 'अटाशीतिसहस्राणामृषीणामुद्धरितसाम् । उत्तरेणार्यम् । पन्थास्तेऽमृतत्वं हि भेजिरे ॥'. Compare : अटाशीतिसहस्राणि यतीनामुद्धरितसाम् । उदक् पन्थानमर्यम् । स्थिता ह्याभूतसं प्लवम् । विष्णुपुराण II 8. 93, वायु 50. 213, 218, मत्स्य 124 102-3 and 107, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 7. 180 (first half). The third passage of Āp is पुनःसर्गे बीजाद्या भवन्तीति भविष्य-पुराणे । आप. ध. II 9. 24 6. This means that those who perform what is laid down in the Veda serve as the seed (i.e. they become Prajāpatīs) of the new creation after *pralaya* (dissolution) Compare वाङ्म. III 184-186, one of which is तत्राटाशीतिसहस्रा सुनयो गृहनेधिनः । पुनरावर्तिनी बीजभूता धर्ममवर्तकाः ॥ The 4th passage of आप. ध. सू. is यो हिंसायैमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्थुरेव मन्थुं स्पृशति न तस्मिन्दोष इति पुराणे । I. 10. 29 7. On killing a brāhmana there was a difference of opinion, Āp probably paraphrases some verses such as Manu VIII. 350-351, the latter of which is : नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवेति कश्चन । प्रकाशं वाऽप्रकाशं वा मन्थुस्तं मन्थुमुच्छति ॥. Both verses of Manu occur in मत्स्य 227. 115-117, विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र V. 189-190, बुद्धहारीत IX 349-350; पञ्च V 45. 45-46 are very similar. Vide Bühler in I. A. vol. 25 pp. 323 ff.

with the object of harming him and the person attacked kills the attacker, no sin is incurred. From these passages it is clear that Āpastamba had before him a Purāṇa called Bhavīsyat and also that the Purāṇa or Purāṇas which he knew contained rules about the food to be accepted for eating, about the stages of householder and the perpetual student, about resisting an ātatāyin even unto death and about creation and re-creation after dissolution. These matters fall within the province of Smṛtis and Purāṇas. As the word 'purāṇa' means 'ancient', the word Bhavīsyat-purāṇa is a contradiction in terms. Long before Āpastamba the word Purāṇa had come to mean a work dealing with ancient tales &c; several such works must have been composed and they probably began to incorporate contemporary events and wrote about such events in a prophetic vein. Hence arose the name Bhavīsyat-purāṇa.¹³²⁹ As Āpastamba mentions a Bhavīsyat-purāṇa and also Purāṇa, it follows that before 500 B. C. several Purāṇas existed one of which was called the Bhavīsyat and the Purāṇas then known contained the topics of *sarga*, *pratisarga* and *smṛti* matters.

This conclusion is strongly corroborated by other facts. The Gautama-dharmaśāstra provides that a learned (*bahuvr̥ta*) brāhmana is one who knows peoples' usages, the Veda, the *angas* (auxiliary lores), *Vākovākya* (dialogues), *Itihāsa* and Purāṇa and that the king in administering the affairs of his kingdom and justice has to depend upon the Veda, Dharmaśāstra, the (six) *angas* of the Veda, the (four) *Upavedas* and Purāṇa.¹³³⁰

From the above discussion it appears that, though we are not in a position to make definite statements about the contents of the Purāṇa or Purāṇas referred to in the Atharva, Śat. Br., Tai. Ār. and the Upanisads, by the time of Āp. and Gautama, Purāṇas approaching in contents to some extent at least some of the extant Purāṇas had come into existence. The

1329 It may be noted that the Varāhapurāṇa (chap 177, 34) expressly mentions the Bhavīsyat purāṇa. The reference shows that (in 177, 54-57) Sāmha, son of Kṛṣṇa, renovated the Purāṇa called Bhavīsyat and established images of the Sun-god in four places viz (1) to the south of the Yamunā, (2) between Yamunā and Multan, called Kālapriya, (3) at Mūlsthāna (modern Multan), (4) in Mathurā, vide Bhavīsyā (Venk. ed.) I 72 4-7 for three centres of the Sun image. The Matsya 53. 62 also mentions the Bhavīsyat

1330. तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः इत्याण्य । गो. ध. दृ. XI. 19.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya states that ¹³³¹ 'trayī' means the three Vedas, viz. Sāmaveda, Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and that the Atharvaveda and Itihāśaveda are (also) vedas'. It follows that in Kauṭilya's time Itihāśa was a definite work like the three vedas. In another place Kauṭilya provides 'a minister proficient in Arthaśāstras and bent on the good of the king should, by means of itivṛtta (history or historical occurrences) and Purānas, admonish (and bring to the right path) a king led astray by other guides.' In laying down a time-table for the king's daily routine of work, ¹³³² Kauṭilya provides that in the latter part of the day the king should listen to Itihāśa and defines the latter as comprehending Purāna, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā (narrations), udāharana (heroic examples), Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra (science of government and statecraft). It appears that Kauṭilya meant by 'Itihāśa' a Mahābhārata more or less very like the extant one, which describes ¹³³³ itself as the best of itihāśas, as a Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra and as Kārṣnaveda. Among the officials ¹³³⁴ to be maintained by the king with salaries are mentioned astrologers, persons conversant with portents and auspicious times, Paurānika, Sūta and Māgadha, who were to be paid 1000 (panas) as salary. The Daksasmṛti, ¹³³⁵ which is comparatively an early smṛti prescribes the reading of Itihāśa and Purāna for all *dvija* house-holders in the 6th and 7th parts of the day (divided into eight parts). The Auśanasa-smṛti prescribes that the Vedāṅgas and Purānas should be studied in the dark half of the months after Utsarjana (vide Jiv. part I p 515). When the

1331. सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः । अर्थशास्त्र I. 3; मुखैरव-
ग्रहीतं वा राजानं तत्प्रियाभितः । इतिवृत्तपुराणान्यां बोधयेदर्धशास्त्रवित् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र V. 6 p 257
(a verse at end).

1332. पूर्वमहर्भागं हस्त्यश्वरथमहरणविद्यासु विनयं गच्छेत्, पश्चिममितिहासश्रवणे ।
पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः । अर्थशास्त्र I. 5 p 10.

1333. अर्थशास्त्रमिदं भोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं महत् । कामशास्त्रमिदं भोक्तं व्यासेनानित-
शुद्धिना । ... इतिहासोत्तमाद्रमाज्जायन्ते कविबुद्धयः । ... अस्याख्यानस्य विषये पुराणं वर्तते
हिजातः । आदिपर्व 2 83, 85-86. In आदिपर्व 62 23 the महाभारत is called धर्मशास्त्र,
अर्थशास्त्र and मोक्षशास्त्र. The मार्कण्डेयपुराण (1 6-7) describes the means of the Mahābhārata
as the śāstra of all the four *puruṣārthas* and as the means of knowing the
proper actions for all four varṇas

1334. कार्त्तिक-नैमित्तिक-मौहूर्तिक-पौराणिक-सूतमागधाः पुरोहितपुरुषाः सर्वा-
ध्यक्षाश्च साहस्राः । अर्थशास्त्र V. 3 (श्रुतभरणीयम्) p 247. पौराणिक means one who
studies or knows the purāṇas, acc. to the sūtra 'तदधीते तद्दे' पा. IV. 2. 59.

1335. इतिहासपुराणाद्यैः पठसप्तमकौ नयेत् । अष्टमे लोकयात्रां तु बहिःसन्ध्यां ततः
पुनः ॥ दक्ष II. 69; the गण्डपुराण I. 213. 158 has the first half

Manusmṛti¹³³⁶ provides that in a *śrāddha* rite the *brāhmanas* invited for dinner should recite the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras, stories, *Itihāsas*, Purānas and *khila* hymns (such as *Śrīsūkta*), it should be taken as referring to Purāna works closely resembling the extant ones. The Yājñavalkya¹³³⁷ *smṛti* enumerates the fourteen *Vidyāsthānas* (branches of knowledge) and sources of *dharma* as Purāna, Nyāya (logic), Mīmāṃsā (rules of Vedic interpretation), Dharmaśāstras, the *angas* of the Veda and the (four) Vedas. These fourteen are probably arranged in the order of importance and authoritativeness at the time of the Yājñavalkya-*smṛti*. Yāj. refers to sages that expounded or promulgated the Vedas, Purānas, the *vidyās* (six *angas*), the Upanisads, the *ślokas* (*itihāsa*?), aphoristic works (like those of Jaimini or on *nyāya*), the *bhāṣyas* and whatever other literature exists. In another place Yāj. recommends that a householder after a bath in the morning and worship of gods and *pitṛs* should engage in *japa-yañña*, in which he should mutter according to his ability parts of the Veda, of Atharvaveda, *Itihāsa* and Purānas and philosophical texts. These passages from Yājñavalkya establish that *Itihāsa* and Purāna went together, that both were works distinct from Vedic Literature and that both had attained a status of sacredness and authoritativeness in matters of *dharma* in the time of the Yājñavalkya-*smṛti* not later than 3rd century (A. D.). A *Vārtika* mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya on Pān IV. 2. 59-60 provides for the formation of words with the affix 'thak' (*ika*) in the case of *ākhyāna* (such as Yāvakraṭika, Yāyātika), *ākhyāyikā* (such as Vāsavadattika, Saumanottarika), *itihāsa* (*aitihāsika*), Purāna (*paurānika*) in the sense of one who studies or knows that¹³³⁸ In numerous passages the Mahābhārata mentions Purāna in the singular

1336. स्वाध्यायं आचरेत्पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव । आख्यानानीतिहासाश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च ॥ मनु III 232

1337. पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राद्भिन्निताः । वेदा स्थानानि विद्याना धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ याज्ञ० I 3, यतो वेदा पुराणानि विद्योपनिषदस्तथा । श्लोका सूत्राणि भाष्याणि यच्च किञ्चन वाक्यम् ॥ याज्ञ० III 189, वेदादर्थपुराणानि सेतिहासानि शक्तिः । जययज्ञ-प्रसिद्धचर्थे विद्या चाध्यात्मिकी जपेत् ॥ याज्ञ० I 101 Compare विष्णुपुराण V. 1 37-38 with याज्ञ० I 3 Sometimes the branches of knowledge are said to be 18 by adding the four *upavedas*, viz आनुवेद, धनुर्वेद, गान्धर्ववेद and अर्थशास्त्र, to the 14 mentioned by Yāj. Vide विष्णुपुराण III 6 25-26 (about 14 विद्याs and उपवेद) q. by अपराकं p 6 and कल्पतरु (ब्रह्मचारि) p 22.

1338 आख्यानारूप्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च ढावक्तव्यः । महाभाष्य on 'तदधीति तद्वेद' । ऋतुर्यादिसूत्रान्तादङ्क' पा IV 2. 59-60. The महाभाष्य gives the examples cited above in brackets

as in Ādi 5. 2, 31. 3-4, 51. 6, 65. 52, Udyoga 178. 47-48, Karna 34. 44, Śānti 208. 5, Anuśāsana 22. 12, 102. 21) and sometimes Purānas in the plural (as in Ādi 109. 20, Virāta 51.10, Striparva 13. 2, Śānti 339. 106, Svargārohana 5. 46-47 (which refers to Purānas as 18)¹³³⁹ Further, the Matsya-purāna and a Purāna proclaimed by Vāyu are mentioned in the Vanaparva.¹³⁴⁰ It is impossible to hold that all the numerous references to Purānas are later interpolations, though a few may be so. It is not correct to say that no Purāna resembling the extant ones existed before the time when Purāna stories were collected in the Mahābhārata. There is hardly any evidence to support any such view.

Early Sanskrit authors like Bāna (first half of 7th century A. D.) and commentators like Śabara (not later than between 200-400 A. D.), Kumārila (7th century A. D.), Śankarācārya (between 650-800 A. D.) and Viśvarūpa (800-850 A. D.) leave us in no doubt that in their times Purānas existed, the contents of which were just like those of the extant Purānas. Śabara in his bhāṣya¹³⁴¹ on Jaimini X. 4. 23, while discussing the question as to what is meant by 'devatā' in relation to sacrifices, states that one view was that they are Agni and others, that are described in the Itihāsa and Purānas as dwelling in heaven. Bāna in his Kādambarī and Harsacarita frequently refers to the Mahābhārata and Purānas, but two passages from the Kādambarī and one from the Harsacarita are very interesting. While describing the hermitage of the sage Jabāli Bāna employs a *śleṣa* 'there was Vāyupralapita (proclaiming by god Vāyu; babbling due to the windy humour) in Purāna (but no babbling in the hermitage)¹³⁴². Similarly, in the des-

1339. महर्षाङ्गरवत्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते । "अष्टादश पुराणानि धर्मशास्त्राणि सर्वशः । वेदाः साङ्ख्यस्यैकत्र भास्तं चैकतः स्थितम् ॥ स्वर्गोत्पत्तिर्पर्व 5. 45-46

1340. इत्येतन्मात्स्वयं नाम पुराणं परिकीर्तितम् । वनपर्व 187. 37 (= cr. ed 185. 53). सर्वलोकस्य विविता युगसंख्या च पाण्डव । एतत् ते सर्वमाख्यातमतीतानामतं तथा । वायु-भोक्तृमस्तुत्य पुराणमुपसिद्धतम् ॥ वनपर्व 191. 15-16 (= cr. ed. 189. 14).

1341. का पुनरियं देवता नाम । एकं तावन्मतं या एता इतिहासपुराणेष्वन्यायाः संकीर्त्यन्ते नाकसंस्ता देवता इति । 'येषु देवताशब्दो मन्त्रब्राह्मणे श्रूयते अग्निदेवता वातो देवता सूर्यो देवता चन्द्रमा देवता इत्येवमादिषु तेषु देवताशब्देनोच्यन्ते इति । " तन्मास्तुक्त-भाजो हविर्भाजश्च देवताः । शबर on जै X. 4. 23

1342. पुराणे वायुप्रलपितम् । काद० पूर्वभाग para 37. पुराणमित्र यथाविभागावस्थापित-सकलधुवनकोशम् । काद० पूर्वभाग para 85 (राजकुलं). The वायुपुराण itself states that the Sūta narrated to the sages in the Naimisa forest the Purāna first

cription of the palace of Tārāpida Bāna employs a ślesha (*double entendre*) comparing it with Purāna (the two meanings being 'where the accumulated wealth of the world was arranged in appropriate groups', 'in which there is a description of the whole sphere of worlds each part of which was assigned a proper division') In the Uttarahāga (by the son of Bāna) of the Kādambari it is stated that in all āgamas (sacred works traditionally handed down) such as Purānas, Rāmāyana and Bhārata there are many stories about curses. The placing of Purānas first shows that they were probably more honoured or popular than the Rāmāyana and the Bhārata. In the Harsacarita¹³⁴³ it is stated that the book-reader Sudrṣṭi treated Bāna and his relatives and friends to a musical recitation of the Purāna promulgated by Vāyu, that was sung by the sage (Vyāsa), that is very extensive, that is world-wide (i.e. known everywhere), that is holy and that is not different from the career of Harsa (to which also all the adjectives applied to the Purāna are applicable) Here it appears that the Vāyu is expressly mentioned (as *Paṇḍitaprokta* and *Pāvana*) and it is further stated that the Purānas contained a description of the several divisions of the world. This description applies to such Purānas as the Vāyu, Matsya (chapters 114-128), Brahmānda (II. 15 ff). It may be argued that the Purāna mentioned by Bāna may be the Brahmānda since that Purāna says^{1343a} in the beginning as well as at the end (IV. 4 58ff) that Brahmā imparted it to Vāyu, from whom it passed on to several divine and semi-divine personages and ultimately sūta received it from Vyāsa. This latter argument is not acceptable, since there was nothing to prevent Bāna from expressly saying that the Brahmānda was the Purāna recited by Sudrṣṭi

(Continued from last page)

promulgated by Vāyu (I 47-48 पुराणं समवस्थानि यदुक्तं मातरिश्चना । पृथेन सुनिभिः पूर्वं नैमिषीर्यैर्महात्मभिः ॥) Chapters 34-49 of the वायुपुराण contain सुवनविन्यास, आगमेषु सर्वेष्वेव पुराणरासायणभारतादिषु सत्यगनेकप्रकारा ज्ञापयतीति । कादम्बरी, उत्तर-भाग (सु-सनास)'s consoling speech to king Tārāpida on hearing of the heart-break of Candrāpida)

1343 पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिः । गीत्या पवनमानयोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ । हर्षचरित III, 4th para, the आर्या verse applicable to both is 'तदपि सुनिगीतमतिप्रियं तदपि जगद्व्यापि पावनं तदपि । हर्षचरितादभिज्ञं प्रतिभाति हि मे पुराणमिदम् ॥ हर्ष' III, 5th para पवन means वायु and so पवन may stand for वायवीय

1343 a. पुराणं समवस्थानि यदुक्तं मातरिश्चना । पृथेन सुनिभिः पूर्वं नैमिषीर्यैर्महात्मभिः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड I 1 36-37

Kumārīlabhatta in his *Tantravārtika* refers in several places to the Purānas and their contents. A few interesting passages are set out here. On Jaimini I. 3. 1 Kumārila says ¹³⁴⁴ 'Therefore the authoritativeness of all smrtis is established by the purpose which they serve; whatever therein (in smrtis) is connected with *dharma* and *moksa* (is authoritative), because it springs from (is based on) the Veda; whatever concerns wealth (*artha*) and pleasures is based on the usages of the people. In this way a distinction is to be made. This very reasoning applies to hortatory passages in the Itihāsa and Purānas. The Upākhyānas may be explained by the reasoning applicable to arthavādas (i. e. they have a purpose and authoritativeness just like the commendatory passages of the Veda). Narration of the divisions of the earth serves the purpose of distinguishing the regions for undergoing the consequences of the (actions that are the) means of *dharma* and *adharma* and are partly based on personal experience and partly on the Veda. The orderly presentation of vamsas (dynasties) in the Purānas is intended to facilitate the knowledge of the brāhmana and ksatriya castes and their gotras and is based on actual experience and traditional knowledge; countries and measures of time are intended to facilitate worldly transactions and astronomical needs and are based on actual perception, mathematics, tradition and inference. The narration of what will happen in the future is based on the Veda, since it conveys knowledge of the variety of the ripening of the consequences of (complying with) *dharma* and of *adharma* and knowledge of the characteristics of *yugas* that have been in operation from time immemorial.' It is clear from this passage that the Itihāsa and the Purānas that Kumārila knew contained stories, geography of the earth, dynastic lists, measures of time and description of what will happen in the future. These are matters dealt with in the extant Purānas. On Jaimini I 3. 7 Kumārila observes: 'In the

1344 तेन सर्वस्मृतीनां प्रयोजनवती ग्रामाण्यसिद्धिः । तत्र यावद्धर्मोक्षसम्बन्धिं तद्वेद-
मभवत् । यत्तुर्व्यसृजविषयं तद्वैदिकव्यवहारपूर्वकमिति विवेक्तव्यम् । एषैवेतिहासपुराणयोरप्युपदेश-
वाक्यानां गतिः । उपाख्यानानि त्वर्थादेषु व्याख्यातानि । यत्तु पृथिवीविभागकथनं तद्धर्मधर्म-
साधनफलोपभोगदेशविवेकाय किञ्चिद्वर्णनपूर्वकं किञ्चिद्वेदमूलम् । वंशाद्धर्मणपि ब्राह्मण-
क्षत्रियजातिगोत्रज्ञानार्थं दर्शनस्मरणमूलम् । देशकालपरिमाणमपि लोकज्योतिःशास्त्रव्यवहार-
सिद्धयर्थं दर्शनगणितसंयमायाह्वमानपूर्वकम् । भाविकथनमपि त्वनादिकालमवृत्तयुगस्वभावधर्म-
धर्माह्वानफलविपाकवैचित्र्यज्ञानद्वारेण वेदमूलम् । तन्त्रवार्तिके ०५ जै. I 3 1 (धर्मस्य शब्द-
मूलत्वाद्दर्शनमनपेक्षं स्यात्).

Purāṇas¹³⁴⁵ it is narrated that in the Kali age there will arise Śākya (Gautama Buddha) and others that will cause confusion about *dharma*, who would listen to their words? This shows that before the 7th century A. D. the Purāṇas contained descriptions of the nature of Kaliyuga and that the Purāṇas Kumārila knew did not regard Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, but rather condemned him. From the facts that Ksemendra composed his *Daśāvatāracarita* in 1066 A. D., that Aparārka (on p 338) quotes a long passage from the Matsya chapter 285, verse seven of which enumerates the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu (including Buddha), and that the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva regards Buddha as an *avatāra*, it follows that before 1000 A. D. Buddha had come to be regarded as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, though before the 7th century some Purāṇas at least had condemned him. In the discussion of the meaning of the word 'svarga'¹³⁴⁶ Kumārila asks: does it mean the region of the stars or does it mean the top of the Meru (mountain) in conformity with Itihāsa and Purāṇas or does it mean only a state of happiness? This indicates that in Kumārila's day Purāṇas contained descriptions of the top of Meru as 'heaven.'

Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on the Vedāntasūtra frequently mentions the contents and characteristic features of Purāṇas that are the same as those of the extant ones, though he actually names none of them. For example, on V. S. II. 1. 36 he remarks that it has been established in the Purāṇa that there is no limit to the number of past and future¹³⁴⁷ *kalpas*. On V. S. I. 3.30.

1345 स्मर्यन्ते च पुराणेषु धर्मविस्तृतिहेतवः । कलौ शाक्यादयस्तेषां को वाक्यं ओहं महति ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p 203 on जै I 3 7. some of the Purāṇas such as Varāha 113 27-28, Brahma 122 68-70, Padma VI 31 13-15 mention the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu (including Buddha) But these Purāṇas have been swollen by late interpolations and it is impossible to give a positive date for these passages.

1346. तथा स्वर्गशब्देनापि नक्षत्रदेशो वा वैदिकमवाद्पराणि कयान्तिमदर्शनोच्यते 'यदि वेतिहासपुराणोपपन्नं नेकपुण्ड्रं, अथवा अन्त्ययव्यतिरेकाम्यां विभक्त केवलमेव सुखम्' । तन्त्रवार्तिक p 299 on जै I 3 30. That gods and semi-divine beings dwell on the top of Meru is stated in many Purāṇas Vide मत्स्य 11. 37-38, पद्म V. 8. 72-73

1347 पुराणे चातीतानागताना कल्पानां न परिमाणमस्तीति स्थापितम् । last line of भाष्य on वे सू. II. 1 36, vide ब्रह्माण्ड I 4. 30-32 for कल्पस being endless, स्थितिश्च भवति । तेषां ये यानि कर्माणि प्राकृष्टव्या प्रतिपेक्षिरे । तान्येव ते प्रपद्यन्ते दुःख्यमाना. पुन. पुन । हिंसाहिंसे सुदुर्कृते धर्माधर्माद्व्याहृते । तद्भाविता प्रपद्यन्ते तस्मात्तत्सर्वं रोचते ॥ भाष्य on I. 3 30, these are विष्णुपुराण I 6 59-60 and वायु 8 32-33 and repeated in 9.

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the Ācārya quotes two verses that he designates as *smṛti*, that are *Viṣṇupurāṇa* I. 5. 59-60, but are not found in ancient *smṛtis* like those of *Manu* or *Yāj.* On V. S. III. 1. 15 (*api ca sapta*) the *bhāṣya* remarks that those who have studied or who know the *Purāṇas* declare that there are seven hells, *Raurava* and others, that are regarded as places reached for undergoing the consequences of evil deeds committed by sinners. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* enumerates seven hells viz. *Tāmisra*, *Raurava* and others, as the places for those who abuse the *Veda*, who cause obstacles to sacrifices and who give up their proper *dharma*. Even *Manu* (IV. 87-90), *Yāj.* (III. 222-224), *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 43. 2-22 enumerate 21 hells and almost all *Purāṇas* mention 21 or more hells. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 162-164. On V. S. I. 3. 26 and 33 the *bhāṣya* says that one can see from *Vedic mantras*, *arthavāda* passages, *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* and popular belief that gods have bodies. On V. S. II. 1. 1. Śaṅkarācārya quotes a verse which is the same in *Vāyupurāṇa* and on I. 3. 30 quotes in all five verses as *smṛti*, four of which are the same as *Vāyu* 9. 57-58 and 64-65. *Viśvarūpa* in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* has two interesting notes on *Purāṇas*. On *Yāj.* III. 170 which describes the *Sāṅkhya* theory of the evolution of the world, *Viśvarūpa* 1348

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57-58 Only the half verse *हिंसाहिंसे* is found in *मनु* I 29, these verses are also found in *ज्ञान्ति* 232 16-17. अपि च सप्त नरका रौरवमुख्यं दुष्कृतफलोपभोग-भूमिलेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिकैः । ताननिष्ठादिकारिणः प्राप्नुवन्ति । भाष्य on वे. सू. III. 1. 15, तथा सामर्थ्यमपि (देवादीनां) सम्भवति मन्त्रार्थवादेतिहासपुराणलोकेभ्यो विग्रहवत्त्वाद्यव-गमात् । भाष्य on I. 3 26, इतिहासपुराणमपि व्याख्यातेन मार्गेण सम्भवन्मन्त्रार्थवादमूल-त्वात्सम्भवति देवताविग्रहादि साधयितुम् । "तथा च व्यासादयो देवादिभिः प्रत्यक्षं व्यवहरन्तीति स्मर्यन्ते । भाष्य I 3. 33, अतश्च सङ्क्षेपमिमं शृणुध्वं नारायणः सर्वमिदं पुराणम् । स सर्ग-काले च करोति सर्वं संहारकाले च तदस्ति भूयः ॥ इति पुराणे । भाष्य on II. 1 1 This is वायु I 205 which reads महेश्वर. for नारायण. On वे सू I. 3 30 the भाष्य quotes three verses as स्मृति, the first two of which are the same as वायु 9. 64-65 (viz. ऋषीणां नामधेयानि and यथोक्तवृत्तलिङ्गानि). It appears probable that शङ्कराचार्य quotes from the वायु most of these verses, as he expressly says about one of them (viz. अतश्च &c) that it is from a पुराण.

1348. एषा मंत्रिया सृष्टियलवर्णनादौ सर्वत्र पुराणादिष्वपि &c । विश्वरूप's बाल-क्रीडा on या III 170, पुराणे हि भगवतः सवितुर्ब्रह्मो वीथ्यो दिवि पञ्चतयः श्रूयन्ते तत्रागस्त्यस्यानन्तरा अजवीथी । बालक्रीडा on या III 175 For साख्यप्रक्रिया in पुराणस, vide प्रधानं प्रकृतियेति यनाहुस्तत्तत्तन्तका. ॥ "मादुरासीन्महद्बीजं प्रधानपुरुषात्मकम् । त्रिविधोयमहंकारो महतः सम्भवतु ह । "पञ्चभूतान्यहंकारात्तन्मात्राणि च जज्ञिरे । कूर्म 1.4. 6, 16, 18, 19 and विष्णु I 20.29-37 या. II. 175 is पितृयानोऽजवीथ्याश्च यदगस्त्यस्य चान्तरम् । तेनाग्निहोत्रिणो यान्ति स्वर्गकामा दिवं प्रति ॥ Compare for a striking resemblance विष्णुसु II 8 85-86 उत्तरं यदगस्त्यस्य अजवीथ्याश्च दक्षिणम् । पितृयान. स

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remarks that this theory concerning the creation and dissolution of the world is found everywhere in the Purāṇas. On Yāj. III, 175 which states that the path to the world of the pītras lies between the star Agastya (Canopus) and the Ajavithi, Viśvarūpa remarks that in the Purāṇa several *vithis* (i.e. courses) of the Sun in the sky are found and that Ajavithi is immediately contiguous to Agastya.

From the foregoing discussion about the references to Purāṇas contained in writers from Śabara to Viśvarūpa it follows that between about the 2nd century AD. and the 6th or 7th century AD. the Purāṇas exhibited the same contents and characteristics as many of the extant Purāṇas do.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to say here something about the Yuga-purāṇa, a part of the Gārgi-Sambhitā, and one of the earliest extant works bearing the title Purāṇas. Kern in his Introduction to the Brhatsamhitā (pp. 32-40) brought this rare Purāṇa containing valuable historical data to the notice of scholars from a fragmentary ms. Later on K. P. Jayaswal^{1318a} published a text of the purely historical material of the Yugapurāṇa in 115 half lines in Anustubh metre based on the fragment that Kern had got and two more mss. that were secured by him and added a translation and notes. Later on Jayaswal obtained a copy made by Prof. Lévi from a ms. (in Bengali script) in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and published in JBORS. (vol. XV pp 129-133) a table comparing the readings of that ms. with the text he published in JBORS, vol. XIV. Prof. K. H. Dhruva contributed a paper on the text of the Yugapurāṇa to the JBORS vol. XVI, pp 18-66, wherein he altered the proper names and gave free scope to his conjectures and inferences with the result that succeeding scholars have not attached any weight to his emendations and remarks. Prof. D. K. Mankad^{1318b} published a monograph in which he gave the text of the historical portion based on the mss. utilized

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वे प्रम्या वैश्वानरपथाद्बहि ॥ तत्रास्ते महात्मान ऋषयो वेऽग्निहोत्रिण । विश्वरूप obviously refers to this passage of the विष्णुपुराण or a similar passage in some other Purāṇa such as मत्स्य 124 53-60, वायु 50. 130. अजवीधि is one of the three divisions of the southern path in the sky in which the Sun, the Moon and planets move, comprehending सूर्य, पूर्वाषाढा and उत्तराषाढा नक्षत्रा.

1348 a. Vide JBORS vol. XIV, pp. 397-421 on 'Historical data in the Gargasamhitā and the Brahmin Empire'

1348 b. Charutar Prakashan, Vallabhavidyā-nagar, 1951

by Jayaswal and a fresh ms. that he obtained in Saurāstra, corrects some of the readings accepted by Jayaswal and considerably differs from some of Jayaswal's interpretations and added a few notes.

The *Yugapurāna* is the 113th chapter of *Gārgisambhitā* and is called *Skandapurāna* in the ms. secured by Prof. Mankad, probably because the *Purāna* starts with a question by Skanda to Śiva about the characteristics of the different *yugas*. The characteristics of *Kṛta*, *Tretā* and *Dvāpara* are respectively described in lines 11-28, 29-45 and 46-74 of Prof. Mankad's text; and lines 75-235 (of Prof. Mankad's text) and lines 1-115 of Jayaswal's text (in *JBORS*. vol. XIV. pp. 400-408) describe the characteristics of the *Kaliyuga*, and the political, social and economic history of a few centuries before the work was composed. The characteristics of the *Kaliyuga* in the *Yugapurāna* bear a very close resemblance to the description of *Kaliyuga* in the *Vanaparva* (chap. 188. 30-64), one half verse being the same in both.^{1348c}

The important points that emerge are briefly these:—I omit the discussion of different interpretations of Jayaswal, Prof. Mankad and Prof. Narain. *Kaliyuga* started after *Draupadī* died. In the beginning of *Kaliyuga* *Janamejaya*, son of *Parikṣit*, would be a famous king but will come in conflict^{1348a} with *brāhmanas*. In *Kaliyuga*, *Udāyi* son of *Śisunāga*, will found the city of *Pataliputra* on the south bank of the *Ganges*, which will come to be called *Puspapura* and which will last for five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days and five *muhūrtas*. In that *Puspapura* there will be a deluded and wicked king called *Śālīsūka* who will establish at *Sāketa* his virtuous elder brother named *Vijaya*. Then the valiant *Yavanas*,

1348c The passage from *Vanaparva* 188. 30-64 is quoted in the 3rd vol. of *H. of Dh* pp 1012-13. The half verse is भोवादिनस्तथा द्यूता ब्राह्मणा-
श्चर्यवादिनः । वनपर्व 188 39, line 38 of Jayaswal's text and 110 of Prof. Mankad's
text (reads ब्राह्मणाश्चर्यवादिन, which does not appear correct and yields hardly
any sense). Compare *Yugapurāna* (lines 111-115 of Jayaswal and ll. 182-
186 of Prof. Mankad's text with *Vanaparva* 188. 65-66.

1348d. For the story of this quarrel, vide *Matsya-purāṇa* 50. 56-65.
One half line is variously read 'dharma-mītatamā vṛddhā janam bhokṣyanti
nirbhayāḥ' (Jayaswal l. 40), Prof. Mankad reads 'dharma-bhītatamā
vṛddhā janam mokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ' Jayaswal thinks that 'dharma-mīta'
refers to the Greek king *Demetrius*. Prof. Mankad does not agree.

Pañcalas and Māthuras will attack Śāketa and will conquer Kusumapura which had a mud fortification. All countries will be disturbed (by this onslaught of the Yavanas). Then non-Aryans will follow the practices of the Aryas. At the end of Kali age brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaisyas will dress alike and have the same practices. People will join heretical sects and will make friends for (seducing their) wives. Śūdras will offer oblations into fire with the syllable 'om' and they will address (others) with the word 'bhoh' and brāhmanas will address others with the words 'O āryas'. The Yavanas will establish five kings in the city (of Puspapura). The Yavanas will not stay long in Madhyadesa. When the Yavanas will vanish there will be seven powerful kings at Śāketa; in Madhyadesa there would be bloody wars. All the Āgnivosya kings will perish by war and so will the people.

Thereafter the greedy Śāka king will undergo destruction against Sāta, the king of Kalinga, and the earth will be devastated and Puspapura will be a wilderness. Amlāta called 'red-eyed' will secure Puspapura. The Mleccha king Amlāta will destroy the helpless people and the four varnas. Amlāta with his relatives will perish and then there will be a king called Gopāla who will rule one year and then die. There will then be the just king called Pusyaka who will rule only one year. After two more kings, Agnimitra will be king who will wage a terrible battle with brāhmanas for a girl. After him his son will rule for 20 years. The condition of the people will be very bad because of his fight with Śabarasa. Then Sātu king will rule. Then there will be depredations of Śakas who will destroy one-fourth of the population and make the people demoralised. In this way the Yugapurāna ends on a dismal note.^{1348 e}

As the Purāna stops with the Śakas and does not dilate on the dynasties of the Andhras, Ābhīras and Guptas, it must be placed earlier than all the known Purānas which deal with these dynasties. Jayaswal places the Yugapurāna in the latter half of the first century B. C. In the opinion of the present author he is right,

1348 e देवो द्वादश वर्षाणि अनावृष्टिं करिष्यति । मजा नाशं गमिष्यन्ति दुर्भिक्षमय-
पीडिताः । ततः पापक्षते लोके दुर्भिक्षे रोमहर्षणे । भविष्यति युगस्यान्ते सर्वप्राणिविनाशनम् । जन-
मारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशयः ॥ युगपुराण, तस्मिन् युगसदृशान्ते समाप्ते चाष्टम्य क्षये ।
अनावृष्टिर्महाराज जायते बहुवारिणी ॥ ततस्तान्यल्पसाराणि सत्त्वानि द्रुथितानि वै । मलय-
यान्ति द्रुथिष्टं पृथिव्या पृथिवीपते ॥ वनपर्व 188 65-66

A very recent work 'The Indo-Greeks' by Prof. A. K. Narain (Oxford, 1957) has an illuminating note (pp 174-179) on several difficult passages of the Yuga-purāṇa^{1348/}.

Several Purāṇas such as Matsya 53. 3-11, Vāyu I. 60-61, Brahmandā I. 1.40-41, Linga I. 2.2, Nāradiya I. 92. 22-26, Padma V. 1. 45-52 state that Purāṇa¹³⁴⁹ was originally only one, that Brahmā thought of it first, that after that the Vedas proceeded from Brahmā's lips, that originally it had the extent of one hundred crores of ślokas and that the essence thereof to the extent of four lakhs of verses was declared in each Dvāpara age by Vyāsa. It is impossible to say whether the writers of the extant Purāṇas had any ancient tradition about this before them or whether all this about the original existence of a single Purāṇa was purely imaginary. The author holds that the latter view is more likely to be the correct one. It has been shown above that as early as the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka Purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Therefore, the extant Purāṇas are only the successors of the ancient Purāṇas, about which, it must be admitted, we know very little.

The number of Purāṇas (in later times and by some of the Purāṇas distinguished as Mahāpurāṇas) has been traditionally handed down as eighteen. They are enumerated in several Purāṇas, such as Viṣṇu III. 6. 21-23, Varāha 112. 69-72 (verses 74-77 in Venk. ed.), Linga I. 39. 61-63, Matsya 53. 11 ff, Padma IV. 100. 51-54, Bhaviṣya I. 1. 61-64, Mārkaṇḍeya 134. 7-11,

1348 f. Vide Appendix I on 'yavana' and 'yona' (pp 165-169) in Prof. Narain's 'Indo-Greeks.' He points out that in Karna-parva (45.36) Yavanas are described as all-knowing (sarvajña), valiant and different from mlecchas

1349. पुराणं सर्वज्ञाख्याना प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् । अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिर्गताः । पुराणमेकमेवासीत्तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ । त्रिवर्गसाधनं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् । प्रवृत्तिः सर्वज्ञाख्याना पुराणस्याभवत्ततः । कालेनाग्रहणं दृष्ट्वा पुराणस्य ततो दृष्टम् ॥ व्यासमुपमहं कृत्वा संहरामि युगे युगे । चतुर्लक्षप्रमाणेन द्वापरे द्वापरे सदा । तदष्टादशधा कृत्वा भूर्लोकैऽस्मिन् प्रकाशयते । अद्यापि देवलोकैऽस्मिन् शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् । तदर्थोत्र चतुर्लक्षं संक्षेपेण निवेशितम् । पुराणानि द्वाद्यादौ च सांयते तदिहोच्यते । मत्स्य 53. 3-11, पद्म (V. 1. 45-52) contains almost all the above verses of मत्स्य. The first verse occurs in वायु I. 60-61 and ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1 40-41. The ब्रह्मपुराण 245. 4 says 'आद्यं ब्राह्माभिधानं च सर्वज्ञाफलप्रदम्'. The विष्णुपुराण III. 6. 20 states 'आद्यं सर्वपुराणानां पुराणं ब्राह्ममुच्यते ॥'. The देवीभागवत I. 3 3 put मत्स्य as the first.

Agni 272, Bhāgavata ¹³⁵⁰ XII. 13. 4-8, Vāyu ¹³⁵¹ 104. 2-10, Skanda (Prabhāśakhaṇḍa 2. 5-7). There is some difference about the 18 names and great difference as to their extent and contents. The Matsya (53. 18-19), Agni 272. 4-5, Nāradya I. 92 26-28 enumerate the Vāyu as the 4th among the 18 Purāṇas, while most of the others substitute Śivapurāṇa as the 4th in place of the Vāyu. The Skanda (in Prabhāśakhaṇḍa 2. 5 and 7) puts Śaiva as the 4th in place of Vāyu and Vāyaviya as the last (probably meaning Brahmāṇḍa thereby). The Doyibhāgavata¹³⁵² contains a verse naming the 18 Purāṇas by their first letters in which the Śivapurāṇa is omitted. The Saurapurāṇa (chap. 9. 5-12) enumerates the 18 Purāṇas, places Vāyu as the 4th (and not Śiva) and Brahmāṇḍa as the last. The Sūtasamhitā (I. 1. 7-11) names the 18 Purāṇas omitting Vāyu and putting Śivapurāṇa in its place. The Dānasāgara in its Introductory verses (11-12 on pp 2-3) mentions both Vāyaviya and Śaiva separately. In the verses of the Kālikā-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri on dāna I. p 531, Śiva, Kālikā, Saura and Vahnīya (Āgneya, the genuine one) are included among eighteen principal Purāṇas. On the whole I agree with Dr. A. D. Pusalkar ¹³⁵³ that it is the Vāyu that is entitled to be regarded as one of the 18 principal Purāṇas and not the Śivapurāṇa. Al-beruni in his work on India (com-

1350. The भागवत says 'सुनयोऽष्टादश मातुः क्षुद्रकानि महानि च।' XII, 7 220. The late ब्रह्मवैवर्त (IV 131 7-10) states that the five characteristics mentioned in note 1365 distinguish the Upapurāṇas, while the ten characteristics quoted in note 1366 distinguish the महापुराणः. विष्णुः III 6, 13 uses the word महापुराणानि

1351 Vāyu 104 is a chapter of doubtful authority. Several mss. of Vāyu do not contain it. chap. 104 7 mentions Vāyu as Anupurāṇa. Vāyu (104 2-10) furnishes a list of 18 Purāṇas in which Brahma and Ādika are both included, but no names of Upapurāṇas are given therein.

1352 मध्य भद्रय चैव चतुष्टयम् । अनापलिङ्गकस्कानि पुराणानि पृथक् पृथक् ॥ देवीभागवत I 3. 2 मध्य = मत्स्य, मार्कण्डेय, भद्रय = भविष्य, भागवत, चतुष्टय = ब्रह्म, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, ब्रह्माण्ड, चतुष्टय = वराह, वामन, याजु, विष्णु, अ, ना, प, लिं, ग respectively stand for अग्नि, नारदीय, पय, लिङ्ग, गरुड, कृ = कूर्म, स्क = स्कन्द. Wilson in Preface to tr of Viṣṇu at p XXIV states that his ms of Varāha omits the Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa from the list of 18 Purāṇas and inserts Vāyu and Narasimha. The ms is singular in this respect. The printed Varāha (chap 112. 69 in the B. I and verse 74 in Venk ed) only puts Śaiva for Vāyu, that is all

1353 Vide 'Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India' by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar (Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay, 1955) chap. 2, pp 31-41. The Matsya (53 18-19) mentions what the Vāyupurāṇa contained,

posed in 1030 A. D.) sets out one list of Purānas as read out to him from Visnupurāna, which is the same as set out below, except this that the Śaiva-purāna is put in the 4th place instead of Vāyu (Sachau's tr. vol I. p. 131, ed. of 1888) It is clear, therefore, that the list of 18 principal Purānas had been completed long before 1000 A. D. and was introduced in the Visnupurāna many years before that date. Al-beruni furnishes (*ibid* p. 130) another list of the names of 18 Purānas which he had heard, viz. Ādi, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Vāyu, Nanda, Skanda, Āditya, Soma, Sāmba, Brahmānda, Mārkaṇḍeya, Tārksya (i. e. Garuda), Visnu, Brahma, Bhaviṣya It should be noticed that in this list Vāyu is included (and not Śaiva), that some purānas described in other works as Upapurānas are included (viz Ādi, Narasimha, Nanda, Āditya, Soma and Sāmba) and some works almost un-animously declared to be Mahāpurānas (such as Padma, Bhāga-vata, Nārada, Agni, Linga and Brahmavaivarta) are omitted. It follows that some upapurānas such as Ādi, Narasimha, Āditya, Sāmba, Nanda (Nandi?) had been composed at least some time before 1000 A. D. Bālabhāṭṭa (latter half of 18th century A. D.) states in his commentary on the Mīṭaksarā (on Yāj. I. 3) that the Vāyaviya-purāna is also called Śaiva.

The following is a table of the 18 principal Purānas together with information about the number of ślokas in each.

Order	Name of Purāna	Number of verses acc.to Matsya, Vāyu 104 and some others	Number of verses acc. to some other Purānas and remarks
1	Brahma	10000 (acc to Nārada 92.31 and Bhā-gavata XII 13.4)	25000 acc to Agni 272.1
2	Padma	55,000	
3	Visnu	23,000	The number of verses is given from 6 to 24 thousand in various works.
4	Vāyu	24,000	14000 acc to Agni (272.4-5), 24600 acc to Devībhāgavata I. 3. 7.
5	Bhāgavata	18,000	

Order	Name of Purāṇa	Number of verses acc. to Matsya, Vāyu 104 and some others	Number of verses acc to some other Purāṇas and remarks
6	Nāradiya	25,000	
7	Mārkan- deya	9,000	6900 acc to Mārkan- deya itself (134 39), 9000 acc. to Nārada I. 98.2, Vāyu 104 4
8	Agni	16,000	15400 acc to Bhāgavata XII. 13.5, 12000 acc to Agni (272. 10-11)
9	Bhavisya	14,500	14000 acc to Agni (272. 12)
10	Brahma- vaivarta	18,000	
11	Linga	11,000	
12	Varāha	24,000	
13	Skanda	81,100	84000 acc. to Agni (272. 17), vide below under Sknda
14	Vāmana	10,000	
15	Kūrma	18,000	17000 acc to Nārada I. 106. 3 and Bhāgavata XII. 13. 8, 8000 acc. to Agni. 272 19, 13000 acc to Agni 272. 20-21
16	Matsya	14,000	
17	Garuda	18,000	19000 acc to Bhāgavata XII. 13 8 and Devībhāgavata I. 3; 8000 acc to Agni 272 21
18	Brah- mānda	12,200 acc to Matsya 53. 54	12000 acc. to Bhāgavata (XII, 13-8 and Agni 272 23)

It will be noticed from the table that the total number of verses in the 18 Purāṇas according to the figures furnished by most Purāṇas comes to 100600 slokas. This closely agrees with the total of four lakhs assigned to the eighteen Purāṇas in some of the Purāṇas (vide note 1319 above). But several of the extant Purāṇas contain much smaller numbers of slokas than are assigned to them. For example, it appears from the commentaries called *Viṣṇucittī*¹³⁵¹ and *Vaiṣṇavakūṭicandrikā* on

1351 विष्णुपुराण च कश्चिद्विज्ञानसामान्यं कश्चिद्विज्ञानसामान्यमित्यादिभिरुक्तं पदसाधन-
नां पदसाधनं। वेदसाधनचन्द्रिका of रत्नगोविन्द on विष्णुः III 6 23, the दान-
(Continued on next page)

Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 6. 23 that the estimates of the extent of the Viṣṇupurāṇa varied from 6, 8, 9, 10, 22, 23 to 24 thousand ślokas and that both the commentaries comment on a text of the Viṣṇupurāṇa that has only 6000 ślokas. Similarly, the extent of the Kūrma is said to be 17000 or 18000 ślokas by most of the Purāṇas that furnish the extent of Purāṇas, but the extant Kūrma has hardly 6000 ślokas. The Brahma contains 10000 ślokas according to the Nāradiya and 25000 according to the Agni, but the printed Brahma (of the Anandāśrama ed.) contains about 14000 verses. On the other hand, the Skanda (that has two recensions at present) is said to contain 81000 ślokas, but the Skanda printed by the Venk. Press contains several thousands more. The Bhavīṣya (Brāhmaparva) ¹³⁵⁵ states that all Purāṇas had originally 12000 verses each, but their extent increased by the addition of tales, so that the Skanda was inflated to the extent of one lakh of ślokas and the Bhavīṣya to 50000 ślokas. The order in which the Purāṇas are enumerated is not quite uniform. Most Purāṇas put the Brāhma in ¹³⁵⁶ the first place and set out the order as in the table above, yet the Vāyu (104. 3) and the Devībhāgavata (I. 3. 3) begin the list of Purāṇas with Matsya. The Skanda (Prabhāsa-khanda 2. 8-9) puts the Brahmānda in the first place. The Bhāgavata (XII. 7. 23-24) enumerates the eighteen Purāṇas in a somewhat different order. The Vāmana ¹³⁵⁷ regards the

(Continued from last page)

सागर (p. 7, verse 63) notes that there was a ब्रह्मपुराण of 23000 ślokas and a लिङ्गपुराण of 6000. The विष्णुविष्णु says 'वैष्णवे तु पञ्चमेदं तेन पुराणान्तरेषु वैष्णवस्य दशसाहस्राष्टसाहस्राद्यं संहितामेदमानविषया कल्प्याः । यथा लेङ्गे । .. शैवमात्म्ययोस्तु वैष्णवं चाष्टसाहस्रमिति । कञ्चिद्देशे नवसाहस्रं दृश्यते कञ्चिच्चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रं कञ्चिद् द्वाविंशतिसहस्रम् । इदं तु पदसहस्रमस्मान्भिष्यदुक्त्यायमानम् ॥'. The दानसागर passage is (p 7 verses 63-64) 'सादर्यं पुराणमपरं ब्राह्ममाग्नेयमेव च । त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम् ॥ पदसहस्रमिति लेङ्गे पुराणमपरं तथा । ... लोकवञ्चनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावशीरितम् ॥'

^{1355.} सर्वण्येव पुराणानि संज्ञेयानि नरयम् । द्वादशैव सहस्राणि प्रोक्तावीह मनीषिभिः ॥
 इतदुद्धे गतावीह आरुणानैर्विधिर्हृष्ट । यथा स्कान्दं तथा चेदं भविष्यं कुबजन्दनम् ॥ स्कान्दं
 शतसहस्रं तु लोकानां ज्ञातमेव हि । भविष्यमेतद्विष्णो लक्षार्थं संख्यया कृतम् ॥ भविष्य (ब्राह्म-
 पर्व) I. 103-105.

¹³⁵⁶ The विष्णु says for example : 'आद्यं सर्वपुराणानां पुराणं ब्राह्ममुच्यते । अद्यादश पुराणानि पुराणज्ञाः प्रचक्षते ॥ विष्णु III. 6. 18; तेषां सुखा सुनिश्चिन्नाः पुराणं वेद-
 संमितम् । आद्यं ब्राह्माभिधानं च सर्ववज्राफलप्रदम् ॥ ब्रह्म 245. 4.

^{1357.} मुख्यं पुराणेषु यथैव मात्सर्यं स्वायम्भुवोक्तिस्त्वथ संहितासु । मनुः स्मृतीनां प्रवरो
 यथैव तिथीषु दशो विजुषेयु वासवः ॥ वामनपुराण 12. 48. It may be noted that the
 Matsyapurāṇa chapter (53 verses 3-4 and 11-57) describing the extent and
 summaries of the 18 Purāṇas are quoted by Aparārka pp. 392-396 and the
 Dānasāgara pp. 463-469.

Matsya as the foremost among Purāṇas. Notices of the contents of all the 18 Purāṇas occur in Matsya (chap. 53), Agni (chap. 272), Skanda (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2. 28-76), Nāradya (which devotes 18 chapters from I. 92. 30-43 to I. 109 to the contents of 18 Purāṇas from Brahma to Brahmāṇḍa). There is almost complete agreement among the Purāṇas as to the names of the 18 principal Purāṇas, except as to the Vāyupurāṇa.

The question about the Purāṇas is further complicated by the fact that some of the Purāṇas themselves mention the names of a number of Upapurāṇas, though others ignore them. For example, the Matsya (53. 59-62) names the Nārasimha, the Nandi, the Āditya and Sāmba as Upapurāṇas and appears to say that the Nārasimha extended to 18000 ślokas and elaborated the description of the Man-Lion *avatāra* declared in the Padmapurāṇa. The Kūrma (I. 1. 16-20), Padma (IV. 111. 95-98), the Devībhāgavata (I. 3. 13-16) set out the names of eighteen Upapurāṇas. Some of the Upapurāṇas bear the same names as those of the principal purāṇas, viz. Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradya. Prof. Hazra¹³⁵⁸ states that the number of Upapurāṇas is 100. Only a few of the Upapurāṇas have been published and those published do not differ much in the matter of subjects from some of the principal purāṇas and almost all belie the definition of Purāṇa as 'pañcalaksana'. It has been seen above (note 1349) that the number of ślokas in the 18 principal Purāṇas is said to be four lakhs. It must be remembered that this total *does not include* the number of the ślokas assigned to the Upapurāṇas, and no Purāṇa includes the verses of the Upapurāṇas in the total of four lakhs. Further, no one should forget or ignore the significance of the remarks of the

1358. Vide Prof. Hazra's paper on Upapurāṇas in ABORI vol XXI, pp. 38-62 at p. 49 note. His studies in 'Upapurāṇas, vol I' was read by me while this section was in the Press. I have, therefore, been compelled to add only a few matters from this work, mostly in the footnotes. In note 24 p. 13 of his 'Studies' he reiterates that he has collected the names of more than one hundred Upapurāṇas. On pp. 4-13 he sets out 23 sources (six being quotations from Kūrma in different ośhadhas) of the lists of Upapurāṇas that exhibit great divergences and chaos. Wilson in his Preface to tr. of the Viṣṇu pp. LXXXVI-XCI mentions the varying lists of Upapurāṇas and offers remarks on some of them. The H. of. DH vol. I, p. 163 gives the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas as contained in the Garuḍa 1. 223. 17-20. Hemādri or Vrata (part 1 p. 21) sets out the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas from the Kūrma I. 1. 16-20 (with readings different from those of the printed Kūrma, some of which are rather serious).

Matsya and Kūrma about the Upapurāṇas. The Matsya¹³⁵⁹ speaks of the Upapurāṇas as sub-sections (upabhedas) of the principal eighteen Purāṇas and emphatically asserts 'know that whatever is declared as distinct from the eighteen Purāṇas came forth (or issued from) these (18)'. The Kūrma is no less clear. It states that¹³⁶⁰ the Upapurāṇas are the summaries or abridgments of the 18 (principal) Purāṇas made by sages after studying them. The lists of Upapurāṇas given by several works, most of which are set out by Prof. Hazra in his paper on Upapurāṇas (in ABORI vol. XXI, at pp. 40-48) and in his Studies (pp. 4-13) diverge a good deal from each other. As the Matsya mentions by name only four Upapurāṇas it is not unreasonable to hold that more than four were not in existence at the time when this passage of the Matsya was inserted in it or at least that more than four had not been accepted as Upapurāṇas at that time. A good many of the Upapurāṇas are of late date. Only a few of the rest such as the Nārasimha, the Viṣṇu-

1359. उपभेदात् प्रवक्ष्यामि लोके ये संप्रतिष्ठिताः । पाप्मे पुराणे यत्रोक्तं नरसिंहोपवर्णनम् ।
वज्राष्टादशसादृशं नारसिंहमिहोच्यते । ...अष्टादशम्यस्तु पृथक् पुराणं यत्प्रदिश्यते । विज्ञानीध्वं
हिज्जिष्टास्तदेतन्मयो विनिर्गतम् ॥ मत्स्य 53, 58-59 and 63 q. by हेमाद्रि on व्रत part I
pp. 21-22. These verses occur in स्कन्द (महासखण्ड 2, 79-83) also; कृ. र. p. 32
explains 'विनिर्गतमुद्धृतम् । यथा कालिकापुराणाद्'. Prof. Hazra in 'Studies &,'
vol I, p. 16 note 33 quotes परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 15 'एतान्युपपुराणानि पुराणेष्वेव
निर्गतानीति याज्ञवल्क्येन पुराणत्वेन सङ्गृहीतानि' and remarks that this implies
that the Upapurāṇas were known to Yājñyavalkya. Prof. Hazra is wrong
here. All that this passage means is that the Viramitrodaya in the beginning
of the 17th century A.D. (about 1500 years or more after Yāj.) thought that
Yāj. included upapurāṇas in the word Purāṇa in Yāj. I. 3. That is Mitra-
mīśra's view. We are not bound by it and should not draw any inference
from it. Yāj. mentions only Purāṇa as a source of dharma but he is entirely
silent as to how many Purāṇas had been composed in his time. There is
nothing to show that they were more than three in his day and it is impossible
for us to hold that he included upapurāṇas under the word Purāṇa, simply
because some npapurāṇas were composed before 1000 A. D.

1360. अन्यान्नुपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि तु । अष्टादशपुराणानि श्रुत्वा संक्षेपतो
हिजाः ॥ कूर्म I. 1. 16. This verse and the following verses enumerating the
18 Upapurāṇas are quoted by हेमाद्रि on व्रत part I p 21 (seven), by रघुनन्दन
in the मलमासतत्त्व (Jiv. pp. 792-793) and by मित्रमिश्र in the परिभाषाप्रकाश
(part of दीर्घमित्रोदय) pp. 13-14 and other late medieval works of the centu-
ries from the 15th onwards, except हेमाद्रि who belongs to the latter half of
the 13th century A. D. One cannot be sure that they are not interpolations
in Hemādri. It should be noted that Raghunandana first expressly names
only four Upapurāṇas, viz. Nārasimha, Nandi, Āditya and Kālikā and then
quotes the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas from the Kūrma.

dharmottara, the Devī, can possibly be held to be as old as the 7th or 8th century A.D. I do not accept the view of Prof. Hazra, who places the period of the formation of the group of *eighteen* Upapurānas between 650-800 A.D. (in *ABORI*, vol. XXI, at p. 50 and also in 'Studies in Upapurānas' vol. I, by Dr. Hazra), where while admitting (p. 14) that in the Upapurāna literature there are works of comparatively late dates, he boldly states that the age of the Upapurānas began approximately from the Gupta period (p. 16). For this last statement there is absolutely no evidence whatever. A detailed discussion of the dates of all the Upapurānas would demand a large space and would be somewhat irrelevant in this section. We must hold fast by the facts that even when the 18 principal purānas assumed their present form, the number of Upapurānas was small, that they were looked upon as no more than abridgments or summaries of the principal Purānas, that the Purānas that mention upapurānas do not state that they were composed by the divinely inspired Vyāsa (but only by some sages as the Kūrma says) and that originally they had not the status or authority of the 18 purānas. The Saura, an Upapurāna itself, speaks of Upapurānas as *kṛtās* (9.5). It is only the late medieval digests like the *Smṛtitattva* (1520-1570 A.D.) or the *Vīramitrodaya* (first half of 17th century) that were separated by several centuries from the Mahāpurānas as well as the Upapurānas and the writers of which had practically lost all sense of the distance in time between the two sets of Purānas, that say that the mention of Purānas¹³⁶¹ as a source of dharma in Yāj. must be deemed to include Upapurānas also. This last may be the opinion of such late writers as Mitrāmīśra, but no scholar is bound to accept it. It is doubtful whether by the word Purāna, Yāj. refers to the Mahāpurānas now extant and whether he knows that there were eighteen of them. If some Upapurānas glorify themselves as of equal authority with the Mahāpurānas, that is of a piece with what the principal Purānas state about themselves viz. that Brahmā first thought of the Purānas and then the Vedas issued from his lips. Modern scholars should discount all these attempts at self-glorification. Upapurānas are due to sages. Upapurānas are distinguished from Purānas in several important respects. Firstly, the 18 purānas are attributed to the semi-divine Vyāsa, secondly, according to both Matsya and Kūrma, they were summaries of the Purānas, thirdly, the ślokas in the

1361. एतावत्पुराणानि पुराणेष्वपि निर्गतानीति याज्ञवल्क्येन पुराणत्वेन सङ्गृहीतानि । परिभाषाप्रकाश (of वीरमित्रोदय) p. 14.

Upapurāṇas are not included in the 4 lakhs of verses of all the Purāṇas together; fourthly, early commentators and nibandha writers like the Mitākṣarā and the Kṛtyakalpataru either do not mention any of the Upapurāṇas or at the most only about half a dozen or so and that too rather sparingly; and lastly, as Prof. Hazra himself asserts ('Studies', vol. I, p 23) adherents of various sects such as Śāktas, Sauras, Pāñcarātras interpolated chapters in the Purāṇas of the established group and in some cases wrote new and independent works to propagate their own ideas and styled them Purāṇas.

Early commentaries and digests of Dharmaśāstra very rarely refer to any of the well-known Upapurāṇas. The Mitākṣarā, though it names the Brāhma (on Yāj. I. 3 and 45), quotes passages from the Matsya (profusely), Viṣṇu (on Yāj. III. 6), Skanda (on Yāj. III. 290), Bhaviṣya (on Yāj. III. 6), Mārkaṇḍeya (on Yāj. I. 236, 254, III. 19, 287, 289) and Brahmānda (on Yāj. III. 30), hardly refers, so far as I know, to any Upapurāṇa. The Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (composed about 1110-1130 A. D.), twelve parts of which published in the G. O. S. cover several thousand pages, profusely quotes many of the Mahāpurāṇas, and only six of the Upapurāṇas by name, viz. Ādi (only twice on śuddhi), Nandi (profusely only on dāna and niyatakālika), Āditya, Kālīka, Devī, Narasiṃha (all four profusely on several topics) Aparārka (first half of 12th century A. D.) who quotes profusely from Brahma, Brahmānda, Bhaviṣyat, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Matsya quotes by name only the following Upapurāṇas and only sparingly viz. Ādi, Āditya, Kālīka, Devī, Nandi, Nrsimha, Viṣṇudharmottara (seven times), Viṣṇurahasya (once), and Śīvadharmottara (once). The Dānasāgara¹³⁶² (written in 1169) states 'Upapurāṇas have been promulgated, which clearly set out the procedure of gifts' and it expressly mentions as Upapurāṇas dealing with gifts the Ādya (Ādi or Brahma?), Āditya, Kālīka, Nandi, Narasiṃha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇudharmottara and Sāmba and remarks that the Viṣṇurahasya and Śīvarahasya are merely compilations (sangraharūpa). It is not necessary to refer to writers later than about 1170 A. D. in the matter of Upapurāṇas.

The references to eighteen Purāṇas in about a dozen principal purāṇas and the description of their contents in some of

1362 उक्तान्युपपुराणानि व्यक्तदानविधीनि च। आद्यं पुराणं शास्त्रं (शास्त्रं?) च कालिकादयमेव च॥ नागदमादित्यसंज्ञं च नारासिंहं तथैव च। मार्कण्डेयकृतं तद्विष्णुधर्मोत्तराक्षयम्॥ शास्त्रं च विष्णुधर्मसिख्यं गोपथब्राह्मणश्रुतिम्॥ दानसागर p. 3 verses 13-15.

them naturally lead to the inference that these passages were added some time after all the eighteen Purāṇas assumed a complete form. It is not possible to hold that all the main purāṇas were composed at the same time by one individual author or even by several contemporary writers. Besides, most of the editions of Purāṇas are based either on a single ms. or on a few mss. collected at random and are not critically edited as is the case with the critical edition of the Mahābhārata published in Poona by the B. O. R. I. Many conclusions therefore, drawn from the current printed editions of the Purāṇas or from mss. of the Purāṇas, must be regarded as merely tentative and as likely to turn out to be wrong. What Winternitz said in his *History of Indian Literature* (English translation, Calcutta, vol. I. p. 469) viz. 'that the date of each section, nay, sometimes of each single verse in the Mahābhārata must be determined separately' applies with equal (or perhaps greater) force to the Purāṇas, particularly when one wants to use the section or stanza for historical or comparative purposes.¹³⁶³

It may be conceded that the Purāṇas and some of the available Upapurāṇas also contain many ancient legends and traditions, but these have been so much tampered with and inflated by additions intended to bolster up particular forms of worship and particular tenets that great caution is required before one can recognize them as genuine and reliable representatives for ascertaining the *general state* of Indian society and *beliefs* in ancient and medieval times.

In the opinion of the present writer there is no positive objective evidence for placing any of the upapurāṇas except the Viṣṇudharmottara before the 8th or 9th century A. D. Even in the case of Purāṇas, there have been large interpolations such as verses about the 18 purāṇas, their number and contents. But they contain much ancient material and are far more reliable than most of the Upapurāṇas, having been quoted by writers from 8th and 9th centuries A. D. or even earlier.

The Amarakośa¹³⁶⁴ defines 'Itihāsa' as 'what happened in the past' and 'Purāṇa' as 'what has five signs or characteristics'. It is no doubt true that some purāṇas speak of Purāṇa as

1363 Vide Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in Kane Festschrift pp. 472-487 (about the Rāma episode in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana) at p. 474.

1364 इतिहासः पुरातनं पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्। अमरकोश, शब्दादिर्वर्ण 4-5.

'pañcalaksana' and set out the five characteristics¹³⁶⁵ as *sarga* (creation), *pratisarga* (re-creation after dissolution of the world), *vamśa* (dynasties of gods, the Sun and the Moon, and the patriarchs), *manvantara* (the vast periods of time that are so called), *vamśānucarita* or *vamśyānucarita* (deeds and history of the descendants of the solar, lunar and other dynasties). The Bhāgavata¹³⁶⁶ states that ten topics are dealt with by Purāṇas and that some say that they are only five. The ten topics of the Bhāgavata are *sarga*, *visarga* (dissolution or creation after destruction), *vr̥tti* (modes of subsistence, natural or prescribed for all men by śāstra), *raksā* (protection i. e. *avatāras* destroying those that hate the Vedas), *antarāṇi* (i. e. *manvantaras*), *vamśa*, *vamśyānucarita*, *saṁsthā* (four kinds of *laya*), *hetu* (the cause of creation viz. the soul that is subject to avidyā and collects *karma*), *apūśraya* (the refuge of individual souls, viz. *brahman*). The Matsyapurāṇa also mentions other characteristics of Purāṇas viz. in all Purāṇas the four goals of man (*purusārthas*) are described, also the consequences of doing what is opposed to dharma, division of Purāṇas into *sāttvika*, *rājasa*, *tāmasa*, the *sāttvika* and *rājasa* purāṇas respectively extolling the greatness of Hari and Brahmā, *tāmasa* Purāṇas extolling Agni and Śiva, the mixed ones extolling the greatness of Sarasvatī and *pitrs*. The questions addressed by Manu to Keśava (in Matsya 2. 22-24) indicate the subjects that would be dealt with by that Purāṇa viz. creation and dissolution, the *vamśas*,

1365 सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च । वंशाष्टचरितं (v. l. वंशाष्ट) चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ वायु 4 10-11, वराह 2 4, कूर्म I. 1. 12, भविष्य I. 2 4, मार्कण्डेय 134. 13-14; मत्स्य has पञ्चाङ्गानि पुराणेषु आख्यानकमिति स्मृतम् । सर्गश्च लक्षणम् ॥ 53 65, विष्णु reads सर्गश्च "वंशमन्वन्तराणि च । सर्वेवेतेषु कथ्यन्ते वंशाष्टचरितं च यत् ॥ III. 6 24; अग्नि reads सर्गस्य प्रतिसर्गस्य वंशमन्वन्तरस्य च । वंशाष्टचरितादेश्च मत्स्यकूर्म-द्विष्यधृक् ॥, वराह observes 'पुराणानां हि सर्वेषामयं साधारणः स्मृत' । श्रुतिकं धरणि निश्चित्य निर्गोपं त्वमतं शृणु ॥ सर्गश्च लक्षणम् ॥ 2 3-4 सर्ग is dealt with in ब्रह्म chap 1-3, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 8-13, वायु 4-6, कूर्म I. 2, 4, 7, 8, अग्नि 17 and 20 &c. For प्रतिसर्गं vide ब्रह्म 2 32-37, ब्रह्माण्ड II 7, विष्णु I. 2ff, कूर्म II. 45, वायु 7. वंशas are dealt with in several पुराणas as in वायु 99, विष्णु IV. ब्रह्म 8, ब्रह्माण्ड II 14, कूर्म I 20-25, भागवत IX and XII, अग्नि 18, 273-75, 277-78, for मन्वन्तरs vide विष्णु III. 1-2, ब्रह्म 4-6, वायु 100, ब्रह्माण्ड II. chap 6, 35-38, कूर्म I 51, भागवत III and VIII.

1366 पुराणलक्षणं ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मर्षिभिर्निरूपितम् । शृणुष्व बुद्धिमान्मित्य वेदशास्त्राष्ट-सरतः ॥ सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्तिरक्षान्तराणि च । वंशो वंशाष्टचरितं सख्या हेतुरपाश्रयः । दशभिर्लक्षैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः । केचित्पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥ भागवत XII. 7. 8-10, verses 11-19 explain the ten lakṣanas हेतुर्जीवोऽस्य सर्गद्विरवध्याकर्म-कारकः । ये चाष्टकानि प्राहुरस्याकृतस्तुतापरे । व्यतिरेकान्वयो यस्य जगत्स्वमस्तुसिधु । माया-मयेषु तद्ब्रह्म जीववृत्तिष्वपाश्रयः ॥ भागवत XII. 7 18-19.

manvantaras, *vaṁśyācarita*, the expanse of the world, rules about *dānas*, *śrāddha*, *varnas* and *śramas*, *iṣṭa* and *pūrta*, establishment of images of gods, and everything else.

It is not quite clear why the *Amarakośa* seized upon the above mentioned five topics as characteristics of *Purānas*. *Amarakośa*¹³⁶⁷ cannot be placed later than the 5th century A. D. It is likely that before that time the number of *Purānas* was not large, that they had not become very inflated, and that, as *Itihāsa* and *Purāna* were often lumped together as the 5th Veda in the *Upanisads*, they both had certain matters in common. *Itihāsa* did not probably deal with creation, dissolution and *manvantaras*, but contented itself with the dynasties of kings and with the deeds and legends about the heroes of the past. Rarely, *Itihāsa* (*Mahābhārata*) is called *Purāna* and some extant *Purānas* describe themselves as *Itihāsa*. For example, the *Vayu*¹³⁶⁸ calls itself in the same context both *itihāsa* and *purāna*. The *Brahmapurāna* calls itself *Purāna* as well as *ākhyāna* (245. 27 and 30). The *Mahābhārata*¹³⁶⁹, though generally called *itihāsa* by itself (as in *Ādi* 1. 19, 26, 54) or the best of *itihāsas*, still applies to itself the words. '*ākhyāna*¹³⁷⁰ (as in *Ādi* 2. 388-89), *Kāvya* (*Ādi* 2. 390), *Kāśpaveda* (*Ādi* 1. 264) and *Purāna* (*Ādi* 1. 17). From this it appears that originally the line of demarcation between the two was rather thin. In defining *Purāna* as '*pañcalaksana*' the *Amarakośa* and some of the *Purānas* seized upon such topics as distinguished *Purānas* from *Itihāsa* and other branches of Sanskrit literature. It has been

1367. In 'India, what can it teach us' (1882) p. 328 Max Muller points out that the *Amarakośa* was translated into Chinese about 561-566 A. D. Mr. Oak, editor of the *Amarakośa* with the commentary of *Kṣīrasvāmīn*, assigns it to the 4th century A. D. and Hoernle (in *J R A S* for 1906 pp 940-941) on rather slender and far-fetched evidence puts it between 625 A. D. and 950 A. D.

1368. इमं यो ब्रह्मणो निदानित्तिहासं पुरातनम् । कृष्णपाञ्चरात्रेष्टापि तथाध्यापयतेऽपि च ॥ ... धन्यं यश्चक्ष्मणायुष्यं पुण्यं वेदेभ्यः समतम् । कृष्णद्वैपायनेनोक्तं पुराणं ब्रह्मादिना । वायु 103. 48, 51, vide also वायु 103. 56 (इतिहासं) and 58 (पुराणं), ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 4. 47, 50 (which are the same as वायु 103. 48 and 51)

1369. जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा । उद्योग 136 18, जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो नोक्षमिच्छता । सर्गारोहणिम् 5. 51, इतिहासोत्तमाद्वर्माज्जायन्ते कविबुद्धयः ॥ आदि 2. 385.

1370. अनाश्रित्वेदमालयानं कथां ह्युचि न विद्यते । आदि 2. 37 and 388; इदं कविवरैः सर्वरक्षणानुपजीव्यते ॥ आदि 2. 389

shown above that the Purāṇa and Bhavisiyātpurāṇa that existed before Āpastamba contained not only sarga and pratisarga but also some smṛti materials as well. From the definition given in the Purāṇas and the Amarakośa it does not at all follow that those five topics alone were the constituent parts of the very ancient *Purāṇas*, as Kirfel holds;¹³⁷¹ What could be said at the most is that five were the distinctive topics that differentiated the Purāṇa class of works from other branches of literature and probably cognate works called Itihāsa or it may be that the five are generalized as an ideal for Purāṇas and that the very early representatives of this class (that existed before Āp. Dh. S.) had not these five as characteristics

The extant Purāṇas contain far more subjects than the five. Some Purāṇas barely touch these five and deal at great length with altogether different topics. Only a few of the extant Purāṇas can be said to deal with all the five topics at some length. The five characteristic topics occupy less than three percent of the extent of the extant Mahāpurāṇas. Of all Purāṇas the extant Viṣṇu alone closely agrees with the definition of Purāṇa as 'pañcalakṣana,' though it also contains a good many other topics. On a modest calculation the four subjects of vrata, śrāddha, tirtha and dāna cover at least one hundred thousand ślokas in the extant eighteen main Purāṇas. Several of them have identical chapters on several topics (e. g. Matsya¹³⁷² and Padma, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa contain long passages that agree *verbatim* with one another in many matters and details). It is probable, therefore, that the extant principal Purāṇas are partial and gradually inflated representatives of an earlier group of Purāṇas (not necessarily 18 in number) that

1371. Vide Kirfel's Einleitung p. XX of 'Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa', J. of Venkatesvara O. I. vol. VII and at p. 94 for Kirfel's view.

1372. For example, Matsya chapters 55 and 57-60 are the same as Padma V. 24. 64-278, Matsya 62-64 = Padma V. 22. 61-164, Matsya 69-70 = Padma V. 23. 2-146, Matsya 71-72 = Padma V. 24. 1-64, Matsya 74-80 = Padma V. 21. 215-321, Matsya 83-92 = Padma V. 21. 81-213 &c.; Kirfel in 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (and vol. VII. pp. 84-86 of JVOI) gives a chapter concordance of Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu and remarks that Brahmāṇḍa I. 27 (of 129 verses) and II. 21-58 (of 2141 ślokas) have nothing corresponding in Vāyu, while Vāyu has 2704 ślokas that do not correspond to anything in Brahmāṇḍa (vide 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' p. XIII and J. V O. I. vol. VII, 1946, p. 87). Kirfel also furnishes a table of chapters that are common to both Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu (pp. XV-XVI) and vol. VII. pp. 88-90 of JVOI).

existed before Yājñavalkya. In the present state of our knowledge it is almost an insoluble problem to find out what these Purāṇas were or contained. The number 18 was probably due to the fact that the number is prominent in several connections as regards the Mahābhārata. The Bhārata war was fought for 18 days, the total of the vast armies engaged in the conflict came to 18 aksauhīnis, the epic has 18 *parvas*, the Gītā also has 18 chapters¹³⁷³

The Purāṇas may be classified into several categories, viz. (1) encyclopaedic like the Agni, Garuda and Nāradya, (2) those mainly dealing with tirthas such as Padma, Skanda and Bhavīsyā, (3) sectarian, such as Linga, Vāmana, Mārkaṇḍeya, (4) Historical such as Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Viṣṇu are probably the oldest among extant Purāṇas, though they too have received substantial additions from time to time.

There are seven Purāṇas that contain historical material, viz the ancient dynasties down to the time of the Bhārata war and from the Bhārata war to the downfall of the Andhras and the rise of the Guptas,¹³⁷⁴ viz Vāyu 99. 250-435, Viṣṇu IV. 20. 12 to IV. 24. 44, Brahmāṇḍa III. 74 104-248, Bhāgavata IX. 12. 9-16, IX. 22. 34-49 and XII. 17, Garuda 140 and 141. 1-12, Bhavīsyā III. 3 and 4 (this account is practically worthless). Matsya contains the fullest list of Āndhra kings and states (273. 16-17) that 29 Āndhra kings will rule for 460 years, while the Vāyu (99 357-358) states that 30 Āndhra kings will rule^{1374a} for 456 (406?) years. Both Vāyu (99 355) and Matsya (373 16) ('Pulovā' in Vāyu) make Puloma as the last king of the Āndhras. Ptolemy who published his 'Geography of India' about

1373. Vide Otto Stein's paper on the number 18 in 'Poona Orientalist' Vol. I. pp 1-37

1374. अजुगङ्गा मयानं च साकेतु (द?) मगधास्तथा। एताञ्जनपदान्तरान् भोदन्ते सुसर्वराजा ॥ वायु 99 383, ब्रह्माण्ड III 74 195 (reads अजुगङ्गामयानं च and सुसर्वराजा), भागवत (XII 1 37) reads अजुगङ्गामयानं सुता भोदन्ति मेदिनीम्।; विष्णु IV. 24 63 reads उत्साद्याखिलसञ्जालि नव नागा पञ्चावर्षा नाम दुर्वासमुजुगङ्गामयानं गयादुताम् मागधा भोदन्ति। Vide Pargiter's 'Purāṇa text &c.' p 53 where the passage is set out and variant readings are noted. Vide I H Q vol XXI pp 141-143 on 'Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas' by D. C Ganguly who criticizes Pargiter's view (pp XII-XIII in Intro to Purāṇa texts) and does not agree that the Purāṇa accounts refer to 320-335 A. D

1374a. 'History of Deccan' by Dr R G Bhandarkar for list of सान्वाहन kings (in Bombay Gazetteer vol I, part 2, p. 168).

150 A.D. states that Ptolemaios was king of Baithana (Paithana) in his days (vide J.I.H. vol. 22, 1943, at p. 84 in an article on 'Apostles of Kalyan'. So that these historical references to Āndhras must be a good deal later than 150 A.D. Only four Purānas viz. Vāyu, Brahmānda, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu mention in a general way that kings of the Gupta dynasty will rule along the Ganges up to Prayāga, Śāketa (Ayodhyā) and Magadha, but no names of Gupta kings are specified. The passages referring to the Guptas are rather corrupt.^{1374b} It is argued by Pargiter (in 'Dynasties of the Kali age' p. XII.) and others that Samudragupta was a great conqueror as his Allahabad Prāsasti shows (Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' No. 1). Most scholars are agreed that the Gupta dynasty began to rule about 320 A.D. It is argued that, if the reviser or revisers of the Purānas had known the brilliant campaigns of Samudragupta they would have named him at least and that therefore the revision of the Vāyu took place between 320-335 A. D.

There is a large mass of Literature dealing with several questions relating to Purānas. For those who desire to make a close study of them and wish to be acquainted with the controversies relating to Purānas, some of the more important works and papers on the Purānas may be mentioned here: H. H. Wilson's Introduction to the English tr. of the Viṣṇupurāna, vol. 1. (1864); F. E. Pargiter's 'Purāna texts of the dynasties of the Kali age' (1913), 'Ancient Indian genealogies' in Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Presentation volume pp. 107-113, 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition' (Oxford, 1922); W. Kirfel's 'das Purāna Pañcalaksana' (Bonn, 1927), 'die Cosmographie der Inder' (1920), 'Bharatavarsa' (Stuttgart, 1931); Vries on 'Purāna studies' in Pavry commemoration vol. pp 482-487 (applies Kirfel's method to the subject of śrāddha in the Brahmānda, Harivaṃśa, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu); Haraprasad Shastri's descriptive cat. of Mss. at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. V. Preface pp. LXXIII-CCXXV and his paper on 'Mahā-purānas' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. XV. p. 323-340; Prof. B. C. Majumdar's paper in Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee vol. III, Orientalia, part 2 pp. 9-30; Dr. A. Banerji Śāstri's paper on

1374 b. इत्येते वै दृषाद्विंशद्विंश भोदयन्ति वै महीम् ॥ समाः शतानि चत्वारि पञ्च षड् वै तथैव च । (पञ्चाशद्वै ?) । वायु 99. 357-358. The words mean on the decimal positional notation 400 + 5 (i. e. 50, tens place) and 6 (i. e. 456). मत्स्य 273. 16-17 reads एकोनविंशतिर्द्वे आन्ध्रा भोदयन्ति वै महीम् । समाः शतानि चत्वारि पञ्चाशत् पश्चिमे च ॥ It may be noticed that मत्स्य speaks of आन्ध्रस while वायु calls them अन्ध्रस.

'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. XIII. pp. 62-79 (supplies a useful corrective to many sweeping assertions of such scholars as Macdonell, Pargiter and others); Cambridge History of India, vol. I. pp. 296-318; Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature,' English Tr. vol. I. pp. 296-318; Prof. H. C. Hazra's 'Studies in the Purānic Records of Hindu rites and customs' (Dacca 1940), papers on 'Purānas in the History of smṛti' in 'Indian Culture,' vol. I. pp. 587-614, 'Mahā-purānas' in Dacca University Studies' vol. II, pp. 62-69; 'Smṛti chapters in Purānas (I. H. Q. vol. XI pp. 108-130), 'Pre-Purānic Hindu Society before 200 A.D.' (I. H. Q. vol. XV. pp. 403-431), 'Purānic rites and customs influenced by the economic and social views of the sacerdotal class' (in Dacca University Studies' vol. XII pp. 91-101), 'Influence of Tantra on Smṛtinibandhas' (in A. B. O. R. I. vol. XV. pp. 220-235 and vol. XVI pp. 202-211), 'the Upapurānas' (in A. B. O. R. I. vol. XXI. pp. 38-62); 'Purāna Literature as known to Ballālasena' (in the J. O. R., Madras, vol. XII. pp. 129-146), 'Some Minor Purānas' in A. B. O. R. I. vol. XIX. pp. 69-79, 'the Aśvamedha, the common source of origin of the Purāna Pañcalaksana and the Mahābhārata' A. B. O. R. I. vol. 36 (1955 pp. 190-203); 'Some lost Upapurānas' in J. A. S., Calcutta, vol. 20 pp. 15-38; and many other papers on individual Purānas specified at the end of this part, Das-Gupta's Indian Philosophy, vol. III. pp. 496-511 on 'Philosophical speculations of some Purānas'; Dr. D. R. Patil's paper on 'Gupta Inscriptions and Purānic tradition' (in Bulletin of D. C. R. I., vol. II pp. 2-58, comparing passages from Gupta Inscriptions and Purānas); Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikṣitar's 'The Purānas, a study' (in I. H. Q. vol. VIII. pp. 717-67) and 'Purāna Index' in three volumes; Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in 'Progress of Indic Studies' (1917-1942) in Silver Jubilee Volume of BORI. pp. 139-152 and 'Studies in Epics and Purānas of India' (B. V. Bombay, 1953); Prof. D. R. Mankad's¹³⁷⁵ papers on 'Yugas' (in P. O.

1375. Prof. Mankad's theories are sometimes extraordinary and advanced without any proper or objective evidence. For example, in his paper in the B. V., vol. VI. he boldly asserts that Śunga is a Chinese family name, that Puṣyamitra's ancestors were originally Chinese, that Bhāradvāja is a family of Sāmavedins and that he *believes* that the origin of Sāmaveda is Chinese, as its peculiar total music suggests. When it is a mere matter of *belief* without any evidence being adduced, no arguments can convince such a believer that he is wrong. One of his astounding theories is that each of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇik texts is not a real king, but represents a time unit of forty years.

ol. VI, part 3-4 pp. 6-10), on 'Manvantaras' (IHQ. vol. XVIII. pp. 208-230) and in B. V. vol. VI. pp. 6-10; Dr. Ghurye's Presidential Address in the section on Ethnology and Folklore in Pro. of 9th A. I. O. C. (1937) pp. 911-954; Dr. A. S. Altekar's paper 'Can we re-construct pre-Bhārata-war history?' in J.B.H.U. vol. IV. pp. 183-223 (holding that the various pre-Bhārata-war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as historical and real as the dynasties of Mauryas and Āndhras and the Paurāṇic genealogies really refer to kings who figure in the Vedic Literature also); Dr. Jadunath Sinha's 'A History of Indian Philosophy' vol. 1 pp. 125-177 on the philosophy of the Purāṇas' (1956); two papers 'on the ancient chronology of India' by R. Martin Smith in J. A. O. S. vol. 77 No. 2 (April-June 1957) and No. 4 Dec. 1957 (He follows Pargiter in his texts).

Some remarks on the important conclusions of Pargiter and Kirfel are necessary. Pargiter tries to construct history from the earliest times to the Bhārata war which he holds to have taken place about 950 B. C. (AIHT, chap. 15 p 182). He holds that there were two traditions in ancient India, viz. the Ksatriya tradition and the Brāhmana tradition (AIHT, chap. 5 pp. 58-77). He harps dozens of times on the utter lack of the historic sense among the brāhmanas in his work (AIHT), holds that the Purāṇas represent the ksatriya tradition, that there were three racial stocks, viz. the Mānavas (or Mānvas as he styles them), the Āilas and the Saudyumnas, that respectively represent the Dravidian, the Aryan and Munda (AIHT chap. 25 pp. 289-302), that the Purāṇas are Sanskritizations of works in Prakrit (pp. X-XI) of 'Dynasties of the Kali age'. His date for the Mahābhārata war has not been accepted by later scholars, since his handling of that subject is not judicial, objective or straightforward, but relies too much on his own prejudices and on averages. In his 'Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age (pp. 58, 74) he appears to favour the view that the Bhārata war was fought 1050 years before the Nandas i. e. about 1475 B. C. The mss. and the printed Purāṇas give four different periods between the birth of Parīkṣit¹³⁷⁶ and

1376. यावत्परीक्षितो जन्म यावज्जन्माभिधेयचनम् । एतद्वर्षसदृशं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥ विष्णु IV. 24. 32, भागवत XII. 2. 26 reads (आरम्य भवतो जन्म...सदृशं तु ज्ञातं पञ्च-दशोत्तरम्), महापद्माभिधेयकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः । एतद्वर्षसदृशं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥ मत्स्य 273. 35 (reads एवं वर्षं), वायु 99. 415 (reads महादेवाभिधेयकात्), ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 227 (reads महाजनन्दाभिधेयकान्तं). श्रीधर commenting on Bhāgavata XII.2.26

the crowning of Nanda, viz 1015 years (Viṣṇu), 1050 years (Vāyu, Brahmānda and mss. of Matsya), 1115 years (Bhāgavata), 1500 years (some mss. of Viṣṇu and of Matsya). Pargiter himself argues forcefully for the trustworthiness of tradition and Paurāṇika genealogies in R. G. Bhandarkar Presentation volume pp. 107-113 and in *AIHT* chap. X. p. 119-125. Besides, there is the common experience that the total number of years between one well-known event and another can be easily remembered and handed down even orally for hundreds of years, while handing down hundreds of royal names is a difficult matter and some names may easily drop out. Moreover, the Matsya, Brahmānda and Vāyu themselves say that they ¹³⁷⁷ mention only the prominent kings of the Ikṣvāku line and the Brhadratha line ¹³⁷⁸ and even as to the Paurava ¹³⁷⁹ line it is clear that that dynasty had many names not all of which are enumerated. There is therefore every possibility that some kings dropped out even in later genealogies also (as for example Matsya 213. 16, saying that Āndhras were 29 and Vāyu 99 ³⁵⁷ saying they were 30). Merely counting the total of the kings actually named in the Purāṇas would not convey a quite accurate idea of the total length of years during which that dynasty ruled. Bearing in mind the two matters (viz. trustworthiness of tradition and Paurāṇika genealogies and the ease of remembering the time distance between too well-known events) he should have endeavoured to find out the age of the Bhārata War. He brushes aside the statement of the period between Parikṣit and Nanda as unreli-

(Continued from last page)

states that in the 9th Skandha the Bhāgavata assigns 1000 years to 20 kings from Mārjāri of the Māgadha line (a contemporary of Parikṣit), then 5 Pradyotana kings ruled for 138 years, then the Śiśunūgas ruled for 360 years, thus 1498 years passed between Parikṣit and the crowning of Nanda and therefore he supports the reading of the interval as 1500 years

1377. एते वैवस्वते वंशे राजानो भूरिदक्षिणाः । इक्ष्वाकुवंशमवाः प्राधान्येन प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ मत्स्य 12 57, एते इक्ष्वाकुदायादा राजानः शतशः स्मृताः । वंशे प्रधाना एतस्मिन् प्राधान्येन तु कीर्तिताः । ब्रह्माण्ड III. 64. 213-214, एते इक्ष्वाकुदायादा राजानः प्रायशः स्मृताः । वंशे कीर्तिताः ॥ वायु 88 213 (as in ब्रह्माण्ड)

1378 अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि मागधेयान् बृहद्गन्ध । जरासन्धस्य ये वंशे सहदेवान्वये तृणाः ॥ अतीता वर्तमानाश्च भविष्याश्च तथा पुन । प्राधान्यतः प्रवक्ष्यामि गदतो ये निबोधत ॥ वायु 99. 294-295, ब्रह्माण्ड III 74. 107-109, मत्स्य 271 17-18.

1379 आसीत्सुधर्मतनयः सार्वभौमः प्रतापवान् । सार्वभौमेति विख्यातः पुथिष्यानेकराक्षः ॥ सार्वभौमस्य मत्स्ये महापौरवन्दनः । महापौरव पुनस्तु राजा रुक्मरथः स्मृतः ॥ मत्स्य 49 71-73, वायु 99. 186-187 (with very insignificant variations).

able simply on the ground (which appears to me flimsy) that the figures (1015, 1050) are discrepant (A. I. H. T. p. 180). In almost all passages of the Purāṇas there is some discrepancy or other. Therefore, he should have made an endeavour to find out which one of the three periods (1015, 1050, 1500) is supported by the best and oldest mss. and should have stuck to them, particularly when the Sanskrit equivalents of the three periods (*pañcadaśa*, *pañcāśat* and *pañcaśata*) are so much alike that scribes might easily have been confused and made their own readings. Even taking the least period of (1015) years, the Mahābhārata War would have to be placed at about 1440 B. C. (adding 1015 to the date of Nanda's enthronement, viz. about 425 B. C.). Most Western writers and Prof. S. N. Pradhan (in 'Chronology of ancient India', Calcutta 1927, pp. 249ff) find fault with Paurāṇika statements and brush them aside as practically worthless. Prof. Pradhan takes the kings actually named in the three lines, holds that 28 years are the average reign period of each and multiplying the number of kings by 28 arrives at the conclusion that the Mahābhārata war was fought about 1150 B. C. It is not possible to deal at length with his arguments. But he ignores the express words of the Purāṇas that they enumerate only the *principal* or *important* kings. Besides, there are scholars like Pargiter who regard 17 or 18 years as the average reign of a king in other countries (and in India also). The author cannot accept Prof. Pradhan's reasoning. Most Western writers are loth to assign old dates to matters Indian. Pargiter is no exception. Instead of straightforwardly accepting one of the three periods that was strongly supported by mss. he indulges in some devices that appear like tricks of jugglery (A. I. H. T. pp 180-183). His method requires some explanation and examination.

Vyāsa is said to have been alive when the Bhārata battle was fought at the end of the Dvāpara age and he is also held to be the author of the 18 Purāṇas. The kings before the Bhārata war, the Pāṇḍava heroes and a few descendants of them and of some contemporaries of them are treated by the Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and others as past (*atīta*). Adhisomakṛṣṇa or Adhisimākṛṣṇa, who¹³⁸⁰ was 6th in direct descent from Arjuna

1380. The genealogy of अधिस्तीमकृष्ण is as follows: अर्जुन-son अभिमन्यु-son परीक्षित-son जनमेजय-son शतानीक, then अश्वमेधदत्त, then अधिस्तीमकृष्ण. Vide वायु 99, 249-258, the last verse being, अधिस्तीमकृष्णो धर्मात्मा सांयतोयं महायज्ञाः। यस्मिन् महासत्ति महीं युष्माभिरिदमाहुतम् ॥; मत्स्य 50, 55-67 has almost the same words as Vāyu, but states that अधिस्तीमकृष्ण was son of शतानीक

(excluding Arjuna) is said to have been alive when the Purāṇas were narrated to the sages at the *saṁvatsara*. Both Vāyu (99. 282) and Matsya (271. 5) state that in the Ikṣvāku line king Divākara, 6th (or 5th in Matsya) in descent from Bhṛhadbala, was alive at the time when the Purāṇas were narrated. Then the same Purāṇas (Vāyu 99. 30, Matsya 271. 23 and Brahmāṇḍa III. 74. 113) state that in the line of Jarāsaṁdha (ruler of Magadha), who was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas and whose son Sahadeva was killed in the Bhārata war, there was Senājī who was a contemporary of Adhishṭha kṛṣṇa and Divākara and who was 7th in descent from Sahadeva. These three are described as *vartamāna* kings in the Purāṇas and all those that came after these three are described as *bhaviṣya*. Pargiter first (AIHT p. 180) takes the total of the kings of the three dynasties: Aikṣvāka, Paurava and Māgadha that are actually named (ignoring what the Purāṇas say viz. that only the principal or important kings are named and *not all*) and the total of the reigns of all these (1408 years), finds that the average of the reign of each king in the three lines works out at such large figures as 47, 50, 31, which he regards as impossible when tested by real historical averages. But he forgets that the Purāṇas say that in the Aikṣvāka, Magadha and Paurava lines and also generally only the prominent kings are mentioned and also that the extant Purāṇas are only fragments left of the originals, since in the Brahmāṇḍa (III. 74) all Paurava and Aikṣvāka kings are altogether lost. Then he takes the total number of kings in ten kingdoms up to Mahāpadma and arrives at the average of 26 kings for each kingdom (AIHT p. 181). Then he says that the average of fourteen series of kings in Eastern and Western countries which he examined comes to 19 years for each reign and, holding that the average in eastern countries is less than in western countries, he arrives at the average of 18 years for each reign (pp. 181-182), which he regards as fair and rather liberal. He then multiplies the average 18 (of length of reigns) by 26 (the average number of kings in ten countries which he supposes to be the only kings in those ten) and arrives at the figure 468 years. He adds these to the date which he assigns to Mahāpadma Nanda 382 B. C. and thus arrives at 850 B. C. as the mean date of the beginning of the reign of Adhishṭha kṛṣṇa, Divākara and Senājī, who were *vartamāna* kings. Then he takes five as the average of the kings between the *vartamāna* kings and Yudhisthira and assigning about 100 years to these 5 kings, arrives at the date 950 B. C. for the Bhārata war. He

discards (AIHT p. 180 n 3) the astronomical evidence contained in the Purānas (and the Mahābhārata) about Bhārata war in a single sentence viz. that astronomical statements can have no scientific precision and can only have been formed by estimate at the close. The probable date of the Mahābhārata war has been discussed by the author at some length on materials supplied by the Mahābhārata, the Purānas, Varāhamihira, Āryabhata and Inscriptions in vol III. pp. 895-923 and therefore he does not go into that question here. But he strongly disapproves of the methods of Pargiter and the date he deduces. Later scholars like Kirfel have not accepted the conclusions of Pargiter about two separate traditions and about the Purānas being Sanskritizations of originals written in Prakrit and Kharosthi script (p. XVI. of Intro to 'Purāna Texts &c.'). The importance of another independent source has not been taken proper notice of by Pargiter and even by Kirfel. It appears that about 300 B. C. Megasthenes was supplied with a list of kings from Bacchus to Alexander's time (153 or 154 in number) covering by their reigns a period of 6451 years and three months. Vide 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian' by McCrindle (1877) p. 115 and Cambridge History of Ancient India, vol. I. (1922, p. 409). Even supposing for argument that the account of kings is not trustworthy the fact remains that about 300 B. C. Indians claimed that they had lists of kings that reigned before that date for thousands of years (and not for a few hundred years as Pargiter would have us believe).

It has been shown above that Āpastamba mentions a Bhavīsyatpurāna and quotes four verses from a Purāna (p. 817, note 1328). That Bhavīsyat-purāna was probably so called because it contained in a prophetic vein the names and other details of kings that flourished after the Bhārata heroes and after a few generations of descendants of them and their contemporaries and probably purported to have been composed by some sage or by Vyāsa. As the Kali age is said to have started after the Bhārata war, as Parāśara, his son Vyāsa and Vyāsa's son Śuka were regarded as more or less contemporaries of the Pāndavas that lived in the Dvāpara age and as all the 18 Purānas are deemed to have been composed by Vyāsa¹³⁸¹ in the Dvāpara age, the history of the kings of the Kali age from the descendants

1381. अष्टादश पुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुत । भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तदुपबृंहितम् ॥
मत्स्य 53. 70.

of Adhishimakrsna and his contemporaries downwards has been furnished by the Purānas in the form of a prophetic style. It has not been clearly noticed by both Pargiter and Kirfel that the so-called future kings are divided into two groups, viz. the kings of the Aila, Aiksvāka and Māgadha lines from Adhishimakrsna, Divākara and Ssnājī to the last scions of these lines (such ¹²⁸² as Sumitra in the Aiksvāka line, Ksemaka in the Aila line) form one group and later kings in the lines of Pradyotas, Śungas, Andhras, Śakas and others form another group and further that the first group was most probably dealt with in the ancient Bhavisiya-purāna or some other Purāna if we rely on Āpastamba, but the other group not having been in existence when the Bhavisiyat was composed (before 500-400 B C) was dealt with by the extant Purānas from information received by them apart from the ancient Bhavisiyat. This is clear from the passages of the Matsya and Vāyu quoted ¹²⁸³ below. The Matsya says 'After this I shall proclaim those future kings in the Aila (Aila), Aiksvāka and Paurava lines and those with whom those three benign (or virtuous) families will come to an end and I shall enumerate all of these kings that are narrated in the Bhavisiya. Other kings different from the preceding that will arise, such as Ksatras (? of the

1382. अत्रानुवंशश्लोकोऽयं भविष्यज्ञैश्च ददतः । दत्त्वाङ्गणामयं वंशं सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।
सुमित्रं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥ वायु 99 292, मत्स्य 271, 15-16, ब्रह्माण्ड III
74 106, अत्रानुवंशश्लोकोऽयं गीतो विमं पुराणिदे । अद्भुतस्य ये योनिर्वैशो देवर्षिरुक्तः ।
क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥ वायु 99. 278, ब्रह्माण्ड III 74 265, मत्स्य
51 88 There is no अनुवंशश्लोक about the last scion of the third line.

1383 अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि भविष्या ये ह्यपास्तथा । ऐहिकान्ध्याये चैव पौरुषे चान्वये
तथा । येषु सस्यास्यते तच्च ऐहिककुलं शुभम् ॥ वाङ्मनान् कीर्तयिष्यामि भविष्ये कथितान्-
नृपान् ॥ तेन्योऽपरेऽपि ये त्वन्ये ह्युत्पत्स्यन्ते ह्यपाः पुनः । क्षत्राः पारशवाः शूद्रास्तथान्ये ये बहि-
श्चराः । अन्धाः (अन्धा ?) शकाः पुलिन्दाश्च चूलिका यवनास्तथा । केवर्तभीक्ष्णश्च ये चान्वये
स्लेच्छसम्भवा । पर्यायतः प्रवक्ष्यामि नामतश्चैव तान् नृपान् । अधिसोम (सीम ?) कृष्णश्चेतेषां
यथम वर्तते ह्यप । तस्यान्वयाये वक्ष्यामि भविष्ये कथितान् नृपान् ॥ मत्स्य 50. 73-77 Com-
pare वायु 99.266-270 (the only important variants being भविष्ये पठितान्, पर्यायतः
for पर्यायत and भविष्ये तावतो नृपान्). पारशवा. (पार्शवः or पार्श्वः) probably stands
for a warlike tribe called Parsūs Vide 'पार्शवादिषोडश्यादिग्रामण्यौ' पा V. 3 117,
from which it appears that Pārśu was an आयुजजीविसङ्घ like यौधेय in the
times of Pāṇini. Pārśus were ancient Persians, as appears from the
Behistun Inscription of Darius (522-486 B C). Vide 'Select Inscriptions'
vol. I, pp. 1-6 ed by Dr D. C. Sircar where Pars occurs as the name of a
country. The other sense given above does not suit the context Pulindas
were in the Vindhya region and are associated with Andhra in the 13th Rock
edict of Aśoka The अमरकोश says: 'भेदा. निरातशचरपुलिन्दा स्लेच्छजातय. 1'.

Ksatriya class), Pāraśavas (the Parśi tribe or persons born of a śūdra father and brāhmana mother?), Śūdras (as kings) and others that are foreigners, the Andhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Cūlikas, Yavanas, fishermen, Ābhīras and Śabaras and others born of Mleccha (tribes)—these kings I shall proclaim one after another in order and by name. Out of these (two groups) the first is Adhisimakṛsna who is now alive and I shall speak of the kings of his line that are narrated in the Bhavisiya'. This passage makes it perfectly clear that in the ancient Bhavisiyat kings of the three lines of Āila, Aiksvāka and Paurava to the last of them were enumerated (vide note 1382), but that the later kings like the Āndhras and Śakas were not enumerated therein. I agree with Pargiter (p. VIII in Intro to 'Purāna Texts' &c.) that the words 'Bhavisiye kathitān' in Matsya (50. 77) or 'Bhavisiye pathitān' in Vāyu (in 99.292) refer to the descendants mentioned in the Bhavisiya and that they do not simply mean 'mentioned in future.' I fail to understand, however, why he regards 'Bhavisiyat' as a perversion of 'Bhavisiya'. Bhavisiyat is as good a word as Bhavisiya, being employed in several passages such as Varāha (177. 34), Matsya (53. 62).

Pargiter probably wants to identify the Bhavisiyat of Āpastamba with the Bhavisiya of later times. There is no evidence except the name to identify the two. It, therefore, appears that the extant Purānas base their narrative as to the three lines of Āila, Aiksvāka and Paurava kings on the materials contained in the ancient Bhavisiya and as to other lines and comparatively later kings they relied on other materials or oral traditions that they could collect. This inference receives support from other circumstances. The extant Purānas quote verses called Anuvamśa ślokas or gāthās about ancient kings, such as Kārtavīrya (in Vāyu 94. 20, Matsya 43. 24, Brahmānda III 68-20, Brahma 13. 17) and also about the last scions of the Āila and Aiksvāka lines, viz. Sumitra and Ksemaka. But so far as kings of comparatively later dynasties such as those of the Āndhras, Śungas and others are concerned, no such gāthās or ślokas are quoted in the Purānas. There is absolutely no evidence to hold, as Pargiter does (p. XIII of 'Purāna Texts' &c.), that the ancient Bhavisiya contained a reference to the Guptas. The ancient Bhavisiya was composed before Āpastamba (i. e. before the 4th or 5th B. C.) and hence originally could have contained no reference to the Guptas (whose rule began about 320 A. D.). The Matsya does not refer to the Guptas and mentions only the

downfall of the Āndhras. Therefore, the Matsya should be regarded as composed or revised about the middle (or end) of the 3rd century A. D., though the possibilities of some chapters or verses being added after that date cannot be ruled out. When the Vāyu (99. 383), Brahmānda (III. 74. 195), Viṣṇu (IV. 24. 18) and Bhāgavata (XII. 1. 37) mentioned the Guptas as rulers the first two probably added these passages just about the time when Gupta rule began and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata (which present a corrupt text) might have borrowed the information from mss. of Vāyu or Brahmānda. It is clear, however, that the first two (out of the four) Purāṇas were composed or revised about 320-335 A. D. and the other two later still.

Kirfel's work 'Purāṇa Pañcalaksana' is one of fundamental importance so far as the Purāṇas are concerned, since it adopts a new method for the treatment of Paurāṇika material. The German Introduction of this work has been reproduced in English in the Journal of the Shri Venkateśa Institute at Tirupati, in vol. VII, pp. 81-121 and vol. VIII, pp. 9-33. Kirfel disagrees with many of the views of Pargiter. His main conclusions are: Apart from the abridgement in Agni and Garuḍa as well as the prose paraphrase in Viṣṇu, there are only three complete groups of Purāṇa texts viz. Brahma and Harivamśa, Brahmānda and Vāyu, and that of Matsya, all other Purāṇas containing only smaller or larger parts of the same. Of the three groups, Brahmānda and Harivamśa are the oldest (and not Brahmānda and Vāyu as Pargiter in A.I.H.T. p. 78 says). Kirfel holds that the Brahmānda and Vāyu must have originally been a single Purāṇa, particularly because the largest parts of both agree with each other, that Pargiter is not right in thinking that the additions in Vāyu and Brahmānda were borrowed from the ancient Bhavishya (Kirfel p. 18, vol. VII. of J. V. O. I. p. 92), but that the borrowed material goes back to an independent text. Kirfel does not accept Pargiter's theory that the Purāṇas were Sanskritizations of Prakrit texts, that the Viṣṇu in its existing form is a younger Purāṇa than the Vāyu or Brahmānda in spite of the fact that it most faithfully observes the basic arrangement of the five characteristics of Purāṇas. The division of Purāṇas into 18 and the distribution of Purāṇas into *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* are not original items but are applicable only to the last definitive texts of the Purāṇas. Pargiter thought that there existed an Ur-Purāṇa which had treated of the five topics (of *sarga* &c.) in ideal completeness and clear disposition. Kirfel

says that this is scarcely more than an arbitrary assumption (p. XLVIII of Kirfel's Intro. and J. V. O. I: vol. VIII. p. 31).

The present author may tentatively accept most of the conclusions of Kirfel, but he differs as stated above from Kirfel's view that the five characteristic topics (*sarga &c.*) are the oldest constituent parts of the whole Purāna Literature.

A lengthy discussion of the age of the Purānas is not very relevant to the subject of this section. But it would not be entirely out of place if the author said a few words thereon.

The author's position about the Purānas is as follows: We know hardly anything about the Purāna mentioned in Atharva-veda, the Śatapatha and the ancient Upanisads; but this much is clear that Purāna had attained a status of sacredness like the Vedas and was closely associated with Itihāsa even in Vedic times. This is the first stage in the evolution of Purāna Literature, but we know nothing about the contents of the Purāna in those ancient times. The Tai. Ā. mentions *Purāṇāni*; therefore in its time there must have been three Purānas at least. As Āp. Dh. S. quotes four verses from a Purāna and expressly names Bhavisiyatpurāna, it follows that by the 5th or 4th century B. C. at the latest there was in existence a Bhavisiyat-purāna and other Purānas or a Purāna, that contained sarga and pratisarga and some Smṛti material. This we may regard as the 2nd definite stage of Purāna Literature, of the contents of which we have some traces at least.

The Mahābhārata quotes hundreds of verses (called *ślokas*, *gāthās*, *anuvāṇśa ślokas*), some of which have a bearing upon Paurānika subjects and have a Paurānika ring. Some examples may be cited. The Vanaparva¹³⁸⁴ quotes two verses about the spiritual prowess of Viśvāmitra and about his assertion that he was a brāhmana. The Anuśāsanaparva¹³⁸⁵ quotes certain

1384. यत्रातुर्वंशं भगवान् जामदग्न्यस्तथा जगौ । विश्वामित्रस्य तां दृष्ट्वा विद्वत्सिमां-
माशुषीम् ॥ काव्यकुञ्जोऽपि वत्सोमनिर्ज्ञेयं सह कौशिक ! ततः क्षत्रादपाङ्गामद् ब्राह्मणोऽस्मीति
चाब्रवीत् ॥ वनपर्व 87. 17-18 Brāhmanas alone were entitled to drink soma in
a Vedic sacrifice and not Ksatriyas Vide H. of Dh vol. II, p. 1179.

1385. गायत्र्याप्यत्र गायन्ति पितृगीता युधिष्ठिर । सनत्कुमारो भगवान्पुरा मय्यभ्यभाषत ॥
अपि नः स कुले जायाद्यो नो दद्यात्त्रयोदशीम् । मयाह सपि संयुक्तं पायसं दक्षिणायने । अजेन
वापि लोहेन मयास्त्वे यतव्रतः । हस्तिच्छायाह विधिवत्कर्णव्यजनवीजितम् ॥ एदव्या बह्वः पुत्रा
यथेकोऽपि गया व्रजेत् ॥ अनुशासन 88. 11-14. Compare विष्णुपुरा III 16 17-20,
ब्रह्माण्ड III 19. 10-11, वायु 83. 10-12, all of which have the half verse अपि नः...
शीम् as in अनुशासन विष्णु and ब्रह्माण्ड add one half verse 'गौरिं वायुद्वहेत्कन्यं
नीलं वा वृषहृदयेत् ।

gāthās said to have been sung by the pitrs about the importance of a son or sons, which agree in letter and spirit with verses on the same subject in the Purānas. In the Udyoga-parva¹³⁸⁶ Bhīṣma is said to have addressed a verse to Paraśurāma that was sung by Marutta and declared in a Purāna. In the Purānas also there are frequent quotations of ślokas,¹³⁸⁷ gāthās and anuvamśślokas sung by people described as *Paurūnika* (in Vāyu 70. 76, 88. 114-116, 88. 168-169, Brahmandā III. 63. 69-70) or as *purāṇdāh* or *purāṇajñāh* in Vāyu, 83. 171 and 95. 19, Brahmandā III. 63. 171). Vāyu (93. 94-101) mentions several gāthās as sung by Yayāti, most of which occur in the Ādiparva 75. 50-53 and 85. 12-15, Brahmandā III. 68. 96-103 and in other purānas also. It is quite possible that these gāthās and ślokas said to have been declared by those who knew Purānas were taken from the Purāna or Purānas known to Āpastamba. As Yāj. I. 3 regards Purāna as one of the sources of dharma, it follows that some Purānas containing smṛti material must have been composed a good deal before that smṛti i. e. before the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. at the latest. This is the third stage in the evolution of Purānas. It is difficult to say when the extant Matsya was originally composed but it was revised about the middle (or close) of the 3rd century A. D., since it speaks of the downfall of the Āndhra dynasty, but does not refer to the Guptas. But it is possible that the original kernel of the Matsya may be earlier than this by a few centuries. The same applies to Vāyu and Brahmandā. The Vāyu and Brahmandā also were compiled or added to about 320-335 A. D., since they refer to the Guptas but do not name any Gupta king. These two in their present form may also be referred to this third stage. Most of the Mahā-purānas were composed or completed in the period from the 5th

1386. अयं चापि विश्वद्वालम् पुराणे श्रूयते विभो । मवत्तेन महाबुद्धे गति श्लोकौ महात्मना ॥ गुरोर्दण्डवत्सितस्य कार्यकार्यमजानतः । उद्यमप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ उद्योग 178 47-48. The cr ed has a wavy line below पुराणे and reads 'कार्यं भवति शासनम्' with a wavy line for परि 'यते. This verse 'गुरोर्दण्ड' is शान्तिपर्व 140 48 and is also शान्ति 57. 6-7, where it is said that it occurred in बृहस्पतिमत आदिपर्व 140. 54 has this verse but reads the last पाद as न्याय्यं भवति शासनम् ।

1387. भविष्यं कीर्तयिष्यामि शन्तनोस्तु निबोधत । 'इदं चोदाहरन्त्यत्र श्लोकं प्रति महाभियक् (भियम्) । यं यं कार्म्यां सुशान्तिं जीर्णं रोगिणमेव वा । पुनर्जुवा च भवति तस्मात् शन्तनोस्तु विदुः ॥ मत्स्य 50. 41-43, वायु 99 238 The verse यं यं contains a popular etymology of the word शन्तनु. The word भविष्य should mean only भविष्य-पुराण, since it is the स्तु who says this and शन्तनु was a king anterior to स्तु by some generations.

or 6th century A. D. to the 9th century A. D. This represents the 4th stage in the evolution of Purāṇa literature. The Upapurāṇas began to be compiled from about the 7th or 8th century A. D. and their numbers went on increasing till about the 13th century A. D. or even later. This is the last phase. Thus there is enough evidence to hold that the Purāṇas began to influence Hindu society a few centuries before Christ, that their influence continued in full force till the 17th or 18th century A. D. and that it continues to some extent even now. After the 9th century no further Mahāpurāṇas appear, but additional matter appears to have been unscrupulously inserted in several Purāṇas, the worst example of the kind being the third part of the Bhavīsyā, which contains stories of Adam and Eve, of Prthivīrāj and Jaicandra, Taimur, Akbar, Caitanya, Bhattoji, Nadirshah and so on.

The word 'purāṇa' occurs over a dozen times in the R̥gveda, is an adjective and means 'ancient, old'. The Nighantu (III. 27) mentions six Vedic words as having the sense of 'purāṇa' viz. *pratnam*, *pradīvaḥ*, *praiyāṇāḥ*, *sanem*, *pūrvyam*, *ahnūya*. Yāska (Nirukta III. 19) derives the word 'purāṇa' as 'purānavam bhavati' (what was new in former times). The R̥gveda does not contain the word 'purātana' (ancient). Purāṇa may be a very old form of 'purātana' through the intermediate form 'purāṇa'. From meaning ancient the word 'purāṇa' came to mean a work dealing with ancient tales, it became a noun and was applied in the times of the Atharvaveda, the Śatapatha and the Upanisads to a class of works containing ancient tales. When purāṇa came to mean a work dealing with ancient tales, to speak of a Bhavīsyat-purāṇa was apparently a contradiction in terms. That contradiction was probably not minded or was ignored by the thought that works that narrated old tales gradually came to include comparatively recent ones and had therefore to adopt a prophetic style of composition with reference to the latter.

The Vāyu¹³⁸⁸ derives the word 'Purāṇa' from 'purā' (in ancient times, formerly) and the root 'an' (to breathe or live), and therefore according to it the word literally means 'that which lives in the past' or 'that which breathes ancient times'.

1388 यस्मात्पुरा ह्यनतीदं पुराणं तेन तत्सृजतम् । निरुक्तमस्य यो वेदः सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।
बायु I. 203, पुरा परम्परा वदति पुराणं तेन वै स्मृतम् । पद्म V 2 53; the ब्रह्माण्ड I 1 173
has यस्मात्पुरा ह्यभूच्चैतत्पुराणं तेन तत्सृजतम् । निरुक्तं .मुच्यते ॥

The Padmapurāṇa propounds a slightly different etymology, viz. "it is called Purāṇa because it desires or likes the past" from 'purā' and the root 'vaś' (to desire or to like).

The question why the extant Purāṇas do not narrate the traditions about the dynasties of the Guptas and their successors cannot be satisfactorily answered. One reason may be that the original kernel of some Purāṇas like the extant Matsya were compiled before the Guptas rose to power, while others like the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa were compiled while the Gupta rule was in its infancy. Another reason may have been that in the 5th and following centuries when many of the extant Purāṇas were compiled northern India was very much disturbed by the invasions of foreigners like the Hūnas, ¹³⁶⁹ Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, numerous sects and schisms had arisen, Buddhism had become powerful and therefore the first task of the intelligent and devout followers of the Veda was held to be to wean the common people away from schisms like that of Buddha, to lay down the foundations of a new ideology among the masses and to emphasize and assimilate as many of the doctrines of the sects and schisms as possible with their ancient traditions and practices. The intelligent classes, therefore, emphasized the importance of such virtues as ahimsā, satya, bhakti and of vratas, pilgrimages, śrāddhas and dānas and were probably not in a mood to record the names of foreign conquerors or of small chieftains fighting with each other and unable to repel the cruel invaders. For the absence of references to the dynasties of the Guptas and their successors, Pargiter blames the brāhmanas in the following characteristic passage (AIHT chap. 4 p. 57) 'the absolute dearth of traditional history after that stage is quite intelligible, both because the compilation of the Purāṇa had set a seal of tradition and because the Purāṇa soon passed into the hands of brāhmanas who preserved what they had received, but with the brahmanic lack of the historic sense, added nothing about the later kings'. Supposing for argument that brāhmanas lacked the historic sense, Pargiter's opinion appears to be entirely one-sided. He assigns no reason why the sūtas, whose business was to record and preserve historic tradition (as he himself says on p. 58 of AIHT), did not stick to their business and did not continue to compose genealogies of

1369. For the history of the ruthless Hūna invader Mihirakula, vide Gupta Inscriptions pp. 143-148 and 149 ff (Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman) and pp. 924-25 note 1788 a, of vol. III of H of Dh

later kings and to add further items of history to already existing recorded tradition, nor does he explain how the sūtas could be ousted or allowed themselves to be ousted from their age-old vocation by the brāhmanas. It is probable that foreign dynasties like that of Kaniska and the Hūnas did not encourage the sūtas who had sunk low in the social scale and the sūtas probably became Buddhists, as Buddhism with its Jātaka stories gave to all persons following a bardic profession sufficient scope for earning their livelihood.

The legends about Vyāsa and Sūta may be briefly considered. The Purāṇas declare that Vyāsa was the son of Parāśara, was also called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and was an incarnation of Viṣṇu (of Brahmā also in Vāyu 77. 74-75 and of Śiva in the Kūrma II. 11. 136). He was called Dvaipāyana¹³⁹⁰ because he was born on an island (dvīpa) in the Yamunā river and Kṛṣṇa because he was of dark complexion. His mother was Satyawatī and son was Śuka. He was called Vyāsa because he is supposed to have divided or arranged the one Veda into four parts (from the root 'as' 4th conjugation 'to throw' with the upasarga 'vi'). He instructed four disciples in the four Vedas, viz. Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu respectively in Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda. His 5th disciple was Sūta Romaharsana to whom was imparted Itihāsa-Purāṇa. The son of Sūta was Sauti who narrated the Mahābhārata to Śaunaka and other sages in the Naimiṣa forest. It was believed that whenever dharma and Veda declined Vyāsas were born for the benefit of men (Brahma 158. 34). The Kūrma (I 52. 1-9) sets out 27 names of different Vyāsas, while Vāyu (23. 115-219), Brahmāṇḍa (II. 35. 116-125), Viṣṇu¹³⁹¹ (III. 3. 11-19)

1390 अस्मिन्नुद्यो कृतो व्यासः पाराशर्यं परन्तपः (परन्तपः ?) । द्वैपायन इति ख्यातो विष्णोरंशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ ब्रह्मणा चोदितः सोऽस्मिन्वेदं व्यस्तुं प्रचक्रमे । अथ शिष्यान् स जग्राह चतुरो वेदकारणात् ॥ अग्रे वेदश्रावकं पैतृं जग्राह विधिवद् द्विजम् । यजुर्वेदप्रवक्तारं वैशम्पायनमेव च । जैमिनि सामवेदार्थं श्रावकं सोऽवपद्यत । तथैवाथर्ववेदस्य सुमन्तुमुपि सत्तनम् । इतिहासपुराणस्य वक्तारं सम्पन्नेव हि । मां चैव प्रतिजग्राह भगवानीश्वरः प्रभुः ॥ वायु 60.11-16, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 34 11-16 (almost in the same words) Compare विष्णु III. 4. 7-10, कूर्म I. 52. 12-15, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 74. Kūrma I 51 48, Padma V. 1 43, Bhāgavata I. 4. 14-25 and XII. 6 49-80 and Nārāḍīya I 1. 18 identify him with Nārāyaṇa. The आदिपर्व corroborates the Purāṇa statements : विव्यासेन चतुर्थो यो वेदं वेदविदा वर । आदि 60. 2 and 5, यो व्यस्य वेदांश्चतुरस्तपसा भगवाद्ब्रुविः । लोके भ्यासत्वमापेदे काण्वर्षाकृष्णत्वमेव च । आदि 105. 15

1391 ह्यपरे ह्यपरे विष्णुर्वासरूपी महासुने । वेदमेकं सुषुहृथा कुस्तं जगतो हितः ॥ वीर्यं तेजो बलं चाहर्षं मनुष्याणामवेक्ष्य च । हिताय सर्वभूतानां वेदभेदाच्च करोति सः ॥ विष्णु III. 3. 5-6.

enumerate the names of the 28 Vyāsas of the 28 Dvāpara ages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara (which is the current one). How Vyāsa put together the Purāṇas is described in several Purāṇas 'He who was an adept in the meaning of Purāṇa composed a Purāṇa-samhitā from (the material supplied by) tales, episodes, gāthās (stanzas) and correct ascertainment or descriptions of Kalpas'.¹³⁹² This shows that, while the Vedic texts were preserved with unparalleled care by the brāhmanas, the very ancient Itihāsa-purāṇa, though called the 5th Veda, was not kept intact with care similar to that bestowed on the four Vedas and that this fifth Veda was allowed to be inflated by fresh additions from time to time.

In connection with Vyāsa's legendary role as an arranger of the Veda, Pargiter has a theory of his own which must be briefly noticed and examined. He develops that theory on pp. 9-10 of A. I. H. T. He refers to the R̥gveda as the greatest brahmanical book, says that it is a compilation of hymns composed by many authors and is arranged according to certain principles. His words are 'It (R̥gveda) must manifestly have been compiled and arranged by some one or more persons, yet Vedic Literature says absolutely nothing about this. The brāhmanas cannot have been ignorant about it, for they preserved it and its text with unparalleled care. "Vedic Literature professes to know and declares the names of the authors of nearly all the hymns and even of single verses, yet it ignores all knowledge of the person or persons who afterwards compiled and arranged these hymns. To suppose that when it preserved the earlier information it was ignorant of the later work in so vital a matter is ridiculous.' From this silence in the Vedic Literature about the persons that compiled and arranged the R̥gveda, Pargiter at once jumps to the positive and emphatic conclusion, as is usual with many western writers on Sanskrit Literature and Indology to argue from silence, that 'Vedic Literature has deliberately suppressed all information on these matters' (A.I.H.T. p. 9). He refers to the fact that the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas are full of Vyāsa and repeatedly declare that the Veda was arranged by Vyāsa and points out that Vedic Literature is

1392. आद्यार्यैश्चाप्सुपाख्यानाभिः कल्पश्रुतिभिः । पुराणसंहितां चक्रे इत्यार्य-
विद्वान्दः ॥ निष्णु III 6. 15, ब्रह्माण्ड II, 34. 21 (reads कल्पजोक्तिभिः), वायु 60 21
(reads कुलकर्णभिः). कल्पजोक्तिभिः would mean 'words or descriptions rela-
ting to Kalpas (vast periods of time)'. The com. on निष्णुपुराण explains
'स्वयं ब्रह्मार्ककथनं माहुराख्यानकं ब्रुवाः । ह्यनस्यार्यैश्च कथनमुपाख्यानं प्रचक्षते ॥'

remarkably reticent about Vyāsa Pārāśarya (who is mentioned as a pupil of Visvaksena in the Vamśa list at the end of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa and in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka) and then he reiterates his charge of the conspiracy of silence about Vyāsa (AIHT. p. 10). Pargiter is ready with a reason for the supposed conspiracy of silence viz. 'the brāhmanas put forward the doctrine that the Veda existed from everlasting; hence to admit that any one had compiled or even arranged it struck at the root of their doctrine and was in common parlance to give their whole case away' (*ibid.* p. 10).

Several objections can be raised against the positive assertion of deliberate and fraudulent suppression inferred from mere silence. In the first place, Pargiter is very loose in his statement of facts. Pargiter totally ignores that even in the R̥gveda itself, rk verses, yajus texts and sāman chants are differentiated. To give only a few references, *vide* for Rks (R̥g. II. 35. 12, V. 6. 5, V. 27. 4, V. 44. 14-15), in both verses of the last rk and sāmans being separately mentioned; for yajus *vide* R̥g. V. 62. 5, X. 181. 3); for sāman chants *vide* R̥g. II. 43. 2 (*udgāteva śakune sāmā gāyasi*), VIII. 81. 5 (*śravat sāmā giyamānam*), VIII. 95. 7 (*śuddhena sāmna*).

The epio and purāṇic texts indicate that Veda was thought to be originally one, but was arranged into four groups, that the four groups of texts were entrusted for preservation and propagation to four different disciples of Vyāsa. The R̥gveda has two arrangements, one into *maṇḍalas* and *sūktas* and the other into *astakas*, *adhyāyas* and *vargas*. The Taittirīyasamhitā and Atharvaveda are arranged into *kāṇḍas*. Not a word is said in any of these accounts to which Pargiter refers about picking up hymns already existing or their being arranged in *maṇḍalas* or *adhyāyas* or *kāṇḍas* by Vyāsa. Further, the reason assigned for the supposed deliberate suppression of the name of the arranger of the Veda is quite flimsy, not to say ridiculous. Every hymn of the R̥gveda or every mantra has a rsi who by the ancient Indian tradition was not the *author* (as Pargiter puts it) but only the *seer*. It is clear from Brāhmaṇa texts, Upanisads and *smṛtis* that from very ¹³⁹³ ancient times it was a very strict principle

1393. ऋष्यादिज्ञानाभावे प्रत्यवायः स्मर्यते । अविदित्वा ऋषिं छन्दो देवतं योगमेव च । योश्चाप्येज्यपेक्षापि पापीयाञ्जायते तु सः ॥ सायण in his Introduction to the भाष्य on ऋग्वेद edited by the Poona Vaidika-saṁsodhana Mandala, योग in the verse means विनियोग. 'आर्यं छन्दश्च देवतं विनियोगस्तथैव च । वेदितव्यं प्रयत्नेन ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः ॥'

that no one should teach or repeat in japa or employ a mantra in a sacrifice without knowing the rsi, the metre, the deity and the use (vinīyoga) of it and dire consequences were declared to follow for him who was remiss in these matters. Hymns and mantras were arranged in different groups for different religious rites and solemn sacrifices or for other purposes (such as sāntis). It is not necessary to remember who arranged the required mantras for rites, sacrifices and other purposes. The Brāhmaṇa texts and śrauta sūtras prescribe the manner of the employment of the same mantras for various purposes and the Anukramanīs contain the names of the seers, metres and the deities of hymns and individual mantras also. As every mantra of the Veda was supposed to be only *seen* by a sage and as eternal, the mere compilation of them in one or more series or the mere arrangement of mantras or hymns in different groups for different purposes did not at all affect or interfere with the eternality of mantras or hymns. Pargiter's so-called reason for suppressing the name of the arranger of the Veda is simply no reason at all.

Pargiter did not stop to consider possible explanations. One of the most plausible is now put forth. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (a very extensive literature) were attributed to Vyāsa, who, as shown above in n. 1390, had come to be looked upon as Viṣṇu or as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The four Vedas and the several different śākhās (recensions) of each Veda were well known. By a sort of *post facto* explanation, the distribution of the Veda into four main groups was claimed to have been brought about by the divinely inspired Vyāsa, whose Purāṇas are, as will be apparent from note 1349 above and as will be shown in more detail later, glorified as even anterior and superior to the Veda. The eternality of the Veda had to be maintained and at the same time Vyāsa was to be glorified.

(Continued from last page)

This is बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य I 27 quoted also by हेमाद्रि on ब्रत vol I p. 247. शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on बृहदसूत्र I. 3. 30 quotes the following as a Vedic text which occurs several times in the Ait. Br. 'यो ह वा अविद्वितार्षेयछन्दोदेवतब्राह्मणेन मन्त्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्थाणु चर्च्छति गतं वा प्रतिपद्यते तस्मादेतानि मन्त्रे मन्त्रे विद्यात्' Vide also छान्दोग्योपनिषद् I 3. 8-10 'येन सान्ना स्तोम्यन्त्यात्तत्सामोपधावेत्। यस्याद्युचि ताद्युच यदाधेयं तद्युचि या देवतानभिदोष्यन्त्यात्ता देवतास्तुपधावेत्। येन छन्दसा स्तोम्यन्त्यात्तच्छन्द उपधावेत्' Vide note 1276 for the दे वा passage which requires that the mantra employed should refer to the rite that is being performed.

The easiest way was to proclaim that Vyāsa, the author of the great Epic and of the distribution of Purāṇas into eighteen, was also responsible for the division or arrangement of the Veda. If all this glorification of Vyāsa occurred in the centuries immediately preceding and following Christ, how could the supposed arranger of the Veda be mentioned in the early Vedic Literature, which, most scholars agree, was closed some centuries before Buddha (i.e. before the 6th century B. C.)? No body claims that the arrangement into mandalas or astakas or kāṇḍas is eternal. It is only the hymns or mantras that are claimed to be eternal. Even the *padapāṭha* of the Rgveda is declared to be non-eternal and is ascribed to Śākalya whom the Nirukta criticises in VI. 28. Viśvarūpa on Yāj III 242 expressly states that the *pada* and *krama* arrangements of the Veda are due to human authors.¹³⁹⁴ This theory explains all matters and has far better claims to be accepted than Pargiter's bold ascription of fraudulent suppression inferred from (a supposed) silence.

The Purāṇas do not speak with one voice about their own origin and transmission. After declaring that Vyāsa entrusted the preservation and propagation of the Purāṇas to Sūta, the Vāyu and other Purāṇas contain a somewhat different version. The Vāyu narrates (61. 55-61): Sūta had six disciples, viz. Sunīti Ātreya, Akrtavratna Kāśyapa, Agnivarcaś Bhārdvāja, Mitrāyu Vasistha, Sāvarni Saumadatti, Suśarman Śāmsapāyana. Three of these, viz. Kāśyapa, Sāvarni and Śāmsapāyana prepared new Purāṇa-samhitās and Sūta's own was the 4th and the original one. All were divided into four *kāṇḍas*, contained the same sense (matter), but differed in their readings as the *śūkhās* of the Veda differ. All had four thousand verses except the samhitā of Śāmsapāyana. These four are said to be the basic samhitās (in Brahmanda II. 35-66) or original samhitās (in Vāyu 61. 58 pūrvasamhitās). The Brahmanda (II. 35. 63-70) has the same account in almost in the same words. Visnu (III. 6. 16-17), Agni 271 (11-12) are briefer but agree in the main with Vāyu. The Bhāgavāta (XII. 7. 4-7) differs from all these to some extent. That there is some substance in this story appears from stray passages in several chapters of the Vāyu (56. 1, 60. 33-34, 62. 1, 89. 16) and the Brahmanda (II. 34. 34,

1394. पदक्रमादीनां तु पुरुषकृतत्वादेव व्यावृत्तेर्न तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं संहितावचनम् । बालक्रीडा
on या III 242 'अरण्ये नियतो जप्त्वा विष्कृत्वो वेदसंहिताम्.' ज्ञानि 343. 103 (= cr.
ed 330.37) states the क्रमपाठ was due to पाश्चात् ब्राह्मण्य.

II. 36. 1 &c.), where Śāmsampāyana is the inquirer and Sūta replies.

The personality of Sūta is somewhat of an enigma in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Sūta is called Romaharsana¹³⁹⁵ or Lomaharsana because he made the hair (*roman* or *loman*) of his audience bristle or stand erect by his touching and eloquent speech. In the Skanda it is stated that he was so called because his own hair stood on end when he was being instructed by Dvaipāyana. One meaning of the word *sūta* is 'chrioteer' and another meaning is 'a person of a mixed *pratiloma* caste born of the union of a brāhmaṇa woman with a ksatriya male' and the cognate word 'Māgadha' means 'one who is born of a *pratiloma* union between a vaiśya male and a ksatriya female' (vide Manu X. 71. Yāj I 93-94). The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya says¹³⁹⁶ the same thing about *sūta* and *māgadha*, but adds that 'the *sūta* and *māgadha* mentioned in the Purāṇas are different from these, because he (the *sūta*) is distinguished from (ordinary) brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas'. Kautilya means that in his days *sūta* and *māgadha* were *pratiloma* castes, but the *sūta* and *māgadha* mentioned as the first reciters of the Purāṇas are a category apart, that they do not belong to the *pratiloma* castes and are both distinguished from brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas (i. e. *sūta* of the Purāṇas is treated more or less as a great sage or semi-divine person). The Vāyu (I 26-33 and 62-147 ff), Padma (II 27. 65-87, V. 1. 29-32), Brahmānda (II 36 158-173), the Skanda (Prabhāsakhanda 1. 8) say¹³⁹⁷ that in the sacrifice of Pitāmaha (i. e. Brahmā) Sūta sprang up as a partial *avātara* of Viṣṇu on

1395 लोमानि हर्षयाचक्रे ओतुणा यत्तुभाषितैः । कर्मणा प्रथितस्तेन लोकेऽस्मिँल्लोम-
हर्षण । वायु 1. 16, तस्य ते सर्वरोमाणि वचसा हर्षितानि यत् । द्वैपायनस्यानुभावात्ततोभू-
द्भोमहर्षणः ॥ स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड) 1. 6

1396 वैश्यान्मागधवैदेहकौ । क्षत्रियात्सूत । पौराणिकस्त्वन्य. सूतो मागधश्च ब्रह्मक्षत्रा-
द्विशेषतः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III 7. p. 165, Pargiter translates (AIHT p 17) 'but the
sūta who is mentioned in the Purāṇas is different and so also is the
Māgadha who is mentioned there from brāhmaṇa-ksatriya offspring by a
real distinction.' This is not accurate. There are no words in the
Arthaśāstra corresponding to 'who is mentioned there' and for 'offspring'.
This idea about the origin of सूत and मागध is very old. Vide गौ धर्मसूत्र IV
15-16 'प्रतिलोमास्तु सूतमागधापीयवकृत-वैदेहकचण्डालाः । ब्राह्मण्यजीजनत्युत्रान् वर्णेभ्य
आनुपूर्वाद् ब्राह्मण-सूत-मागध-चण्डालान् ।

1397. एतस्मिन्नेव काले च यज्ञे पैतामहे शुभे । सूतो सत्या सद्युपजो सौत्येऽहनि महा-
मतिः ॥ तस्मिन्नेव महायज्ञे जज्ञे माज्ञीय मागधः । वायु 62 135-136, ब्रह्म 4 60-61 It
is popular etymology to derive the word सूत from the root 'su' 5th conj.
to extract

the day when soma juice was extracted and māgadha also thus arose. It is further stated in the same Purāṇas that the *havis* (offering) meant for Indra (symbol of the ksatriya class) got mixed with that meant for Brhaspati (symbol of brāhmaṇa class and learning) and that the sūta was born just at the time when the mixed-up offering was presented to the gods. From this the sūta (in later times) had duties similar to those of the original sūta and it was said that the sūta is offspring of the mixed union of brāhmaṇa (woman) with ksatriya (male). Then another story is grafted on to this (in Vāyu 62. 147 ff, Brahmandā II. 36. 170-173 and in others) that the original¹³⁹⁸ Sūta and Māgadha sang the praises of king Prthu, son of Vena, who being pleased, made a present of the country of Anūpa to Sūta and the country of Magadha to Māgadha and since that time sūtas and māgadhas sing the praises of kings and awaken them in the morning with blessings. The Vāyu itself,¹³⁹⁹ however, says (1. 33-34) that sūta was born at the time of the extracting of soma juice in the sacrifice of Prthu Vainya.

The authors of the extant Vāyu and other Purāṇas are conscious that the sūta and māgadha in their times had no adhikāra for Veda, that the business of the sūta was to note the dynasties of gods, sages and kings that are found in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas. They felt scandalized by the fact that great sages like Śaunaka were said to have learnt Purāṇas from the sūta who in their times belonged to a pratiloma caste, about which Gautama, Visnudharmasūtra and Kautilya himself lay down that pratilomas are like śūdras, are condemned by āryas and are

1398. ततः सतान्ते सुपीतः पृथु मादात्प्रलेम्बरः । अनूपदेशं सुताय मगधं मागधाय च ॥ तदा वै पृथिवीपालाः स्तूपन्ते सुतमागधे । आशीर्वादेः प्रयोध्यन्ते सुतमागधवर्द्धिभिः ॥ वायु 62. 147-148, ब्रह्माण्ड II 36 171-173. The आदिपर्व (59 112-113) refers to the gift of अनूप and मगध to सुत and मागध, ब्रह्माण्ड 4 67 also does so. The Padma V 1. 31 says that Prthu made a present of the Sūta country to सुत. It is popular etymology to derive the name मागध from मगध अनूप means a watery or marsh country. Padma (II. 27 86-87) mentions other countries as gifts to सुत &c.

1399 सुत उवाच । "स्वधर्मं एव सुतस्य सद्विर्हृतः पुरातनैः । देवतानामृषीणां च राज्ञां चामिततेजसाम् ॥ वंशानां धारणं कार्यं क्षुतानां च महात्मनाम् । इतिहासपुराणेषु दिष्टा ये ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥ न हि वेदेष्वधीकारं कश्चित्सुतस्य हृदये । वैश्यस्य हि पृथोर्यज्ञे वर्तमाने महात्मनः । सुत्यायामभवत्सुतः प्रथमं वर्णवैकृतः । वायु 1 31-34, पद्म V 1 27, vide ब्रह्माण्ड II 36. 158-173 for the birth of सुत and gift of अनूपदेश to सुत and of मगध to मागध by पृथुवैश्यः प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः । गौतमधर्मसूत्र (IV. 20), त एते प्रतिलोमा स्वधर्मातिक्रमाद्वाङ्मः सम्भवन्ति । " सूत्रसंघर्माणो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 7 p. 165, प्रतिलोमास्वार्थविगर्हिताः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 3.

beyond the pale of the usual duties of brāhmanas and ksatriyas (such as *upanayana*, Veda study, teaching &c.) Learning by a brāhmana from a ksatriya was considered even in Upanisad times as contrary to the natural order of things. Vide the words of king Ajātasatru to Gārgya Bāliki¹⁴⁰⁰ quoted below. Therefore, to account for the position of Sūta as instructor in Itihāsa and Purāna of great sages like Śaunaka, the story of Sūta's birth was invented and he was placed in a separate category by himself. This must have occurred some centuries before Kautilya who was aware of the low position of sūta and māgadha and differentiates the Paurāṇika sūta from the pratiloma sūta and māgadha. One need not accept the divine character of Sūta, one has only to understand that in very ancient times brāhmanas could, without any qualms and without loss of prestige, learn about legends from a sūta, but that in the times when the extant purānas were compiled the position had entirely changed.

Next to Pargiter and Kirfel, one must mention the name of Prof. R. C. Hazra who has bestowed much labour and thought on the purānas in general and on individual purānas. One cannot but feel high admiration for Prof. Hazra's industry, patience and enthusiasm. One regrets, however, to find that he has developed a tendency to assign rather more ancient dates to the extant Purānas and Upapurānas than the available evidence would warrant. Besides, he has been so much engrossed in the study of Purānas that he sometimes scents a reference to Purānas where none in fact exists. For example, in 'Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs' (p. 6) Prof. Hazra observes that Viṣṇuśeṣvara tells us of Hārīta's reference to the opinion of Purānas in prescribing penance in normal circumstances to those who eat the food dedicated to the patriarchs. The words of the Mitākṣarā¹⁴⁰¹ of Viṣṇuśeṣvara are quoted in the note

1400 सद्योमाचाजातशङ्कु मत्तिलोमं चैतद्यद् ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियमुपेयाद् बद्धं नै वक्ष्यतीति । बृह. उ. II. 1 15 Vide कोपीतकिञ्चा उ. IV. 18 for almost the same words

1401 The निनाशरा has a long discussion on Yāj III. 289 about the expiations for eating food tainted by various defects. About eating food in śrāddhas of various kinds it quotes several authorities as follows : दारीतिनाष्टकम् । अजादश्रादे मुक्त्वाच मुक्त्वा सश्रयने तथा । उपोष्य त्रिविक्त्वात्वा कृष्णाम्णे-र्द्धयाद्वत् ॥ इति । निष्पुनाष्टकम् । राजापत्यं नश्रादे पश्याम्य हिनातिने ॥ इदं चाप-क्षियम् । अनापदि तु—'चान्द्रायणं नश्रादे राजापत्यं तु निश्चक्रे । अजादस्तु पुराणेषु राजा-पत्यं विधीयते ॥ इति दारीतीकं द्रष्टव्यम् । राजापत्यं तु निश्चक्रे द्रव्येत्ताद्यमासि कषियं द्रष्टव्यम् ।

(Continued on next page)

below and clearly show that there the word 'purānesu' means 'Śrāddhas called purāna' and has nothing to do with Purāna works. Another defect noticed in Prof. Hazra's writings is that he sees too much meaning in simple words and phrases and is not cautious in his conclusions as a scholar of his standing and experience should be. In a recent paper on 'the Āśvamedha, the common source of origin of the Purāna Pañcalaksana and the Mahābhārata' in ABORI, vol. 36 (1956) pp. 190-203, he cites the Atharvaveda verse quoted above (p. 816, n 1325) in which rk and sāma verses are mentioned separately and 'purāna' (purānam yajusā saha) is associated with yajus, and says this collocation seemed to him highly significant and that he felt *fully convinced* that the Purāna pañcalaksana and the Mahābhārata owe their origin to the Āśvamedha sacrifice and especially to its Pāriplava ākhyānas. Reasons of available space preclude a detailed examination of this paper. But a few fundamental objections and matters must be mentioned. The words 'purānam yajusā saha' should ordinarily mean (as in passages like Devadattah saputra āgatah) no more than 'Purāna and Yajus'. Yāj 1. 101 provides¹⁴⁰² that after the daily bath, a vedic householder should undertake every day the japa of portions of the (three) Vedas, the Atharvaveda, Purānas together with Itihāsa and of ādhyātmiki-vidyā (Upanisads). There is no special meaning here in the association 'purānāni setihāsāni' beyond 'Purānas and Itihāsa'. One, therefore, fails to understand how the words 'purānam yajusā saha' are highly significant for arriving at the *conclusion* that Āśvamedha is the origin of Purāna and Mahābhārata. Then on p. 202 of the paper

(Continued from last page)

Śrāddhas are of three kinds, नवश्राद्ध (up to ten days after death), मिश्र or नवमिश्र (performed after ten days up to one year) and दुराण (those performed after a year from a person's death). The word दुराणेषु means दुराणेषु श्राद्धेषु. हारीत provides प्रायश्चित्त for eating the food in the three kinds of श्राद्धs, नव, मिश्र and दुराण. The word दुराणेषु in that verse of हारीत has nothing to do with Purāna works. Vide H of Dh vol IV p. 262 notes 591a and 593 for more details about the three kinds of śrāddhas

1402. वेदार्थपुराणानि सेतिहासानि शक्तिः । जपयज्ञमसिद्धयर्थं विद्या चाध्यात्मिकीं जयेत् ॥ याज्ञ. I 101. Compare also कूर्म II 46. 129 एकतस्तु दुराणानि सेतिहासानि कृत्स्नशः । एकत्र परमं वेदमेतदेवातिरिच्यते ॥

in question Prof. Hazra quotes a passage from¹⁴⁰³ Śāṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on Chāndogya III. 4. 1-2 and completely misunderstands the great ācārya when he observes "Śāṅkara's use of the word 'rātri' in the plural (in 'rātrisu') shows that in his opinion the *Itihāsa* and *Purāna* were employed every night during the *Pāriplava* and not merely on the 8th and 9th nights respectively, as the Śatapatha Br. and Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra say" (Italics author's). The Āsvamedha sacrifice lasted for a year and listening to the *Pāriplava* went on for a year, each *Pāriplava* being a cycle of ten days (or rather nights, as the recitation by the hotr priest was to take place after the morning, mid-day and evening istis to Savitr were finished). The texts to be recited and the nature of the legends to be narrated on each of the cycle of ten days are fixed and *Itihāsa* and *Purāna* are to be recited only on the 8th and 9th nights. As each cycle was of ten days, there would be 36 cycles of *Pāriplava* in a year and *Itihāsa* would be recited on 36 nights in the year and *Purāna* also would be recited on 36 nights in the year. It is for this reason that Śāṅkarācārya speaks of '*Pāriplavāsu rātrisu*' in the plural, but he does not say that *Itihāsa* and *Purāna* were to be recited on 'all' nights (*sarvāsu rātrisu*), while Prof. Hazra represents him as so saying. There is absolutely no warrant in the ancient texts for saying that on each day (or night) of the *Pāriplava* *Itihāsa* or *Purāna* was to be recited or that Śāṅkarācārya said anything of the kind. The testimony of the *Vedāntasūtra*¹⁴⁰⁴ is completely against this view of Prof. Hazra. *Vedāntasūtra* III 4. 23 refers to certain stories mentioned in the Upanisads such as 'Yājñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī' (Br. Up. IV. 5. 1), 'Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, went to Indra's abode' (Kausītaki Up. III. 1), 'Jānaśruti Pautrāyana was a pious donor giving much wealth to the people and keeping an open house for distributing food' (Chān. Up. IV. 1. 1), and remarks that such stories were not to be recited in *Pāriplava*, since the stories to be recited therein are expressly specified beginning with the story

1403 The भाष्य passage quoted is 'द्वितीयासुराण एष्यम् । तयोश्चेतिदासपुराण-योरम्बन्धे पारिप्लवास्तु रात्रिषु कर्माङ्गत्वेन विनियोगः सिद्धः'.

1404. पारिप्लवमाचक्षीत-इति हि मद्रूप्य 'महूर्ध्वस्वतो राजा' इत्येवमादीनि कानि-
चिदेवाख्यानानि तत्र विशेष्यन्ते । आख्यानसामान्यान्वेत्सर्वेष्वप्यस्ति । स्याद्वन्नर्थकमेवेद् विशेषण
भवेत् । तस्मान्न पारिप्लवार्था एता आख्यानश्रुतयः । भाष्य on वे. सू. III 4 23 (पारिप्लवार्था
इति चेन्न विशेषितत्वात्)

of king Manu Vaivasvata (which was to be recited on the first night of the Pāriplava).

Prof. Hazra has recently published (in 1958) 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' vol. I, pp. 1-400 on Saura and Vaisnava Upapurāṇas (in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series 1958). This would be briefly dealt with a little later.

Prof. Ramechandra Dikshitar also has written a good deal on the Purāṇas. His writings are beset by the same infirmity that attaches to Prof. Hazra's work to some extent. For example, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the 13th Indian History Congress (pp. 46-50) on the Visnupurāṇa he first states (p. 46) that he is more concerned with the extant Visnupurāṇa and after pointing out that the topics of vratas, of fasts, of tīrtha, are absent from the extant Visnupurāṇa he concludes that the extant Visnupurāṇa can safely be placed in the 6th or 7th century B. C. Hardly any modern and critical scholar would accept such a date for the extant Visnupurāṇa. Instead of relying on the absence of certain topics he should rather have relied on what it actually contains to find out the probable date of the extant Visnupurāṇa.

In connection with the Purāṇas the author must refer at some length to the Introductory remarks of Ballālasena, king of Bengal, in his Dānasāgara, edited in the B. I. series (1953-1956) by Mr. Bhabatosh Bhaṭṭācārya (three parts of text pp. 1-722 and 4th part an Introduction in English with Indices). Those remarks evince a bold critical faculty rare in our medieval Sanskrit writers. He mentions, besides the Gopāthabrāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, the smṛtis and dharmaśāstras of Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya, (counting Śaṅkha Likhita as two), Dāna-Brhaspati and Brhaspati (as separate), Vasistha and others (in all 28), the Chandoga-pariśista of Kātyāyana, thirteen principal Purāṇas viz. Brāhma, Vāraha, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Mātṣya, Vāmana, Vāyaṇīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vaisnava, Śarva, Skānda, Pādma and Kaurma and the Upapurāṇas named in Kūrma and Ādi Purāṇas as containing the procedure of (various) dānas, viz. Ādya, Sāmba, Kālīkā, Nanda (v. l. Nandin), Āditya, Nārasimha, Viṣṇudharmottara (declared by Mārkaṇḍeya) and the śāstra called Viṣṇudharma (eight in all). He mentions that he drew upon all these for the production of his work on dānas, 1375 in number (verses 11-20

pp. 2-3). Then he mentions certain Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas which he discarded in his work on dānas for various reasons.

Some of these remarks are very important and the original verses are set out in the note below.¹¹⁰⁵ He states that he did not draw upon the Bhāgavata, the Brahmandā and the Nāradya as dānas are absent therefrom. He did not rely in his work upon the Lingapurāṇa, though it is a large work, because its essence, he decides, is the same as the treatment of Mahā-dānas declared in the Matsyapurāṇa, the Bhavīsyapurāṇa has been assiduously utilised by him only up to the (vratavidhis of) 7th tithi, but he discards the procedures of the 8th and 9th tithis (of the Bhavīsyapurāṇa), since they are overwhelmed (tainted) with (the doctrines of)¹¹⁰⁶ heretical sects (Tāntrikas,

1405. बृहदपि लिङ्गपुराणं मत्स्यपुराणोदितैर्महादानैः । अथार्थं तुल्यसारं दान-
निबन्धेऽत्र न निबद्धम् ॥ 58 सप्तम्येव पुराणं भविष्यमपि सङ्गृहीतमतियत्नात् । त्यक्त्वाष्टमी-
नवम्यौ कल्पौ पाण्डिभिर्द्यस्तौ । लोकप्रसिद्धमेतद्विष्णुरवश्यं च शिवरवश्यं च । ह्यभिह न
परिग्रहीतं संग्रहरूपत्वमवधार्य ॥ भविष्योत्तरमाचारप्रसिद्धमविरोधे च । प्रामाण्यज्ञापकादधे-
यैत्यादस्मात् प्रथक् कृतम् ॥ मत्स्यपुराणेकाशतोधिकम् । यत्तत्त्वत्रितयं पौण्ड्रैवा-
यन्तिकथाश्रयम् ॥ तादर्थ्यं पुराणमपरं ब्राह्ममाश्रेयमेव च । त्रयोविंशतिसादृशं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम् ॥
षडसद्वसन्ति लिङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा । दीक्षामतिघ्रापाण्डयुक्तिरन्तर्परीक्षणे ॥ मृगयावशात्तुचरितैः
कोषन्याकरणादिभिः । असङ्गत्तथाबन्धपरस्परविरोधतः ॥ तन्मीनकेतनादीनां भण्डपाण्ड-
लिङ्गिनाम् । लोकव्यञ्जनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावधीरितम् ॥ एतत्पुराणोपपुराणसंख्यावर्णिङ्कृतं कर्मल-
कर्मयोगात् । पाण्ड्यशास्त्रादुक्तं निरूप्य देवीपुराणं न निबद्धमत्र ॥ 67 p 7 The com.
विष्णुचिन्ती on विष्णुपुराण remarks that the विष्णुपुराण has six recensions viz. of
6000 verses, 8000, 9000, 10000, 22000, 24000, while the दानसागर speaks of a
विष्णुपुराण of 23000 verses which it discards मेधातिथि on मनु IV. 200 re-
marks that each āśrama has some peculiar signs of its own such as the
girdle, deer skin, (palāśa) staff of a Vedic student, the householder has a
bamboo stick, ear-rings &c., a forest hermit has tattered garments and
matted hair while a sannyāsin wears kaśāya (reddish) garment &c. Those
who maintain themselves by wearing these peculiar signs though they do not
belong to that order incur sin. परा. मा. I. 2 p 386 explains लिङ्गिनः as
पाण्ड्यतादयः.

1406 Both the कल्पतरु on व्रत pp. 274-308 and हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol I pp.
921-956 contain several vratas on the 9th tithi from Bhavīsyapurāṇa in
honour of Durgā (under various names such as Candikā, Nandā) which
have a śākta flavour. For example, as regards the Ubbayanavāmīvrata
(Kālpataru on vrata pp 274-282) it is provided that the eight-armed Durgā
called Tryambikā is to be honoured with red flowers and the naivedya of
buffalo flesh (p. 275) Similarly, as regards Nāmanavāmī vrata (ibid. p.
283-288) provision is made for a naivedya of fish and flesh and in the
Mahānavāmī vrata pp 296-298 a naivedya of pāyasa and flesh for Maṅgalā
is provided In the Nandānavāmī Durgā is called Nandā and the mantra

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Bauddhas, &c.); both the Visnurahasya and Śivarahasya, though well-known among people, have not been accepted in this work, since they are considered to be mere compilations; the Bhavisyottara (Purāṇa) which is followed in peoples' practices and is not in conflict (with orthodox views) has been excluded from this work, since no indications (evidence) of its authoritativeness could be found; the following are ignored in the Dānasāgara for reasons stated: three khandas, viz. those concerned with the tales of Paundra, Revā and Avanti of the Skanda apart from a part of it that is prevalent (among people), the Tārksya (i. e. Garuda) purāṇa, another Brahmapurāṇa, another Āgneya (i. e. Agnipurāṇa), a Visnupurāṇa containing 23000 verses, another Lingapurāṇa containing six thousand verses; all these have been discarded for various reasons such as the procedure of dikṣā (initiation of a disciple by a guru in a cult like the Tāntrika or Pāñcarātra or Pāsupata) or of the establishment of an image, heretical reasoning, testing of jewels, stories of the doings of (persons of) false genealogies, treating of such matters as dictionaries and grammar, containing incoherent tales and contradictions, because they lead to the misleading of people by the description of or reference to Love affairs, to those who are buffoons, or are heretics or make their livelihood by displaying some sign (such as matted hair), the Devipurāṇa has not been utilized in this work, because it is not included in the enumeration of the number of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas (in various works), because it contains delusive acts^{1406a} and because it approves of heretic śāstras.

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is 'om Nandāya namah' (p 304) and in the Mahānavamivrata (or Āśvina-sūkta 9) worship is commended (p 308) with plenty of wine and flesh and with the heads of buffaloes, rams and goats. All these Navamivratas provide a dinner to maidens which is a peculiarity of śākta worship. Tāntrik practices must have affected people in Northern India long before the 11th century as the Kalpataru mentions the Sun's mantra 'Khakholkāya namah', vide भविष्य I. 215. 1-6 for the basic mantra (Mūla-mantra) and its adjuncts, some of which are 'ओं विदिविदि हिरः, ओं ज्वालिने इति शिखा, ओं सहस्ररश्मये फट् कवचम्, ओं सर्वतोजोषितये फट् अक्षम् । ओं सहस्रकिरणोक्ज्वलाय फट् ऊर्ध्ववन्धः ।' (कल्प-उत्तर p. 199) It may be noted that the Agnipurāṇa (272. 3) speaks of the gift of the Visnupurāṇa containing 23000 verses.

1406a कश्मल means मूर्च्छा or मोह acc. to अमरकोश 'मूर्च्छा तु कश्मलं मोहोऽप्यव-मर्च्छा पीडनम्'. In the भगवद्गीता II. 2 we have 'क्षुतस्त्वा कश्मलमिदं विदमे सद्य-स्थितम्' where it should mean मोह. If we prefer the variant reading कर्मणः, then the meaning would be मलिन (dark) or मलीनस्.

Some important conclusions can be drawn from the above mentioned remarks of Ballalāsena in his *Dināṅgara*. Next to the *Mitīksarā*, the *Kṛtyakalpataru* and *Aparārka*'s commentary, the *Dināṅgara* is among the earliest extant nibandha works the dates of which are nearly certain.¹⁴⁰⁷ It does not mention the *Mitīksarā*, nor *Kṛtyakalpataru* nor *Aparārka*. Mr Bhabatosh Bhattācharya is right in his contention that the words 'Kalpadrumo jaṅgamah' in the 3rd opening verse have nothing to do with *Kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara and that Prof Rangaswamy Aiyangar is wrong in thinking that the verse refers to the *Kalpataru* (vide Mr. Bhattācharya's Introduction to *Dināṅgara* p. XVIII and note 1)

The principal points that emerge from Ballalāsena's remarks on *Purāṇas* are that he included both *Vaiṣṇu* and *Śiva* among the principal *Purāṇas* (sometimes called *Mahāpurāṇas*), that there were two *Purāṇas* called *Linga*, *Brahma*, *Agneya* and *Viṣṇu*, that the four counterparts bearing these names were not treated as authoritative (one pseudo-*Lingapurāṇa* having 6000 verses and one *Viṣṇu* having also 23000 verses being unauthoritative), that he abhorred *Tāntrik* rites and therefore totally discarded the *Devīpurāṇa* and parts of *Bhaviṣya*, that he did not utilize three named sections of the *Skanda*, that he did not regard the *Garuda* as authoritative. It may be stated here that acc. to the (printed) *Kūrma* I. 1. 17-20 some *Upapurāṇas* such as *Skanda*, *Vāmana*, *Brahmānda* and *Nāradya* bear the same names as the *Mahāpurāṇas*. Prof Hazra relies upon a passage quoted from the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*¹⁴⁰⁸ by *Kalpataru* (*Brahmacārī-*

1407 The pedigree of पद्मलसेन gathered from अ सा and दानसागर is: देवन्तसेन (in सोमयज्ञ) - his son विजयसेन - his son पद्मलसेन - his son लक्ष्मणसेन. The अष्टतसागर was begun in śaka 1089 (1167 A D.) and was finished by his son लक्ष्मणसेन (p 1 अ सा). The दानसागर was composed by पद्मलसेन in śaka 1091 (1169 A D.), vide Mr B. Bhattācharya's Introduction in दानसागर pp. XXV-XXVI. He composed three more works before the दानसागर viz the ब्रह्मसागर (mentioned on pp. 53 and 59 of the दानसागर), मतिज्ञासागर and आचारसागर (in verses 55-56 p 6 of दानसागर). So पद्मलसेन's literary activity should be placed between 1155 to 1180 A D. He mentions अनिरुद्धभट्ट, author of दारलता and विदुद्विषा, as his guru in whom he shows great reverence for his learning, high character and attainments in the दानसागर (p. 2 verse 6) and states that he learnt the essence of all Purāṇas and smṛtis from him (verse 7). Vide H. of Dh. vol I (1930) pp 340-341 for Ballalāsena.

1408 भविष्यपुराणे। अष्टादश पुराणानि रानस्य चरितं तथा। विष्णुधर्मादिशास्त्राणि शिवधर्माश्च भारत॥ काण्ठे च पञ्चमी वेदी यन्मदाभारत स्मृतम्। सौराश्व धर्मा राजेन्द्र मान-
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kāṇḍa p. 25) wherein it is said that the appellation Jaya is applied to 18 Purāṇas, Rāmāyana, Visnudharmādisāstras, Śivadharmā, Mahābhārata, Sauradharmas and Mānavadharmas (Manusmṛti?). I shall discuss the question of Visnudharmapurāṇa later. But I have serious objections against the antiquity and authenticity of this passage. Being quoted in the Kalpataru it may be earlier than 1050 A. D. That is all. In order to glorify the 18 Purāṇas the meaning of Jaya is extended. Jaya is applied only to the Mahābhārata in the latter e. g. Udyogaparva 136. 18-19 and Svargārohanika 5. 49 and 51 quoted in note 1369 above. Hence this passage was inserted very late after all 18 Purāṇas had been composed i. e. after the 9th century A. D. Besides the plural 'Visnudharmādisāstrāṇi' shows that many works are meant and *not one*, i. e. the meaning is that all śāstras dealing with Visnudharmas and the like. If a single work were meant, one expects 'Visnudharmādisāstram ca' and that would have not spoilt the metre. Besides, the Kalpataru itself indicates that this verse about 'Jaya' was cited by some authorities as 'Smṛti'. Therefore, it is doubtful if it is a genuine Bhaviṣya passage. Ballālasena mentions only eight Upapurāṇas on dānas by name (including the four mentioned by the Matsya).

In spite of the very admirable and praiseworthy efforts of Dr Hazra in the matter of the place of the Upapurāṇas, their contents, the search among numerous mss to find out what the text of the several upapurāṇas has been, the present writer must say here once for all that he does not at all agree with most of the dates that he assign to the Sāmā, the Visnudharma, the Visnudharmottara, the Narasimhapurāṇa, which are the principal Upapurāṇas he has dealt with in the first volume of 'Studies in Upapurāṇas'. His dates for the four Upapurāṇas are;

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योक्ता महीपते । जयेति नाम चैतेषां प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः । यदत्र श्लोके 'स्मृतिः' इति कृत्वा य (या?) माणिकानां वचनं (लिखन in कृ र) तदपि महाजनपरिगृहीतत्वेन प्रमाणत्वात् । तथा 'स्मृत्यन्तरेषु च' इत्येतेनैव सङ्गृहीते चेदित्यम् । कल्पतरु (ब्रह्मचारि p 25-26). The कृत्वरत्नाकर reads 'तद्विज्ञायमानवक्तुकमपि' before महाजन and thereby clearly shows that the propounder of this passage (cited as from Bhaviṣya) was unknown, acc. to the कृत्वरत्नाकर and also कल्पतरु, but, as some authorities had accepted it, it was regarded as प्रमाण and even if cited as smṛti it would be included in the words 'अष्टादशपुराणेषु यानि वाक्यानि पुत्रक । तान्यालोच्य महाबाहो तथा स्मृत्यन्तरेषु च ॥' occurring as a quotation from भविष्य on p. 24 (of ब्रह्मचारिकाण्ड). The above verses are quoted by कृ. र. p. 30.

Sāmba between 500 and 800 A. D. (p. 91), the Visnudharma-purāṇa between 200-300 A. D. (p. 143), the Visnudharmottara-purāṇa between 400 to 500 A. D. (p. 212) and the present Narasimha-purāṇa between 400 to 500 A. D. To examine all his reasons the present writer would have to write another book. Therefore, he proposes to give only a few illustrations of the way in which Dr. Hazra arrives at his dates. But before this is done it is better to mention some of his own findings on the Purāṇas and the four Upapurāṇas mentioned above. On p. 27 he observes that the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made at different times and by different sects is *scarcely reliable* and can be used with great caution and careful discrimination. I agree with him. But the same or perhaps worse is the case with the Upapurāṇas. Prof. Hazra himself says ('Studies' vol. I, p. 23) that after the group of 18 principal Purāṇas had been compiled many sub systems and sects like the Śāktas and Sauras came into prominence and their adherents interpolated chapters in the 18 established Purāṇas and wrote new and independent works styled Purāṇas in order to propagate their own ideas and that some of these latter came to be called Upapurāṇas. The result is that, unless we have critical editions of the Purāṇas and the principal Upapurāṇas on the model of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata at the BORI in Poona, all chapters and often single verses are suspect. But the task of preparing critical editions of even the principal Purāṇas and some of the Upapurāṇas based upon ancient and medieval mss. collected from all parts of India would be far more colossal and costly than even the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. Therefore, most chronological conclusions about the dates of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and about the borrowings of one Purāṇa from another are just tentative at the most and likely to be set aside by new evidence as long as critical editions of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas are not available.

Let us now turn to the four Upapurāṇas dealt with at length by Prof. Hazra. About the Sāmba (which is one of the four Upapurāṇas expressly named in the Matsyapurāṇa 53 60-63) Prof. Hazra observes ('Studies' vol. I p. 68) that the present Sāmba-purāṇa consists of different units mostly belonging to different countries and ages and after analysing in his own way the several chapters of the Sāmba he arrives at the conclusion (on p. 93) that chapters 17, 22 and 23 of the printed

edition were added later than 950 A. D., that chap. 44-45 were inserted between 950 and 1050 A. D. and chap 39-43 and 47-83 were added between 1250 and 1500 A. D. There is at present only one printed ed. of the *Sāmba* viz that of the Venk. Press in 84 chapters based probably only on one ms. Out of these 84 chapters Prof Hazra himself finds that 47 chapters are later than 950 A. D., of which 42 were added between 1250-1500 A. D. Prof. Hazra has himself examined several mss of the *Sāmba*, but they do not come from all over India, many being from Bengal and almost all seem to be late ones (p 33 last line), being copied in śaka 1764 i e 1842 A. D. When more than half of this *Purāna* ranges between 950 to 1500 A. D. according to Prof Hazra, how can it be usefully employed for chronological purposes? Nobody can say when the verses about the four *Upapurānas* were inserted in the *Matsya*, but one can affirm that it was done about the 9th century A. D. or even later. Two dates about *Upapurānas* are certain, viz that *Sāmba* is mentioned by Alberuni (Sachau, I, p 130) who wrote in 1030 A. D. and that the *Dānasāgara* (verses 13-15 on p. 3), composed in 1069 A. D. mentions eight *Upapurānas* on *dānas* of which four viz. *Sāmba*, *Nārasimha*, *Nandi* and *Āditya* are the same as are mentioned in the *Matsya*. Therefore, an *Upapurāna* called *Sāmba* must have been composed a century or two earlier than 1000 A. D. On p. 91 he holds that the *Sāmba* cannot be dated later than 800 A. D. It is difficult to fall in line with all the assumptions on pp. 90-91 for arriving at this date. What the *Sāmba* named by *Matsya* contained beyond the words 'story of *Sāmba*' is not at all known. Prof. Hazra himself has given up at least half of the printed *Sāmba* as later than 950 A. D. and there is absolutely no reliable evidence to hold that the remaining portion of the *Sāmba* is earlier than 800 A. D. or even earlier than 950 A. D.

The next *Upapurāna* is *Visnudharma* dealt with by Prof. Hazra in 'Studies' vol I pp. 118-155. There is no printed edition. Prof Hazra (p 119) refers to six mss. but he has chiefly used only one ms viz. Bengal Asiatic Society's ms. No. 1670. This *Purāna* has 105 chapters and over 4000 verses. Prof. Hazra admits (p. 119) that it has very little of the principal characteristics of a *Purāna* and deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of *Vaisnavas*. Alberuni names *Visnudharma* but the verses that he quotes therefrom are found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as Buhler pointed out long ago (I. A. vol. XIX, pp. 381-410 and vide table given by Prof. Hazra on p. 208 comparing the two). Prof. Hazra holds (p. 116) relying on two verses quot-

ed below from Visnudharmottara^{1408a} that the Visnudharmottara is only the latter part of Visnudharma and that, as he holds that the former was composed between 400-500 A D, the date of the Visnudharma falls between 200 and 300 A D (p 143). The other arguments that he advances are practically worthless. In the present author's opinion those verses can be interpreted in two other but different ways, viz. that the first section of the present Visnudharmottara is called Visnudharma or that the Visnudharmottara is so called because it was composed after the Visnupurāna, which contains the greatness of Viṣṇu and the dharmas of Vaiṣṇavas. He often trots out the theory that, if a work is free from Tantric elements, it must be an early work belonging to the 3rd or 4th century A D (see p. 142). The Sarvasaṃgraha of Mādhavācārya (which was composed in the 14th century) makes no reference to the cult of Śakti or the system of Tantra, though it devotes a good deal of space to the views of even Cārvāka (a thorough-going atheist), Bauddhas and Jainas. The Sarvasiddhāntasaṃgraha also does not refer to the Śāktas or the Tantras. But no one can argue that Mādhava is earlier than 4th or 5th century A D. There may be various reasons for silence. One may abhor a thing and may not refer to it or use it at all as the Dānaśāgara says about the Devīpurāna. The argument from silence is a slippery one. I challenge the whole basis of Prof. Hazra's date for Visnudharma, viz the date of the Visnudharmottara. This last is a vast work in three sections. It would be proved later that portions of the latter Purāna dealing

1408a अधीते सौत्तर यश्च विष्णुधर्मनिर्णयं शुभम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I.143 16, सत्तारक्षय हेत्वर्थे भाषोपकरणेषु च । सौत्तरा वैष्णवा धर्मा सारमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 74 35. These verses are not clear enough for holding that the present विष्णुधर्मोत्तर is only the latter part of another work called विष्णुधर्म. That verse uses the word इमं which refers to the first section of the present विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and refers only to one who studies the first section and also the following sections. The word इमं cannot be proved to refer to विष्णुधर्मशास्त्र, which is nowhere expressly mentioned as a purāṇa to the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर. To take इमं as referring to विष्णुधर्म, a separate work, would be equal to assuming what has to be proved. Alberuni mentions Visnudharma as a short form of विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and nothing more. Similarly, in the 2nd passage it is expressly stated that in the first section the essence of Vaiṣṇava duties is given along with the following two sections. The Matsya (53 16) speaks of the Visnupurāna as one in which Parāśara proclaimed all the dharmas with reference to Vārāha-kalpa, वाराहकल्प-वृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य पराशर । यस्याह धर्मानि खिलास्तद्युक्तं वैष्णवं विदुः ॥ मत्स्य 53 16. The word धर्मान् is used in the मत्स्य with reference to four Purāṇas, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Skanda, out of 18. The Viṣṇu is full of the characteristic qualities of Vaiṣṇavas e. g. vide III 7. 20-33, III 8 9-19 &c.

with prognostications from dreams cannot be placed earlier than about 600 to 650 A. D. For the *Viṣṇudharma* we have to rely on what Prof. Hazra quotes. Chap. 66 quotes the famous words of the *Gītā* 'whenever there is decline of dharma &c.' (p. 143 n 94) and then the same chap. mentions the incarnations of *Viṣṇu* including *Buddha* (p. 125). Therefore, the mention of the ten *avatāras* in the context of the words of the *Gītā* is natural and should not be regarded as spurious simply because it comes in the way of one's pet theories. On p. 144 he quotes ten verses from chapter 66 in which *Buddha* is described as son of *Śuddhodana* and his doctrines are stated. Prof. Hazra (on pp 145-146) gives four reasons which are quite unconvincing. The *Purāṇas* mention the *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu* in several places. The *Bhāgavata* in I. 3 names 22 *avatāras*. On p. 150 Prof. Hazra himself quotes a long passage about the evils of the *Kali* age from the *Viṣṇudharma* in which occurs a significant half verse 'utkocāḥ saugatāś-caiva Mahāyānaratās-tathā'. Here not only are the followers of *Buddha* mentioned but also those who are of the *Mahāyāna* persuasion. On p. 124 Prof. Hazra states that the *Viṣṇudharma* (p 124 n 45) mentions by name 33 authors of *Dharmaśāstras*, besides the *Saptarṣis* and others. *Yāj.* (I. 4-5) mentions only 19 promulgators of *Dharmaśāstra* (including himself and holding *Śankha-likhita* as one). Both the *Viṣṇudharma* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* are not mentioned by the *Matsya*. Therefore, it must be held that they were not recognized as *Upapurāṇas* at the time when the verses about *Upapurāṇas* were interpolated in the *Matsya* and were not so recognized till at least the 8th or 9th century A. D. The *Viṣṇudharma* is opposed to what is stated by all writers from the *Grhya* and *Dharmaśūtras*, by *Manu* (III. 128-186), by *Matsya*, *Kūrma* and other *Purāṇas* about the qualifications of the *brāhmanas* to be invited at a *śrāddha* dinner (vide H. of Dh. vol IV pp. 384-387). It expressly says that squint-eyed, hunch-backed, impotent, poor and diseased *brāhmanas* should be mixed up at a *śrāddha* along with those who are deeply versed in the *Veda*.¹⁴⁰⁹ This does not bespeak an early date. On p. 138 Prof. Hazra refers to several *nibandhakāras* as quoting from *Viṣṇudharma* such as *Gadādhara* up to *Ballālasena*, *Aparārka* and *Kṛtyakalpataru*. These do not carry the date beyond 1000 A. D. and besides an examination of quotations in only one work (*Aparārka*) will show that the

1409 काणा. कुब्जाश्च घण्टाश्च दुरिद्रा व्याधितास्तथा । सर्वे आद्रे नियोक्तव्याः मित्रिव
वेदपारगैः ॥ (Hazra p 153 n 117)

Visnudharma was an hotch-potch bringing together passages from several sources (vide note).¹⁴¹⁰ Prof. Hazra himself holds that the original Visnudharma was appropriated and recast by Bhāgavatas and that many verses quoted from Visnudharma by Raghunandana, Govindānanda and the Madanapārijāta do not occur in the present work (pp. 154-155).

Then we come to the Visnudharmottara. The only printed edition is that of the Venk Press. It is a vast work divided into three sections. The first deals with geography, solar and lunar dynasties, astronomy and astrology, gotra and pravara, śrāddhas, Manvantaras, Bharata's fight with Gandharvas and Śatrughna's with Lavana. The 2nd section deals with various aspects of Rājadharm and the third section of the Purāna deals with Citrasūtra-vidhāna and contains several topics such as painting, dancing, music, song, rasas, riddles, dramaturgy, metrics, figures of speech, construction of images, building of temples, symptoms of approaching death, gifts of various kinds, law and justice, hermits and sannyāsins. On p. 212 Dr. Hazra places this Purāna between 400-500 A. D. Reasons of limitations of space preclude any detailed criticism of Prof Hazra's treatment. In III. 351.54 Buddha is mentioned as an avatāra which Prof Hazra says is 'most probably spurious' (p. 212) and advances no reasons for this summary judgment. He puts in his usual argument of its non-Tantric¹⁴¹¹ character and frequent use of the word prādurbhāva

¹⁴¹⁰ अपरार्क on pp 368-370 quotes about 20 verses from विष्णुधर्म, some of which may be examined here. पठिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता चाक्षुमन्ता च तास्येव नरके वसेत्॥ This very verse is q by अपरार्क on p. 370 from आदित्यपुराण This verse is stated to be derived from ग्यास and मनु in E. I. vol 12 p. 135. The बृहस्पतिस्मृतिकर p. 517 quotes it from बृहस्पति, while बृहस्पतिस्मृति (Ānan. collection) verse 29 has the latter half of it. On p. 369 the verse यत्किञ्चित्कुरुते पाप is quoted from विष्णुधर्म but the same is quoted by अपरार्क himself on p 370 from मत्स्य and it is verse 7 of बृहस्पतिस्मृति and is also अनुशासन 62 19 and वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 29 16 Then at the end of that long passage is verse आत्मेन्द्रयस्ति पितरः (अपरार्क p 370), which is बृहस्पतिस्मृति 17 and पद्मपुराण VI 33 17.

¹⁴¹¹ I fail to understand what Prof. Hazra definitely means by non-Tantrik character He admits (on p 218) that *bījas* and *kaṇvacs* are found in Visnudharmottara of which section I chap. 226 names over 100 मात्रा, some of whose names are काली, महाकाली, अपराजिता, कालद्वी, दुर्गा, कराला, कपाली, पिशाची &c., chap. 237 of विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (verse 20) refers to वैष्णवकवच and at the end we have purely Tantrik formulas, some of which quoted as specimens are : 'ओं सुकारे प्रकटोक्तं विकट-

(Continued on next page)

and not 'avatāra' which latter, he says, occurs in two places only. Prof. Hazra often attaches undue importance to insignificant details. Whether the word 'prādurbhāva' is used or 'avatāra' is used matters little. The same Purāna uses both words promiscuously e. g. Narasimha (36. 1, 'avatārānaham vaksye') begins with the word 'avatāra' and in 39. 1 employs the word 'prādurbhāva' (atah param Hareh punyam prādurbhāvam) and in the colophons of all chapters from 36 to 53 the word 'prādurbhāva' is used. The Matsya 247. 1 starts with 'prādurbhāvān purāṇesu Viṣṇoramitajeśah'. In 247. 19-21 the Matsya employs the word 'avatīrṇah' with regard to Vāmana and Nṛsimha and in 246. 4 'avatīrṇo jagadyonih..... Vāmananēha rūpena &c.'. Padma V. 13. 182 speaks of twelve avatāras; Viṣṇu V. 16 also uses the word 'avatāra'. On p. 199 he gives a table of passages that are common to Manu, Yāj, Nārada and Viṣṇudharmottara, on p. 200 another table of passages common to Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra and Viṣṇudharmottara, and on page 202 a table of passages common to Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara and holds that the Matsya borrows. This is a most astounding proposition. The Matsya does not even mention the Viṣṇudharmottara as an Upapurāna; the only sure and earliest date is that the latter is mentioned by Alberuni. That does not carry the matter beyond 900-1000 A. D. The Matsyapurāna might have been tampered with. The reasons assigned for his opinion by Prof. Hazra are, to say the least, flimsy and unconvincing. It is further to be noted that there are twelve verses that state that some phenomena are not to be held to be utpātas, that are common to Matsya 229. 14-25, Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 134. 15-26) and the Brhatsamhitā (45. 83-94), which are quoted by the Adbhutasāgara pp. 743-744 as occurring in all these three and in Bārhaspatya. I have dealt with this matter above on p. 768 n 1240. Varāha states that these

(Continued from last page)

वैष्णवो रक्ष। ओं हे हे हे हे दिनकरसहस्रकान्तसमोद्यजेज पञ्चमतो रक्ष रक्ष। ओं निरिनिरि
मदीतज्वलनज्वालाकालमहाकपिलजदिल उत्तरतो रक्ष। ओं त्विलिचिलि मिलिमिलि चेकहि गौरि
गान्धारि विषोहनि विषं मोहयतु स्वाहा दक्षिणतो रक्ष। १. If this is not tantricism I
should like to know what it is. In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II 165 there is great eulogy of
the Gāyatrī (or Sāvitrī) mantra. Therein verses 55 ff of the same Purāna
prescribe how Gāyatrī can be used against one's bad enemy. A few verses
are quoted अभिचारेणु ता देवी विपरीता प्रयोजयेत्। कार्यं व्याहृत्यश्वात्र विपरीताक्षरास्तथा।
विपरीताक्षरं कार्यं क्षिरश्च मञ्जुश्वर। आदौ शिरः प्रयोक्तव्यं मणवान्ते च यादव। स्वाहास्थाने च
फल्गुनं साध्यनामसमन्वितम्। "अभिचारे च होतव्या राजिका विषमिश्रिताः। स्वरक्तमिश्रं
होतव्यं कटुतेलमथापि वा। " महापराधं बलिनं देववाह्मणकण्डकम्। अभिचारेण यो हन्यात्
स दोषेण लिप्यते। 65.

verses are the summaries (*rsiputrakṛtaih ślokaiv-vidyā-etaṣaṁ samāśoktāḥ*) of the ślokas of Rṣiputra. Therefore, the view that they are borrowed by Varāha from the Matsya or Visnudharmottara would be out of question. The two Purāṇas do not say whence they have taken them. Therefore, it would not be unjustifiable to hold that in both Purāṇas the verses of the Brhat-saṁhitā were inserted. There is another circumstance that strengthens this last view. The Adbhutasāgara on pp. 493-494 quotes seven verses from the Brhad-yātrā of Varāha alone. These verses are quoted by Utpala on Br. S. 47. 22 (where Varāha says 'sadasat-svapnanimittam yātrāyām svapnavidhīr-uktāḥ') from 'Yātrā'. These verses (8 in all) are Varāha's own (as he says) and not taken from any other source. Three of these verses on dreams occur in the Visnudharmottara (II 176 9-11). They are quoted above on p. 776 note 1254. Prof. Hazra does not appear to have carefully gone into the several works of Varāhamihira and is not right when he says (on pp. 201 and 211) that 'the Visnudharmottara does not refer to or utilize the works of Varāhamihira'. The Visnudharmottara is an encyclopaedia, while Varāhamihira was a great astronomer and astrologer. He would turn to his predecessors in his own subject if he wanted to borrow and he expressly mentions numerous predecessors (vide pp. 591-594 above) and not to an Upapurāṇa (which in my view did not exist or at least was not recognised as an authority when Varāha wrote in the first half of the 6th century A. D.) Besides, the presumption to be drawn from the nature of the Upapurāṇa is in favour of holding that it borrows.

Prof. Hazra deals with the Narasimha-purāṇa on pp. 219-266 of his 'Studies' vol. I. The only printed edition is that published in 1911 by Gopal Narayan and Co. (Bombay) in 68 chapters based on three mss. about which no information is given. This Purāṇa appears to have been composed solely for the glorification of Narasimha identified with Nārāyaṇa. Prof. Hazra has used several mss., two, the oldest, being dated in saka 1567 (i.e. 1645 A. D.), some of the others are not dated and a few are dated so late as 1798 A. D. and 1810 A. D.; and some are written in Bengali script. On p. 322 Prof. Hazra says about one ms. in Eggeling's cat. of India Office mss. that it was copied about 1500-1600 A. D. and its last five folios were supplied in 1789 A. D. No reasons are given why this ms. should be regarded as being copied between 1500-1600. This is probably a guess, so all the mss. consulted are not earlier than the 17th and following centuries. Most mss. do not

agree with the printed edition in the number of chapters and also lack certain chapters of the printed edition. Prof. Hazra holds (p. 242) on various grounds, all of which cannot be examined here, that the 'present Narasimhapurāṇa is to be placed between 400-500 A. D.' One or two of his characteristic arguments will be noticed here. In chap. 36. 9 (kalau prāpte yathā Buddhō bhaven-Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuh) Buddha is mentioned; Mārkaṇḍeya promises in chap. 36 to narrate stories about eleven avatāras (among whom Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha are included) and in chapters 37-54, the stories of all avatāras except Buddha are given and it is added¹⁴¹² in chap. 54 that 'I have spoken of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The devotee of Nṛsiṃha who always listens to these attains Viṣṇu'. It may be noted that Balabhadra is mentioned in a half verse (36. 8) which is found only in ms. 'ga' of the three mss. of the printed edition. In chap. 53 a few exploits of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are narrated in the same chapter and so the half line was inserted later. As the story of Buddha is not given Prof. Hazra holds that the verse in 36. 9 is undoubtedly spurious (pp 230 and 249). It never occurred to Prof. Hazra that the sectarian zeal of a bigoted Vaiṣṇava might have never cared to give the life of Buddha who was not concerned with (but was antagonistic to) the varṇa system and the Vedas or might have omitted the story of the life of Buddha even if it occurred in the ms from which he copied. The present author thinks that 36.9 is a genuine verse and enumerates Buddha as an avatāra following the universal belief held in India at least from the 9th or 10th century A. D. that Buddha was an avatāra, but probably bigotry led to the omission of the details of Buddha's life. Besides, the verse is capable of another interpretation. It is only the stories of ten avatāras (excluding Buddha) that lead a devotee to Viṣṇu. A devotee may worship any one of Nṛsiṃha, Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, and reach Viṣṇu, but hardly any orthodox work has ever stated that worship of Buddha alone (an avatāra) will lead to attainment of Viṣṇu. Therefore, it is proper to hold that the story of Buddha's life might not have been given at all or was purposely omitted. On p. 239 Prof. Hazra puts forward a peculiar argument. According to the Narasimha-purāṇa chap. 53. 31, says Prof. Hazra, Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu's śakti¹⁴¹³ and therefore 'the Narasimha is to be dated

1412. दशवतारा कथितास्तत्रैव हरेर्मया पाथिव पापहन्तुः। इमं सदा यस्तु त्रसिंहकः शृणोति नित्यं स तु याति विष्णुम्। नरसिंहयु० 54. 6

1413. सितकृष्णे च मच्छक्ती कसादीन् चातयिष्यतः। ...तयोः सिता च रोहिण्या वसुदेवाद्भूय ह॥ तद्वत्कृष्णा च देवक्या वसुदेवाद्भूय ह॥ नरसिंहयु० 53. 31, 33-34.

earlier than the present Bhāgavata in which Kṛṣṇa is called *bhāgavān* himself (Bhāgavata I. 3 28). As the present Bhāgavata is to be dated in the 6th century A. D. the Narasimha is to be placed not later than 100 A. D. Great controversies have raged over the date of the Bhāgavata. The present author holds that the Bhāgavata-purāṇa does not belong to the 6th century A. D. It will be shown below that while Rāmānuja quotes more than a hundred verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa, which he regarded as one of supreme authority over other Purāṇas (in Vedārthasamgraha pp. 111-142 of D. O. edition) he does not quote the Bhāgavata at all in his bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra. A bigoted devotee of Narasimha may say that Narasimha avatāra is the perfect avatāra of Viṣṇu, while Kṛṣṇa is only a partial one. But surely that cannot determine the dates of the respective purāṇas. What bigoted devotees are capable of saying may be seen from Brahmāṇḍa III 36. 18-20 quoted later in this section, where it is asserted that the reward of repeating thrice the thousand names of Viṣṇu is yielded by repeating one name of Kṛṣṇa once. The strongest argument against the authenticity and early date of the present Narasimhapurāṇa has not been properly and adequately emphasized or appreciated by Prof. Hazra. The Matsya (53. 60-63) gives meagre details about the four Upapurāṇas expressly named by it, but about the Narasimha it makes one definite statement that it contained 18000 verses (53 60). The present Narasimha contains only about 3400 verses¹⁴¹⁴. Therefore, the old Narasimhapurāṇa exists no more and in its place a new one has been substituted, probably containing some of the topics and chapters contained in the old one. We do not know the extent of the Narasimha mentioned by Alberuni. For ought we know he might have referred to the old extensive purāṇa or the new stripling substituted in its place. Even some of the mss copied in comparatively recent times drop several chapters of the printed purāṇa; on p. 249 Prof. Hazra holds that chapters 34 verses 43-55, and chapters 61, 65 (on 68 holy places for Vaiṣṇavas), 66, 67 are genuine parts, though dropped in

1414 Even a late writer like नरसिंहवाजपेयिन् patronized by the Gajapati king Mukundadeva (1559-1568 A. D.) says in his नित्याचारप्रदीप (B. I, ed.) vol I p 18 'प्रसिद्धनारसिंहस्य अष्टादशसहस्रसंख्या यद्यपि नेपालम्यते किञ्चित् काल-क्रमाल्लुप्तमिति प्रतिभाति।'. It further says that the Nandi or Nanda purāṇa is a part of Skanda and that, since Lakṣmīdhara says that the Kālikā is an Upapurāṇa, those that say that by the word Bhāgavata the Kālikā is meant are wrong and then enumerates the 18 उपपुराण

some mss. Prof. Hazra's judgments on various matters are most liable to be challenged; but considerations of space prevent any detailed treatment. On p. 252 he holds that in chap. 6 the story of the birth of Vasistha and Agastya as the sons of Mitra and Varuna, the story of Yama and Yami are comparatively late additions. The story of the birth of Vasistha from Urvaśi and Mitra and Varuna is alluded to even in the R̥gveda (VII 33. 11) and in the previous verse (10) of the same hymn Vasistha, Agastya and Mitrāvarunau are brought together. The story of Yama and Yami occurs in R̥g. X. 10. The *Narasimha* itself states (in chap. 14 1) that the story of Yama and Yami is Vaidiki. The *Purāṇa* may have added some fringes and embellishments, but the main theme is the same in both. On p. 254-255 and note 330 Prof. Hazra was constrained to admit that the *Narasimhapurāṇa* had been revised more than once, remarks that Hemādri had a more extensive *purāṇa* before him than the printed one and that a comparison of the verses quoted from the *Narasimhapurāṇa* by the *Madanapārijāta* pp. 301-302, *Smṛtitattva* on *āhnika* (vol. I, p. 411) and *Nityācārapradīpa* (vol. I p. 617) show that the text of the *Narasimha* used by Raghunandana and *Narasimha-vāja*peyin agrees more with the printed text than the text used by *Madanapāla* (about 1375 A. D.), less than 200 years before Raghunandana.

The extant *Narasimhapurāṇa* is an insignificant one as compared with the principal *Purāṇas* like *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu*; the *Sāmba* is not quoted at all by *Aparārka*, the *Viṣṇudharma* only twice and even the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is quoted by *Aparārka* only 7 times for about 25 verses in all. The very extensive digest *Kalpataru* (first half of 12th century A. D.) contains hardly any quotation from *Viṣṇudharmottara* on *vratas* (though the latter devotes about 1600 verses to *vratas*), nor is it quoted in the sections on *brahmacāri* and other *kāṇḍas*, while hundreds of verses are quoted from *Matsya*, *Brahma*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and other *Purāṇas*. *Aparārka* in his huge digest of 1252 printed pages quotes the *Narasimhapurāṇa* only 9 times and in all about 30 verses only, of which about half are in respect of *sannyāsa*, while the *Brahmapurāṇa* is quoted 68 times for hundreds of verses, the *Matsya* is quoted over 50 times for several hundred verses. The *Tulasī* plant is now sacred to the devotees of *Viṣṇu*, but it does not figure in early *Paurāṇika* or other literature. It is mentioned in chapters

31. 87 (in a prose passage) and 34 (19 and 23) of the printed *Narasimhapurāṇa*. As usual Prof Hazra holds these references are due to later revisions and should not be held to suggest a late date for the extant *Narasimhapurāṇa* (p. 255). *Tulasī-māhātmya* is very much in evidence in the *Padma* e. g. in IV. 94. 4-10, V 58 109ff and V. 59, VI. 24 2-43. The very late part of *Padma* VI (chap 98-107) contains the story of *Jālandhara*, whose wife *Vr̥ndā* is said to have become *Tulasī*. Prof. Hazra fails to realize the full force of his own admission that the *Narasimha* was revised several times and that writers of the 16th century had a version before them different from that before the writers of the 13th or 14th century. In the author's opinion the whole *Purāṇa* becomes suspect and that by mere diplomatic criticism one would not be able to support beyond doubt any chronological conclusion derived from the present truncated and garbled version of the original *Narasimha*.

So much space had to be devoted to an examination of Prof. Hazra's work on the *Upapurāṇas* for cogent reasons. His is the latest and most elaborate treatment of *Purāṇas* and particularly of *Upapurāṇas*, on which he has bestowed immense labour. His opinions, particularly about the dates of the *Upapurāṇas*, are likely to be taken as the last word on the subject and even his unfounded surmises are likely to be taken as well-established conclusions. Modern Sanskrit scholars have sad experience about such matters. Max Muller, working back from the date of Buddha and assigning arbitrarily two hundred years each for three periods viz. the *Upanisad* period, the *Brāhmaṇa* period and the *Samhitā* period, inferred that the composition of the *Vedas* was to be assigned to a period about 1200 B. C. He no doubt said that his periods were the minimum and that his was a pure surmise. Yet most writers who have not themselves made a deep study of the *Veda* assign the *Vedas* to about 1200 to 1400 B. C. even after the lapse of about one hundred years from the time when Max Muller launched his surmises. For example, Prof. Toynbee in the table of the time spans of the growth phases of civilizations on p. 758 of volume IX (1954) gives the dates of Epiphany and of breakdown of the Indic civilization as 1375 B. C. and 725 B. C. respectively. The present author does not at all agree with the dates assigned to the *Upapurāṇas* by Prof Hazra and with the methods and reasoning adopted for arriving at those dates. He had to perform this painful duty even in spite of his regard for Prof. Hazra.

There are numerous works, translations and papers on Purānas. A few alone are mentioned here. Eugene Burnouf translated the Bhāgavata Purāna in French in five volumes in 1840 and later years. The translations of Visnu and Mārkaṇḍeya were made respectively by H. H. Wilson and Pargiter; Prof. Kirfel's Introduction to 'Purāna pañcalaksana' (1927, Bonn) was translated in the Journal of the Shri Venkateśa Institute, vol. VII pp. 81-121 and vol. VIII. pp. 9-33; Kirfel in Festschrift Jacobi pp. 298-316; K. P. Jayaswal on 'Chronological tables in Puranic chronicles' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. III pp. 246-262; 'Purānas and Indus Aryas' and 'Study of ancient Geography in Agnipurāna' in I. H. Q. (1933), vol. 18 pp. 461 and 470; Prof. Ramchandra Dikshitar's studies on Vāyu and Matsya and Index to (five) Purānas in three volumes; J. R. A. S. 1941 pp. 247-256 and pp. 337-350 by W. Ruben for 'Puranic line of heroes'; J. A. S. B. for 1938, vol. IV. Article 15 pp. 393 ff; 'Purānas on Guptas' in I. H. Q. vol. 21 pp. 141 ff and 'Gupta Inscriptions and Purānas' by Dr. D. R. Patil in B.D.C.R.I. vol. II. pp. 148-165; H. C. Raychaudhuri in a paper in the Pro. of the 10th Oriental Conference, pp. 390 ff for discrepancies of Puranic accounts with epigraphic records; paper by Mr. B. C. Majumdar on 'Origin and character of Purāna literature' in Sir Asutosh Mukharji Silver Jubilee vol. III, Orientalia, part 2 pp. 9-30; a verse from p. 30 of 'Inscriptiones Sanskrites de Champa et du Cambodge' refers to the provision made by a king of the 6th century A. D. for the daily reading of the Bhārata, Rāmāyana and Purānas;^{1414a} the Penukonda plates of the early Ganga king Mādhava II, (E. I. vol. 14 p. 338) speaks of him as knowing 'the essence of many śāstras, Itihāsa and Purānas' (probably in 6th century A. D.); Purānas are mentioned as studied in 578 A. D. (in E. I. vol. 28 p. 59)

In the following notes on individual Purānas and Upapurānas the author adds a few notes based on his own study of the Purānas and (printed) digests (*nibandhas*) of an early age. He desires to emphasize that the earliest works that can be called digests and are available in print cannot be placed earlier than about 1100 A. D. Though there is difference of views among scholars about the exact dates of composition, the Mitaksarā, the Kṛtya-kalpataru (which is a regular Digest of various kinds of materials on Dharmaśāstra) and Aparārka's work (though in

1414 a The verse is रामायणपुराणाभ्यामशेषं भारतं ददत्। अकृतान्वहमच्छेद्यं स च तद्वाचनस्थितिम्॥, vide I. H. Q. vol. 22 pp. 221-223.

form a commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti is still in the nature of a Digest) are three printed works more or less contemporary and composed between about 1100 to 1140 A. D. The Kṛtyakalpataru on Vyavahāra mentions by name Prakāśa, Halāyudha, Kāmadhenu and Pārijāta. Besides, Kṛtyakalpataru (Niyata p. 280) cites the explanation of Parārīka (in Āp. Dh. S. I. 17. 26) by the Smṛtimañjarī (of Govindarāja) and also on śrāddha (pp. 46 and 259). It has been shown in H. of Dh. vol. I that Prakāśa (pp. 306-308), Pārijāta (pp. 308-309), Smṛtimañjarī (pp. 312-314) were works of the digest genre. The Kāmadhenu of Gopāla also appears to have been a digest (H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 293 ff.). The author Gopāla was a friend of Lakṣmīdhara (vide Introd. to Dānakānda p. 49), but, since the latter employs the past tense (*calre*) with reference to Gopāla's work and the present tense (*tanyate kalpavṛkṣah*) as regards his own work it follows that the Kāmadhenu was composed at least a few years before the Kalpataru. As no ms. of the Prakāśa, Pārijāta and Kāmadhenu are available it is impossible to say anything about their exhaustiveness or otherwise. But from the summary at the end of the ms. on the Prāyaścitta section of the Smṛtimañjarī (H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 312 note 714) it appears that it must have been fairly large and was composed on the same lines as the later Kṛtyakalpataru, since it began with Paribhāṣākānda and Brahmacāri-section, then dealt with Grhasthadharmas, Dīna, Śuddhi and Āśauca, Śrāddha, then with Vānaprastha and Pravrajyā (corresponding to the moksakānda of Kalpataru) and ended with Prāyaścittas. These predecessors of the Kalpataru were superseded by the extensive work of Lakṣmīdhara, who himself receded into the background when the works of Hemādri, Candēśvara, Madanaratna, the Viramītrodaya, the Mayūkhas of Nilakantha became popular. Even before the Kāmadhenu and probably the Smṛtimañjarī also, Bhoja (about 2nd quarter of 11th century A. D.) composed (or patronised the composition of) several works such as the Bhujabala and Rājamārtanda which exhaustively dealt with the astrological requirements of *samśkāras* from *pumsavana* to marriage and also of vrātas, yātrā, śāntis, pratisthā (vide the author's paper on 'King Bhoja and his works on Dharmasāstra and astrology' in JOR, (Madras), vol. XXIII for 1953-54 pp. 94-127 for five works of Bhoja). So there was nothing very novel in the Kṛtyakalpataru except its exhaustive and logical treatment of all topics and profuse quotations from the Epics and Purānas. The Mitaksarā does

not quote much from the Purāṇas, but Aparārka and Kalpataru quote them profusely. The Kalpataru quotes about 600 verses from Devīpurāṇa, over 200 verses each from Kālikā, Ādityapurāṇa, Nandīpurāṇa and Naraśimhapurāṇa (all Upapurāṇas) while it quotes none at all from Viṣṇudharmottara. The Kalpataru did not probably regard it as authoritative, though Aparārka and the Dānasāgara utilized it to some extent. The learned editor of the extensive Kalpataru, Prof. Aiyangar, has made great efforts to identify the quotations therein from the Purāṇas, and laid all workers and scholars under great obligations. But many quotations have eluded him as will be shown later on. He has been assiduous in pointing out how Hemādri, Candēśvara and Mitramīśra have copied wholesale from the Kalpataru. It is not impossible that even the Kalpataru might have done the same to some extent as regards its predecessors such as the Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Smṛtīmañjarī, and Kāmadhenu. But as those works are not yet available, no positive conclusion can be drawn about its borrowing for the present.

The present author edited 286 verses from the Rājamārtanḍa (containing 1462 verses) on tithis, vratas and utsavas in ABORI vol 36, parts III-IV, 1956, pp. 306-339,). It describes several vratas and utsavas like Indradhvaṇjotthāpana and the work is about 75 years older than the Kalpataru. The Kalpataru is studiously silent as regards Bhoja, though it mentions Kāmadhenu, Govindarāja, Prakāśa and Halāyudha and it hardly anywhere mentions the vratas described by the Rājamārtanḍa. The Mitāksarā does mention Dhāreśvara Bhoja. Probably Lakṣmidhara did not like that a comparison should be instituted between his treatment of vratas and Bhoja's.

Alberuni's work on India translated by Sachau furnishes us with some data about the chronology of Purāṇas. On p. 130 (of Sachau's tr.) he says he heard the following as the Purāṇas viz. Ādi, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nārasimha, Vāmana, Vāyu, Nanda, Skanda, Āditya, Soma, Samba, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Tārksya (i. e. Garuda), Viṣṇu, Brahma, Bhaviṣya. It will be noted that he mixes in this list Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. He further states that he had seen only portions of Matsya, Āditya and Vāyu. Then on p. 131 (of Sachau's tr.) there is another list which was read to him from the Viṣṇu (viz. the 18 principal Purāṇas, Śaiva being substituted for Vāyu). Then, on p. 229 (of Sachau's tr.) he sets out from Āditya some details about the regions below the earth and shows how Vāyu differs from it and

on p. 248 he sets out details about Meru from Visnu, Vāyu and Āditya. As he wrote his work in 1030 A. D. one has to conclude that Purānas having the names cited by him existed some time before 1000 A. D. at the latest.

Some of the papers of Prof. Hazra and others on the principal Purānas and on some of the Upapurānas are brought together in one place by Dr. Pusalkar in his work 'Studies in Epics and Purānas' pp 218-225, a few of them are mentioned here. About sixteen papers of Prof. Hazra contributed to various Journals from time to time were included in his work 'Studies in Purānik Records of Hindu Rites and customs', which is referred to as PRHR here and H. stands for Prof. Hazra and U. for Upapurāna.

CHAPTER XXIII

Brief Notes on individual Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas

Agnipurāṇa—‘Present Agni’ (by H.) in I. H. Q. vol. XII pp. 683-691; ‘Studies in genuine Āgneya alias Vahnipurāṇa’ by H. in ‘Our Heritage’ vol. I part 2 pp. 209-245 and vol. II part 1 pp. 76-109; ‘Discovery of genuine Āgneyapurāṇa’ by H. in J. O. I. (Baroda) vol. V (1956) pp. 411-416 (shows that present Agni published by Anan. Press is not the original Purāṇa, that this was compiled late, while the original Āgneya or Vahni is not yet printed); the Dānasāgara p. 7. verse 63 speaks of an Āgneya which it has discarded apart from one which it has utilized (p. 2 verse 11). As usual with most Purāṇas, the printed Āgneya glorifies itself by saying (in chap. 272. 13 and 17) that in that Mahāpurāṇa Hari resides in the form of different lores and the Āgneya is a great purāṇa full of Veda and all *vidyās*.

Ādipurāṇa (U.)—B. V. vol. VI (1945) pp. 60-73 (H. postulates an earlier and a later version). Vāyu 104.7 mentions an Ādika among the 18 principal purāṇas (including the Brāhma). Alberuni’s list (which mixes up Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas) mentions an Ādipurāṇa; an Ādipurāṇa is published by the Venk. Press in 29 chapters. H. in ‘Studies &c.’ vol. I. pp. 279-303 deals at length with this and tries to establish that there was an earlier Ādi Purāṇa of which no mss. are yet available (p. 211) and holds that it is to be dated between 1203 to 1525 A.D. (‘Studies’ p. 288). Ādi and Ādya mean the same thing. But Kullūka on Manu II. 54 quotes some verses from Ādi which are ascribed to Brāhma by G. R. p. 314. The digests make a confusion between Ādi and Ādityapurāṇa. Vide H. in ‘Studies’ vol. I. pp. 302-303. The printed one is a late compilation and none of the verses quoted by Lakṣmīdhara and Aparārka occur therein (vide ‘Studies’ vol. I pp. 286-289).

Ādityapurāṇa—Mentioned by Matsya 53.62 as U. and Alberuni (Sachau I. p. 130, 229, 248); quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru on Rājadharmā (about 2 verses), Dāna (about 125), Śrāddha (about 20), Vrata (about 22); the Sm. C. quotes many verses on Ahnika and Śrāddha from both Ādi and Āditya and quotes both

separately on 'sauca' on the same page (I p. 94). Aparārka also quotes many verses from both Ādi and Āditya. The Dānasāgara quotes about forty verses from both the Ādi and Āditya purānas.

Ekūmra (a work of Orissa).—H in P. O. vol. 16 pp. 70-76 and 'Studies &c.' vol. I p. 341 (assigns it to 10th or 11th century A. D.)

Kālikā—(an U. in 93 chapters pr by Venk. Press, Bombay); vide H in A.B.O.R.I vol. XXII pp. 1-23; Sharma in I. H. Q. vol. 23 pp 322-326 (holding that Kālikā was completed during the reign of king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa); H in B V. vol. 16 (1956) pp 35-40 questions the view of Sharma; 'Date of Kālikā' by Prof. Gode in J.O.R. (Madras) vol. X. pp. 289-294; Dr. Raghavan in J.O.R. (Madras) vol XII. pp. 331-360 (shows that there are three separate recensions of the Purāna). H. distinguishes between an earlier version and the extant one and places the latter in the 10th or 11th century, on the words of Matsya 53. 60-64 'tad-etebhyo vinirgatam', the Kalpataru explains 'vinirgatam' as 'udbhūtam' (sprung from) and gives the Kālikā as an illustration (Brahmacārī p 30) of an Upapurāna sprung from Mahāpurānas, the Kalpataru quotes from it about 100 verses on vrata, on dāna, 14 on grastha, 12 on vyavahāra (about witnesses and ordeals), 5 each on niyatakāla and tīrtha and 2 on brahmacārīn; Aparārka quotes it on pp. 15, 226, 377 (15 verses on marriage and house settlements for brāhmanas), 924; the Sm. C II, p. 442 quotes one verse from it on śrāddha. The Dānasāgara quotes many verses from it. The Venk ed mentions Viṣṇudharmottara in chap 91. 70 and 92. 2^{141b}; the extant Kālikā would have to be placed before 1000 A. D. Vide p 809 n 1317 above for the Kālikā saying that the howl of a female jackal is auspicious

Kalkipurāna—Vide H. in 'Studies &c' vol I, pp 303-308 There are three editions, all from Calcutta, H remarks that it is a late work not quoted by any writer (p 308) and that it is not to be placed later than the 18th century A. D

Kūrma—(Venk. Press ed.); is divided into Pūrvārḍha (53 chapters) and Uttarārḍha (46 chapters); vide H in 'Purānas

1414 b. कालिका 192 2 says विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे तन्वे बाह्वर्त्यं सर्तत. पुन । द्रष्टव्यं सदाचारो द्रष्टव्यस्ते प्रसादत ॥ and then narrates the story of वेताल and भैरव who required a son.

in history of Smṛti' I. C. vol. I. pp. 587-614 and in 'Smṛti chapters of Kūrma' in I. H. Q. vol. XI. pp. 265-286 and P.R.H.R. pp 57-75, H. holds that it was originally a Pāñcarātra work, but was altered to make it a Pāśupata one. In several passages the Kūrma speaks of God as one (II. 11. 112-115), but divided into two, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā (in I 9. 40) or as Viṣṇu and Śiva (in I 2. 95) or in three (as in I. 10. 77). The Sm. C. I. p. 199 quotes verses from I 2 94, 95, 97-99 which allow a person to worship either Viṣṇu with the mantra (Rg I. 22. 20 or X. 90) or Śiva with Rudragāyatrī, Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11) or 'Tryambakam' (Rg VII 59 12, Tai S. I 8. 6. 2.) or with 'Om namaḥ Śivāya'. The Sm C quotes from Kūrma about 94 verses on āhnikā and 19 on śrāddha. In I 1. 21-22 it states that there were four saṃhitās of the Purāṇa viz Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Saurī and Vaisnavī and that the present one is the Brāhmī in 6000 verses, the Nāradya (I. 106 1-22) furnishes a summary of the other three saṃhitās. Padma (Patalakhaṇḍa 102. 41-42)^{1414c} expressly names the Kūrma and quotes a verse from it. Kalpataru (on śrāddha p. 119) quotes two verses from it. Aparārka (pp 201, 204, 207) quotes three verses from Kūrma (all in relation to fast).

Ganeśapurāṇa—Vide H. in JGJRI. vol. 9 pp. 79-99.

Garuda—Vide p. 769 above for Ballālasena discarding it; H in ABORI vol 19 pp 69-79, PRHR pp. 141-145; A. P. Karmarkar on 'Brhaspatinītisāra' in Siddha-bhārati vol. I. pp 239-240; Dr. L S Sternbach in ABORI. vol. 37 pp. 63-110 on 'Cānakya-rājanītisāstra and Brhaspati-saṃhitā of Garudapurāṇa'; the Garuda is quoted by the Sm C. II. p. 357 (on Ekādaśī); vide H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 173-175 which show how the Garuda either reproduces or summarizes verses from Yāj. I. and III.; chap 107 of the present Garuda gives a summary of the Parāśarasṃṛti in 39 verses (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 191). The extant Garuda will have to be placed not later than 950 A. D. and not earlier than the 6th century A. D.

Devīpurāṇa—(U.) Vide H. in NIA vol. V. pp. 2-20 (assigning it to the latter half of the 7th century A. D.). Vide p 769 above

^{1414c} कौर्मिं समस्तपापानां नाशनं शिवभक्तिदम् । इदं पद्यं च शुश्राव पुराणज्ञेन भाषितम् । ब्रह्महा नद्यपः स्तेनस्तथैव दुष्टतल्पगः । कौर्मिं पुराणं श्रुत्वेव दुच्यते पातकाक्षतः ॥ पद्म (पातालखण्ड 102. 41-42).

for the reasons for which the Dānasāgara refused to utilize¹⁴¹⁵ it; it is quoted by Bhuja-bala-nibandha (about 1040-50 A. D.) on how Sankrānti when occurring at different parts of the day affects different people.¹⁴¹⁶ Kalpataru quotes Dvīpurāna in several *kāṇḍas* viz. about 210 verses in Rājadharmā (88 verses on fortified capital), 37 verses on worship of Dvī on Āśvina śukla 9 with the *balī* of goats and buffaloes, 52 on raising a banner in honour of Dvī, 10 verses on *gavotsarga* on Kārtika-amāvāsyā &c; in Vrata-kāṇḍa about 80 verses (on Durgāstami, 25 verses on Nandāvrata, 44 verses with a prose passage); 245 verses on *dāna* (such as 28 on Tiladhenu and Ghr̥tadhenu pp. 147-151, 56 verses on Vidyādāna pp. 201-207, 98 verses on the construction of *kūpa*, *vāpī*, *dīrghakū* &c. pp. 289-299, 27 verses on laying out a park and planting trees pp. 300-303, 10 verses on building a rest-house for ascetics &c. pp. 312-313); in Tīrthakāṇḍa 103 verses (20 verses on śrāddha at a tīrtha without examining character and learning of brāhmanas), Niyatakālakāṇḍa quotes 30 verses; Brahmācārī-kāṇḍa quotes only a few; Gṛhasthakāṇḍa quotes 6 verses; Śrāddhakāṇḍa p. 21 quotes only one verse on Maghāśrāddha. Apararka quotes about 34 verses (3 of which on qualifications of a sthāpaka are interesting, p. 16), as they require that he should possess a knowledge of the Vāma and Dakṣiṇa paths, of the Mātṛ cult, of Pāñcarātra and Śaiva śāstras.

Devībhāgavata (pr. by Venk. Prss in 12 skandhas)—Vide H. in JOR (Madras) vol. 21 pp. 49-79 (tries to prove that it is younger than the Bhāgavata); 'Devi-bhāgavata and Bhāgavata' by Mr. Tadpatikar in ABORI vol. 23 pp. 559-562, IHQ vol. 27 pp. 191-196 (Mr. Ramchandran says that the relief in Deogarh of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is based on Devībhāgavata IV. 5-10), H in IHQ vol. 29 pp. 387-392 does not agree with Mr. Ramchandran.

Nandīpurāna (U). Vide H. on 'Bṛhan-nandīkeśvara and Nandīkeśvara' in Dr. B. C. Law Presentation vol. part II. pp. 415-419 and in JGJRI vol. II pp. 305-320; Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar in NIA vol. IV. pp. 157-161 on Nandīpurāna (holds that the original Purāna is probably lost, that verses quoted from it by Lakṣmīdhara are almost all on gifts of various kinds).

1415 Vide above p. 328 for Nandāvrata for the mūlamantra and p. 425 of the Vratākāṇḍa (of Kalpataru) for other Śākta mantras

1416 पूर्वाह्णे पीडयते राजा मर्याद्वे च द्विजोत्तमाः । अपराह्णे यथा वैश्याः शूद्राश्चास्तमिते रवौ ॥ शुजबल p. 337 quoting देवीपुराण

Kalpataru on *dāna* quotes over 200 verses from it on *dāna* (of which 140 are on *Vidyādāna* pp. 207-222, 12 verses on *Ārogya-dāna*, which provide for the establishment of an hospital with a physician knowing the eight *angas* of *āyurveda* and provided with drugs &c), *Aparārka* (pp. 396-403) quotes about 100 verses on *vidyādāna* agreeing with those in *Kalpataru* and also quotes (pp. 365-366) the same verses on *Ārogyadāna*; *Kalpataru* on *Niyatakāla* quotes 13 verses from this *purāṇa* advocating total abstention from flesh-eating (p. 323) and abstaining from flesh at least on the 4th, 8th, 12th 14th and 15th *tithis*, on *Ṣadaśīti* and sun's passage from one *rāśi* to another &c. (pp. 353-360). As this is one of the four *upapurāṇas* expressly named by the *Matsya*, as *Alberuni* mentions a *Nanda-purāṇa* which (appears to be the same as *Nandī*) and as it is largely quoted by *Lakṣmīdhara*, *Aparārka* and *Dānasāgara* it is one of the earliest *Upapurāṇas* and may have been composed in the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Narasimhapurāṇa (or *Nrsimha*). This U. has been dealt with above on pp. 878-882. *Kalpataru* on *vrata* quotes 29 verses from it (22 on *Ganeśacaturthī* pp. 84-87 almost all of which are found in the current work, chap. 26. 2-20); *Kalpataru* on *Tīrtha* quotes 66 verses from it, almost all of which are in chap. 65. 2-31, 66. 1-9, 20-45 of the current work; *Kalpataru* on *Niyatakāla* quotes 65 verses almost all of which are found in chap. 58; *Kalpataru* on *Mokṣa* quotes 57 verses, which can be traced in chapters 17, 58, 59, 60, 61; the *Dānakāṇḍa* of *Kalpataru* quotes 13 verses (found in chap. 30 27 ff.), and *Brahmacārikāṇḍa* quotes four verses; *Aparārka* quotes about 40 verses from *Nrsimha*, of which 16 concern *yati* (pp. 951, 965 from chap. 60. 12 ff.), 17 verses deal (p. 140) with *arghya* to the Sun (from 58. 91-93) by the employment of the 16 verses of the *Purusasūkta* for *nyāsa* on the different parts of the body and also the sixteen (from chap. 62. 5-14) *upacāras* from *āvāhana* (invoking to come) to *visarjana* (bidding adieu) in worship, 5 verses on *Narasimha-pūjā* with the mantra 'Om namo *Nārāyaṇāya*' (63. 3 and 6). Out of 3½ verses on p. 125 dealing with evening *sandhyā* and *homa* attributed to this *Purāṇa* two are the same as *Dakṣa-smṛti* (II, 28-29). *Sm. C.* quotes 27 verses on *Āhnikā* from *Narasimha*. It appears that both *Kalpataru* and *Aparārka* had a much longer version before them than the present *purāṇa*. It may be noted that *Kṣemaka*, who was the last king of the *Aila-vamśa* (acc. to *Vāyu* 99. 432 and others), is described in the *Narasimha-purāṇa* (chap. 23) as the son of *Naravāhana* and grand-son of the famous ancient couple

Udayana and Visavadatai The extant purāṇa may be assigned to about 9th century A. D.

Nārada-purāṇa—(Venk. Press) Vide H. in I C. vol. III, p. 477-488, PRIIR pp 127-133 on 'Bṛhan-nāradya and Nāradya' and 'Studies &c.' vol. I pp 309-345 The Bṛhan-nāradya was published by the Calcutta Asiatic Society and by the Vangavasi Press in 38 chapters and about 3,000 verses. H. holds that the Bṛhan-nāradya is a purely sectarian Vaiṣṇava work, is wanting in the characteristics of a purāṇa, that the Nāradya noticed by the Matsya (53. 23 as containing 23000 verses and in which Nārada proclaimed the dharma of Bṛhatkalpa) and by the Agni (272. 8) is different from the present Nāradya and that the extant Nāradya borrows from the Bṛhan-nāradya (pp. 336-341 of 'Studies &c.' vol. I). The Nāradya (Venk. Press) is divided into two parts, the first in 125 chapters and the 2nd in 82 chapters (and about 5513 verses in all). Out of the 5513 verses of the 2nd part 3400 deal with various tīrthas and most of the remaining are concerned with the story of Rukmīṅgada and Mohini. The first part deals with several matters such as praise of Viṣṇu and bhakti, Geography of India, story of Sagar, Bhagiratha and Ganga-mūlīnī, a few vrata, Varṇadharma, Āśramadharma, patakas, *ulācara* and siddhis. Nāradya I. 9.10 has a verse which echoes a Kīrītārjunīya verse¹⁴¹⁷ and proclaims that a brāhmana who enters a Bauddha temple even in a great calamity cannot get rid of the sin by hundreds of expiations, since the Bauddhas are heretics and revilers of the Veda. The first part speaks of Vaiṣṇavāgama (37. 1) and Pāñcarātra procedure (53. 9). The Sm. C. quotes many verses from the extant Nāradya on Ekādasi and the story of Mohini. One characteristic passage may be quoted here.¹⁴¹⁹ Rukmīṅgada proclaimed that any person more than eight years of age and below 80 years who would eat food on the day of Viṣṇu in his kingdom would be liable to corporal punishment, fine or banishment. Aparārka also (p. 205) quotes two verses about fast on

1417. अविषेको हि सर्वेयानापदा परमे पदम् । नारदीय I 9 50, compare 'सप्तसप्त विदधीति न क्रियामन्त्रिकः परमापदा पदम्' । किराता II 30

1418. बौद्धालयं विशेषस्तु नदापयपि वै द्विजः । न तस्य निष्ठतिर्दृष्टा प्रायश्चित्तशतैरपि
* 'बौद्धा पाशुष्टिनः प्रोक्ता यतो वेदविनिन्दकाः' नारदीय I 15 50-52

1419 अष्टवर्षाधिको नर्ये अशीतिं नादुष्यते (?) । यो धुक्ते नामके राज्ञे विष्णोरहनि पाप-
कृत् । स ते वध्यश्च दण्ड्यश्च निर्गस्त्यो विषयाद्दि ॥ नारदीयपु. v in स्मृतिच II p 355.
in the printed नारद् (उत्तरपञ्च) chap 23 41 the words are 'यो न कुर्याद्द्वयो मेय
धर्म्यं विष्णुगतिमदम् । स ते दण्ड्यश्च वध्यश्च निर्गस्त्यो विषयाद् धनम् ॥'

Ekadaśi. The above circumstances lead to the conclusion that the present Nāradya was compiled between 700 and 1000 A. D.

Padmapurāṇa—H. in I C. vol. IV. pp. 73-95, Mr. M. V. Vaidya in Kane presentation vol. pp. 530-537 (holds that the tirthayātrā section of Padma is older than the tirthayātrā section in the Mahābhārata), Dr. Belvalkar in F. W. Thomas Festschrift (pp. 19-28) holds that Padma is based on the Mahābhārata; Prof. Lüders tried to prove that the Rṣyaśrng legend in Padma is older than the same legend in the Mahābhārata (vide I. H. Q., vol. XX. p. 209 for Luder's view); H. in PRHR. (pp. 107-129) states that there are two recensions of the Padma the North Indian and the South Indian, that the former is in five kāndas and the latter in six, that the South Indian recension alone is published in the Ānandāśrama and Venk. Press editions, though the arrangement differs in the two editions. H. in PRHR (p. 126) states that the Uttara-kānda (of the Padma) is later than 900 A. D. and earlier than 1500 A. D. One remarkable fact is that hundreds of verses are common to Matsya and Padma and some writers like Hemādri quote long extracts from the Padma, which others quote from the Matsya. In view of the vast smṛti material in the Matsya and the fact that thousands of verses therefrom are quoted in the medieval nibandhas the present writer is inclined to hold that it is the Padma that is the borrower. There are no materials to assign a definite date for the borrowing, but it is likely that it was before 1000 A. D. Padma (IV. 102. 40-41 and IV. 110. 483) mentions the Kūrma (and a verse is quoted from it) and IV. 5. 32-43 contain such alankāras as Śleṣa and Parisankhyā. The Kalpataru quotes from Padma about 55 verses on vrata, 50 on niyatakāla, 50 on dāna, 12 on tirtha, only a verse here and there on other kāndas. Aparārka quotes only about 12 verses from it, the Smṛticandrikā only about 25. In the Ānandāśrama edition of Padma there are 48452 verses and 628 chapters. It speaks of the Āśvattha as Bodhisattva (Srstikhanda 55. 16) and mentions a place called Vanasthala in Gurjaradeśa (II. 51. 36-37).

Brahmapurāṇa—The one printed at the Ānandāśrama appears to be a late compilation. Vide H. on 'Apocryphal Brahmapurāṇa' in I C II. pp. 235-245 and PRHR pp. 145-157. H. states that numerous quotations from the Brahma occurring in the works of Jimūtavāhana, Aparārka, Ballālasena, Devannabhatta and Haradatta are not found in the printed Brahma, that the current Brahma borrows chapters from the Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya and that the present Brahma

was composed between 10th century and 12th century A. D. H. Otto Schrader states that chapters 236-244 of the present *Brahma* dealing with Sāṅkhya and Yoga are borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* (I C vol. II pp 592-93). The *Dānasāgara* refers to two *Brahmapurāṇas* one of which it did not utilize (p 7 verse 63) The *Kalpataru* quotes at least about 1500 verses from the *Brahmapurāṇa* (600 in *nyatahūla* section, 66 on *tīrtha*, 60 on *mokṣa*, 78 on *rājadharmā*, 21 on *grhastha*, 20 on *vyavahāra*, verses 15 on *vrata*, 15 on *brahmacārin* of which the editor has traced only 9 in the printed text) The *Kalpataru* on *śrāddha* quotes several hundred verses from the *Brahma*, the number of quotations being larger than the quotations from any other *Purāṇa*, the next being *Vāyu* and *Matsya*. On p 388 of the *śrāddha* section the *Kalpataru* quotes from *Brahma-purāṇa* a few verses about showing honour to Buddha and Bauddha monks on a certain *tithi*. The printed *Brahma* contains 245 chapters and 13783 verses. Chapters 70-175 deal with various *tīrthas* in 4640 verses, chapters 28 to 69 dilate upon several *tīrthas* such as *Konāditya*, *Ekāmra*, *Avanti*, *Purusottama-tīrtha*. The whole *purāṇa* or at least a section seems to come to an end with chapter 175 and from chapter 176 it is *Vāsudevamāhātmya* that is set forth up to chap 213 and the narrator is *Vyāsa* and not *Brahmā* as in the chapters up to 175. Many of the verses from chapters 42 onwards are quoted by the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (e. g. chap. 43. 1-13 in T. C. p 58-59, chap 45. 52-89 in T. C. pp. 61-64, chap 49 in T. C. pp 65-72). As *Vācaspati* flourished in the latter half of the 15th century A. D. (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p 405), the first part of the present *Brahmapurāṇa* cannot be placed later than the 13th century A. D. The present *Brahma* has several verses in common with *Brahmānda* and *Vāyu* (vide H. of Dh. vol IV. p 388 n 870). It is not unlikely that the other *Brahmapurāṇa* which *Ballālasena* discarded is the present *Brahmapurāṇa* and that both *Kalpataru* and *Ballālasena* had an older work of the same name before them. The present *Brahma* was probably compiled in some part through which the *Godāvari* (*Gautamī*) flows in *Dandakāranya*; chap 88 18 123 117 and 129. 55 state that *Dandakāranya* is the holiest country and that the river *Godāvari* flows through it (chap 129 62, 66); chap 88 22-24 derive *Janasthāna* on the *Gautamī* as the sacrificial ground of the kings of the *Janaka* race.

Brahmaṇḍavarta—A huge work printed by the *Ānanda-srama*, *Poona*, in four *khandas* (parts) viz. *Brahma*, *Prakṛti*,

Ganapati and Kṛṣṇajānma. It has some chapters on Dharmaśāstra topics, such as on castes, gifts, vratas, hells, duties of varṇas and āśramas, women. Many of the verses quoted from this Purāṇa in the Sm. C., Hemādri and other writers are not found in the current Purāṇa. Wilson, in the Introduction to the Visṇu, says (pp. LXV-LXVII) that it has not the slightest title to be called a Purāṇa. Vide H. in ABORI vol. XIX pp 75-76 and PRHR pp. 166-167.

Brahmāṇḍa (pub. by Venk. Press). It is divided into four pādas (I. 1. 38-39) viz. Prakriyā (5 chapters), Anusāṅga (33 chap.), Upodghāta (74 chap.), Upasamhāra (4 chap.) followed by Lalitopākhyāna in 40 chapters. The Kūrma expressly¹⁴²⁰ states that the Brahmāṇḍa was narrated to the sages engaged in a śattra in the Naimiṣa forest and the Skanda (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa 2. 8-9) states there was formerly only one Purāṇa called Brahmāṇḍa containing one hundred crores of verses and that later it was distributed into 18 parts. It was probably composed near the rise of the Godāvarī, since it says that that part of the country towards the northern ranges of the Sahya mountain where the Godāvarī rises is the most charming in the whole world and that there a city called Govardhana was founded by Rāma.¹⁴²¹ In the first two parts it deals with the subjects of creation, the geography of the earth and of Bhāratavarṣa, and the manvantaras, pupils of Vyāsa, the distribution of the Veda Śākhās &c. The third section is the longest and after mentioning Vaivasvata Manvantara and, after dilating upon the creation of gods, asuras, gandharvas, sages and their progeny, it deals at length with all aspects of śrāddha (in chap. 9-20 and 879 verses), describes Paraśurāma's austerities, his securing of weapons, his slaughter of Kārtavīrya and ksatriyas, filling five lakes with their blood (in chap. 21-47 and over 1550 verses); then follow in chapters 48-57 the story of Sagara and the bringing down of the Ganges by Bhagīratha, the protection of Gokarna from the sea, and the story of Śūrpāraka (chap. 57 and 58), the dynasties of the solar and lunar race (chap. 59ff); then it speaks of Dhanvantari receiving from Bhṛadvāja Āyurveda in eight angas; in part IV. it refers to Manus, jñāna, karma, mokṣa &c.

1420. अत्र पूर्वं स भगवानृषीणां सत्रमासताम् । स वै भोवाच्च ब्रह्माण्डं पुराणं ब्रह्म-
भावितम् ॥ कूर्म II. 43. 14.

1421. सद्यस्य चोत्तरान्तेषु यत्र गोदावरी नदी । पृथिव्यामपि कुत्सनायां स प्रदेशो
नमोत्तमः । तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुर रामेण निर्मितम् । ब्रह्माण्ड II 16 43-44 For गोवर्धन
vide H. of Dh vol. IV p. 710 n 1618

The *Brahmānda* is one of the oldest of the 18 *Purāṇas* and has hundreds of verses in common with the *Vāyu*. Vide above p. 852. The *Mit* on *Yāj* quotes a verse from the *Brahmānda*¹⁴²² stating that a person, on touching *Śaivas*, *Pāsupatas*, *Lokāyatikas* and atheists, persons of the three *varṇas* following forbidden paths and *śūdras*, should bathe with the clothes on. *Aparārka* quotes about 75 verses from it of which 43 are concerned with *śrāddha*. The *Sm. C* quotes about 50 verses on *Āhnikā* and *Śrāddha*, of which ten occur also in *Aparārka*. The *Kalpataru* does not quote a single verse from it in the sections on *vrata*, *grhastha*, *tirtha*, *rājadharmā*, but quotes 16 verses from it on *śrāddha*, and 16 on *mokṣa*, none from *Niyata* and from *Vyavahāra*. If we may judge from some of the matters noted here it cannot be placed as early as the *Matsya*. In III 48 8 and 20 it employs long compounds,¹⁴²³ mentions *Bhīmasena* and *Nārada*¹⁴²⁴ as writers on music (III 61. 42-43), contains a chapter (III, 62) on *Gāndharva*, refers to the opinions of former *ācāryas*, to 30 *alankāras* of *nāṭya* and four purposes of such *alankāras* (chap. 62, verse 22). It may be placed between the 4th and 6th century A D. For discussion on *Brahmānda*, vide *Pargiter* in *AIHT* pp. 23, 77 and *H.* in *PRHR* (pp 17-19). The *Brahmānda* is very fond of etymologies, vide for example, those of *vaiśya* and *śūdra* (II 7 157-158), of *deva*, *manuśya*-*prajā*, *rakṣas* and *yakṣa* (II. 8 9-10, 20, 34), of *Tryambaka* and *Rudra* (II. 9 3-4 and 78), of *rājan* (in II 29 64), of *Vasudhā*, *Medinī* and *Prthivī* (II 37. 1-3), of *Atri*, *Vasistha*, *Pulaha* and *Pulastya* (III. 1. 44-46), of *Kubera* (III 8 44-45).

Brhad-dharma-purāṇa (U)—Vide *H.* in *J. of University of Gauhati* and 'Studies &c' vol. I, pp 115 and 277. It is a work of Bengal of the 13th or 14th century A D

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa—Accounts of the contents of the *Bhaviṣya* in *Matsya* 53 30-31, *Agni* 272 12 and *Nāradya* 1 100 do not tally with the printed *Bhaviṣya* (Venk ed). It is divided into four *parvans* viz *Brāhma*, *Madhyama*, *Pratisarga* and *Uttara*. It is only the *Brāhmaparva* that can claim an early date. The *Pratisarga-parva* is a modern fabrication containing stories of

1422 शैवान् पाशुपतान् सृष्ट्वा लोकायतिकान्स्तिक्तान् । विरुर्मर्यादा द्विजान् शूद्रान् सवासो जलमाविशेत् ॥ मिता० on या III. 309, स्मृतिच I. p. 118

1423. तस्यायेसरस्तेन्ययूयचरणमक्षुण्णशैलोच्चयक्षोदापुरितनिम्नभागमवनीपालस्य सवास्यत. । ब्रह्माण्ड III. 48 8.

1424. Vide नाट्यशास्त्र 32. 484 'गान्धर्वमेतत्कथितं मया हि पूर्वं यदुक्तं त्विह नारदेन.'

Adam and Eve, Prthvirāja, and Samyogitā, the mlecchas of Dehali, Rāmanuja, Kabīr, Naraśrī (Narsi?), Nānak, Caitanya, Nityānanda, Raidās, Madhvācārya, Bhattoji &c The Bhavisyottara is discarded by Ballālasena as unauthoritative, though it was popular in his day (vide. p 869 above). Aparārka quotes 160 verses from Bhavisyottara on dānas of various kinds The Sm. C. (I p. 203) quotes a single verse from the same. Hence the Bhavisyottara cannot be later than 1000 A D The Kalpataru quotes hundreds of verses from Bhavisya on vratas and many verses in other kāndas, e. g. 55 in brahmācārī, 110 on niyata-kāla, 101 on grhastha, 100 on rājadharmā, 15 on śrāddha. The Mit. quotes¹⁴²⁵ a single verse from Bhavisya about donating a golden image of a snake when a man is bitten by a snake. Aparārka quotes about 125 verses from Bhavisya, of which about 90 relate to prāyaścittas.

One remarkable feature of the extracts from Bhavisya in Aparārka is that they quote the views of Angiras, Gautama, Parāśara, Manu, Vasistha and Śankha. There are several passages quoted by Aparārka from the Bhavisya which approximately indicate the age of the current Bhavisya.¹⁴²⁶ It also refers to eight Vyākaranas in I. 1. 59-61 viz. Brāhma, Aindra, Yāmya, Raudra, Vāyavya, Vārūna, Sāvitra and Vaisnava. But these are different from the well-known eight grammars (except Aindra). It mentions the foreign words Āra (Mars) and Kona (Saturn)¹⁴²⁷ and states these planets are to be worshipped along with Śiva, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, the Sun &c. In prescribing a prāyaścitta for killing a person who is merely a brāhmana by caste the Bhavisya prescribes (as one of the alternatives) the prāyaścitta prescribed by Parāśara.¹⁴²⁸ Therefore, the extant Bhavisya

1425 सर्पदंशनिमित्तं सौवर्णनागदानं प्रतिकृतिरूपेण भविष्यपुराणे सुमन्तुनाभिहितम् ।
सुवर्णभारनिष्पन्नं नार्गं कृत्वा तथैव गाम् । व्यासाय दत्त्वा विधिवत्पितुराष्टम्यान्तुयात् ॥ इति ।
नितान् on या III. 6

1426. अत एव स्मृतयः षड्विंशद्देवाभिहिताः । मन्वादिस्मृतयो यास्तु षड्विंशत्यपरि-
कीर्तिताः । तासां वाक्यानि क्रमशः समासेन ब्रवीमि ते ॥ अपराकं p 7, इन्द्रश्चन्द्रः काश-
कृत्स्नापिशली शाकटायनः । पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः ॥ Compare यज्ञ-
स्तिलक I. p 90 न कैश्चिदैन्द्रजैनेन्द्राचार्यापिशालि-पाणिन्याद्यनेकव्याकरणोपदिश्यमान &c.

1427 व्योमकेशं तु सगृज्य पार्वतीं भीमजं तथा । कुण्डलस्य पितरं तात अर्कमारं सिंतं
तथा । धिपणं ह्येदमुन्नं च कोणं लक्ष्म च भारत । अपराकं p. 564

1428 जातिमात्रं यदा हन्याद् ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणं शुभं । प्रायश्चित्तं तदा कुर्याद्विद पाप-
विशुद्धये । धनं वा जीवनायात् शुद्धं वा सपरिच्छदम् । यद्वा पराशरोक्तेन प्रायश्चित्तेन शुध्यति ।
अपराकं p. 1061, who then sets out ten verses from पराशरस्मृति, all of which
except three occur in the पराशरस्मृति chap XII pp 50-51 of Jivananda's ed.

cannot be placed earlier than about the 6th or 7th century A. D. Vide H. in I C. vol. III. pp 223-229 and PRHR pp. 167-173 for Bhavisya and JOI (Baroda) vol III. pp 8-27 for Bhavisyottara. The Bhavisya mentioned in Vāyu (99. 267 *tān sarvān kirtayisyāmi. Bhavisye pathitān nṛpān ; tebhyaḥ pare oa ye cānye utpatsyante mahīksitah*) is not the present one but the ancient Bhavīsyat mentioned by Āp Dh. S. (vide p. 817 and n 1328 above). The Varāha-purāna expressly mentions Bhavīsyat purāna twice (177. 34 and 51)¹⁴²⁹ The second reference is quite interesting. It appears to say^{1429a} that the Purāna well-known as Bhavisya was revised by Sāmba who then established an image of the Sun.

Bhāgavatapurāna. None of the early works such as the Mit., Aparārka, Kalpataru, the Smiticandrikā draw upon this. The Dānasāgara knew it, but, as the Bhāgavata did not contain a disquisition on dānas, the author passed it over. Its date is very controversial, ranging from the 5th century A.D. to the 10th. Dr. Pusalkar (in 'Studies in Epics and Purānas' 1953, pp. 214-216) brings together most of the papers on this subject; Shri S. S. Sastri in ABORI vol 14 pp. 241-249 on 'the two Bhāgavatas' claims that the Devībhāgavatapurāna is earlier than the Bhāgavata, while H. in JOR (Madras) vol. 21 (pp. 48-79) takes the opposite view, viz. that the Devībhāgavata is much younger than the Bhāgavata. In 'Date of the Bhāgavata-purāna' by B. N. Krishna-mūrti Sharma in ABORI. vol 14 pp 182-218 it is argued that the Bhāgavata is as old as the 5th century A. D. and he cites in support certain passages from the Moksadharma of the Mahābhārata (Kumbhakonam edition), but the critical edition from Poona treats those passages as apocryphal. Prof. Das-Gupta in the 4th volume of his 'Indian Philosophy' deals with this Purāna, but his views are criticized in JBRS vol. 36 pp. 9-50. Vide H. in NIA vol. I pp. 522-528. The Padma part VI. (chapter 189-194) contains a *Māhātmya* of Bhāgavatapurāna in 518

1429. 'भविष्यपुराणमिति ख्यातं कृत्वा पुनर्नवम् । साम्यं सूर्यपतिष्ठा च कारयामास तच्च विद्' ॥ ब्राह्म 177. 51 The Venk. ed. reads (177 55) 'भविष्यमिति विख्यातं ख्यातं etc'

1429 a. The Varāha mentions (178. 5-7) three temples of the Sun, one to the south of the Yamunā, the 2nd in the middle called Kālapriya and the third to the west at Mūlasthāna (modern Multān). The Bhavisya mentions three important places of sun-worship (viz. Mundīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana). I agree with Mr. Dīpkumar Biswas that Mundīra is modern Modhera in North Gujerat (vide p. 30 of summary of Proceedings of 15th Indian History Congress) where there has been a sun temple for about a thousand years. --

verses. The author of the Purāṇa is said to be a native of the Tamil country by Mr. M. R. Majumdar in *IHQ* vol. 8, pp. 49-53. The present writer thinks that it is a late Purāṇa, since even in the Moksakāṇḍa (of Kalpataru) it is not cited, while about 300 verses are cited from the Viṣṇupurāṇa in that kāṇḍa alone. Vide note 1604 below. No reliable and cogent evidence has been adduced to prove that the current Bhāgavata can be placed earlier than the 9th century A. D.

Matsyapurāṇa (Ānandaśrama ed.) It has 291 chapters and 14062 verses. It is one of the ancient Purāṇas and has perhaps the largest number of smṛti chapters among Purāṇas. Many verses of the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata occur in it. Some verses of Yāj. also occur in Matsya e.g. Yāj. I 295 is Matsya 93. 2, Yāj. II 279. 295-6 and 303 are the same as Matsya 227 200, 202-203 and 204. It appears that the Matsya holds the balance between Śiva and Viṣṇu. It glorifies not only Viṣṇu in the Matsya avatāra but devotes 1570 verses to the slaughter of Tārakāsura and 623 to the destruction of Tripura, both by Śiva. The Vāmanapurāṇa (12 48) speaks of it as the principal among Purāṇas.

The Mit on Yāj. I. 297 expressly quotes all the nine verses of chap 94 of the Matsya (about the form of the images of the planets) and two verses from chap 93 (11-12) about the position to be assigned to each with white grains of rice in a mandala. The Kalpataru quotes hundreds of verses from Matsya on vrata, quotes about 750 on dāna from Matsya (all of which except 20 are identified in the present Matsya by the editor); about 410 on Rājadharmakāṇḍa, 157 verses on tīrtha (of which 100 are identified by the editor in the Matsya), 115 verses in Gṛhasṭhākāṇḍa, 112 verses on śrāddha, about 67 on niyatakāla (all except 12 identified), 18 in vyavahārakāṇḍa, 6 in brahmacāri and 2 in mokṣa, in all about 2000 verses. Aparārka quotes about 400 verses from Matsya (about 250 being on dāna). It is not necessary after the preceding statement to go into the large number of verses quoted in Dānasāgara, Smṛti-candrikā and Hemādri. It may be said without fear of contradiction that long before 1000 A. D. the Matsya-purāṇa had the same arrangement and presented almost the same appearance as at present. This is more than what can be said about the other Purāṇas except Viṣṇu, Vāyu, probably Bhaviṣya (I), Mārkaṇḍeya.

In the present author's opinion the Matsya is among the best preserved and the earliest of the 18 Purāṇas. It may be

dated between 200 A. D. to 400 A. D. The author does not wish to deny that a few verses here and there might have been interpolated at a later date.

Vide H. on the dates of the smṛti chapters of Matsya in ABORI vol. 17 pp. 1-33 and PRHR pp. 26-52 and Prof. Ramchandra Dikshitar on 'Matsyapurāṇa, a study' (Madras, 1935, pp. 1-140). Four verses from a Svalpa-matsya-purāṇa are quoted in the Pitrdayitā (p. 92) of Aniruddha (about 1160 A. D.) and there is a paper thereon by Shri Manoranjana Shastri in J. G. J. R. I vol. IX pp. 183-188. Matsya and Padma (as stated before) agree verbatim in many chapters on tīrthas and vratas. Śaṅkarācārya quotes a verse from Paurāṇikas which is Matsya¹⁴³⁰ Among the sages to whom water is offered in tarpaṇa are included (by Matsya) Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu and Pañcaśikha. The first two and the last are mentioned in the Śaṅkhyakārikā as the three great founders of the Śāṅkhya system. Vararuci is said to be a profound scholar of Nitya-yeda. In chap. 24 the Purāṇa refers to the fact that the Apsaras Urvāśī and her friend Citralekhā were kidnapped by a demon called Kesiṇi, who was vanquished by Purūravas and Urvāśī was released and was given by Indra to Purūravas. While she was acting the part of Lakṣmī in a drama called Lakṣmī-avayamyara composed by Bharata, she, being engrossed in her passion for Purūravas, forgot the proper *abhinaya* taught by Bharata and was cursed by Bharata to be a creeper. It is difficult to say whether the Matsya got its inspiration for this story from the Vikramorvasīya or whether the great poet Kālidāsa was influenced by the story in the Matsya. The story in Matsya and in Kālidāsa's drama agree very closely as regards names and incidents. The Matsya says (24.24) that for vanquishing Kesiṇi Purūravas employed Vāyavya-astra. The drama also mentions it (I.).

1430. नवा चाहुः पौराणिकाः । अचिन्त्याः पण्डु ये चावा न ताम्भदेण याजयेन् ।
प्रहसिन्त्यः पर वञ्च नदाचिन्त्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥ डाहूराचार्ये on ध. सू. II. 1. 27 This is
नस्य 113 6 This verse occurs also in भीष्मपर्व 5. 12 but there the reading
is नाधयेन् for याजयेन्. Besides, the word पौराणिका (पुराणमधीने इति पौराणिकाः acc.
to पाणिनि IV. 2. 59) suggests that the ācārya refers to a purāṇa and not to the
महाभारत. अपिन्द्रासुरिन्द्रैव मोक्षः पञ्चदिगन्तया । सर्वं न तुष्टिमायान् नृन्मत्सेनाम्हनाग्निना ॥
नस्य 102 13 quoted in स्मृतिच. I. 193. The मातृव्यकारिका says at the end
'नस्यविजयमन्त्रं सुनिरासुरैः पुत्रकृत्या नदुर्द्धा । आसुरिभिः पञ्चदिगन्तया न न च मनुष्या ब्रह्म
वञ्चयेत् ॥ द्वाग्या उरवश्चिर्वं नाह्वयेद्वयं पापम् । नस्य 10, 25; लक्ष्मीनियमः नाम भरतेन
नयनिवत् । नस्य 24, 28.

The only points of difference are : in the drama *Lakṣmī-svayamvara* is said to have been composed by *Sarasvatī*, while *Matsya* does not say so. Besides, the *Purāṇa* says that *Urvaśī* was cursed by *Bharata* to be a creeper, while *Kalidāsa* says nothing of the kind and shows that her being reduced to the condition of a creeper was due to *Kumāra* (*Kārtikeya*). The decision depends on the exact dating of the *Matsya* from other evidence. I am inclined to believe that *Kalidāsa* was familiar with the episode related in the *Matsya*. There are scholars who believe that *Kalidāsa* flourished under *Vikramāditya* about 57 B. C. The present writer does not subscribe to this belief. There is hardly any reliable or positive evidence to show that a powerful ruler called *Vikramāditya* ruled Northern and Central India about 57 B. C. The tradition of the nine jewels is of no use and if relied upon would make *Vikramāditya* rule about the 5th or 6th century A. D., since *Amarasimha*, *Varāhamihira* and *Kalidāsa* would be contemporaries. A coin of the Gupta Emperor *Candragupta II* (Allen's Catalogue of coins, pp. 35 ff) has क्षितिमवजित्य वृचरितेर्दिनं जयति विक्रमादित्य. The present writer believes that the most probable date for *Kalidāsa* is between 350 to 450 A. D.

Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.—There are two editions, viz. B. J. edition (of 1862) and the Venk. Press ed. The present author has mainly used the latter for quotations. The two differ slightly as to the number of verses in almost each chapter e. g. there are 270 verses in chap. 8 of B. J. edition and 287 in Venk. ed., chapter 16 of the Venk. edition corresponds to chapters 16–18 of the other edition. There are 134 chapters in the Venk. edition and 137 in B. J. edition. Pargiter translated into English the *Mārkaṇḍeya*. In the first 42 chapters (B. J. ed.) *Mārkaṇḍeya* takes hardly any part, but in the remaining chapters he is the principal speaker. This is a peculiar *Purāṇa*. The first chapter opens with four questions put by *Jaimini* to *Mārkaṇḍeya* about *Mahābhārata* saga, viz. (1) why *nirguṇa Vāsudeva* assumed a human form, (2) how *Draupadī* became the wife of five brothers, (3) *Balarāma* performed expiation of *brahmahatyā* by pilgrimage (and not by his own death), (4) how the five unmarried sons of *Draupadī*, themselves great warriors, met death helplessly although they had the great *Pāṇḍava* heroes to protect them. *Mārkaṇḍeya* directs him to go to wise birds in the *Vindhya* mountain and the answers are given in chapters 4 to 7. One wonders why *Jaimini* said to be a pupil of *Vyāsa* in the *Purāṇas* did not go to *Vyāsa* but to *Mārkaṇḍeya*. A portion of this *Purāṇa* is called

Devīmāhātmya or Saptasatī¹⁴³¹ (chapters 78-90 of Venk. ed. and 81-93 of B. J. edition) and is deemed by modern Sanskrit scholars to be an interpolation. But even if it is an interpolation it must have been made before the 10th century, as the oldest known ms. of it is dated 998 A.D. and probably before 600 A.D. The Mārkaṇḍeya has practically no verses on vrata, pilgrimages or śānti, but dilates on the duties of āśramas, on rājadharmā, śrāddha, hellis, karmavipākā, sadācāra, yoga, (explained by Dattatreyā to Alarka), stories of Kārtavīrya, his grandson Kuvalayāśva and of Madālasā, creation, manyāntaras, geography &c. It has hardly any sectarian bias; prayers and invocations are few except in the Devīmāhātmya. The present Purāṇa has, as indicated above, three different and disconnected sections viz. chapters 1-42 (Venk. ed.), where the wise birds figure as speakers, chapters 43 to end where Mārkaṇḍeya and Krostuki, a disciple, carry on the discourse, except in Devīmāhātmya, which is the third and an independent section.

The Kalpataru on mokṣa quotes about 120 verses from Mārkaṇḍeya on yoga, almost all of which are found in the printed text. It quotes on brahmacārikāṇḍa 9 verses, 12 on śrāddha, 17 on nīyatakāla, 19 on grhasthā, 3 on rājadharmā and one on vyavahāra. Aparārka quotes about 85 verses from the Mārkaṇḍeya of which 42 are on yoga and the rest on śrāddha, giving alms, hospitality, śuddhi &c. The Sm. C. quotes 15 verses from Mārkaṇḍeya on āhnikā, 40 verses on śrāddha. Mārkaṇḍeya quotes several verses from Manu and Mahābhārata. Mārkaṇḍeya contains some long drawn out rūpakas as in 3.59-70 (where prajā is said to be a fort-wall and the soul as king therein) and 35. 8-13 (ahamītyankurotpranah &c.) It contains the popular idea that for married women long stay with their relatives (in the family of birth) does not conduce to good reputation and that the desire of her relatives (by blood) is that a married woman should stay in her husband's house.¹⁴³² The Mārkaṇḍeya says that the root of all

1431. Vide above p. 155 note 396 about the Saptasatī for a description of the Devīmāhātmya, which has only 589 verses (and not 700 as the name implies) in Venk. ed. and 573 in B. J. ed. The verse सप्तमङ्गलमाङ्गल्ये cited above on p. 176 n. 454a (from देवीमाहात्म्य) is quoted in the Dadhimatī-mātī inscription (found in the Jodhpur State) dated 289 of the Gupta era (E. I. vol. XI p. 299 at 303). The inscription being of 608 A.D., it follows that the verse taken from the Devīmāhātmya, is earlier than 600 A.D.

1432. बान्धवेषु चिरं वासो नारीणां न यशस्कृतः । मनोरथो बान्धवानां नार्या भर्तृद्वये स्थितिः ॥ नार्कः 74. 19; compare शाकुन्तल V 'सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलेऽनस्रं यथा जनोऽन्यथा भर्तृमती विज्ञातुते ।'

unhappiness is the idea that one is the owner. (of this and that) and that bliss comes with the idea 'nothing is mine'.¹⁴³³ In chap. 160. 39 it refers to *lagna* and *horā*. It puts forward the doctrine of the Gītā that actions done without any desire for their reward do not tend to become chains binding down a man to saṃsāra. On the other hand, this Purāṇa narrates the story of Datta¹⁴³⁴ or Dattātreya who imparted instruction on yoga to Alarka (from chap. 16 ff), but who is represented as an avatāra of Viṣṇu given to drinking intoxicants, as fond of the company of women, as staying near a water reservoir constructed with wood and stones on the Sahya (16. 132) and is called Avadhūta (17. 3). In chap. 54 it is said (just as in Brahmandā cited above p. 895) that the country in the north ranges of Sahya and near the Godāvarī is the most charming in the world.

On the whole this is one of the early purāṇas and may be assigned to a date between the 4th to 6th century A. D.

Lingapurāṇa (Venk. ed.). It has 11000 verses as stated in chap. II. 5. The Kalpataru on tīrtha quotes about one thousand verses from it on Avimuktaka (Banaras) and the sub-tīrthas therein. Aparārka quotes six verses from it on Śivapūjā on the 8th and 14th tithis and bath and śrāddha in eclipses. The Sm. C quotes a few verses from it on bath in eclipses, Veda study &c. According to the Dānasāgara (p. 7 verse 64) there was another Lingapurāṇa of 6000 verses which it had not utilized. Vide H. in I. C. vol. IV. pp. 415-421 and in PRHR pp. 92-96.

Varāhapurāṇa (B. I. edition). It has 217 chapters and 9654 verses, besides a few chapters entirely in prose (such as 81-83, 86-87 and 74 on *bhuvanakośa*) and a few in mixed prose and verse (such as 80, 84, 85, 88, 89). It is a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa and begins with the well-known verse 'Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya' and is supposed to have been narrated to the Earth by Viṣṇu in the

1433. ममेति मूलं दुःखस्य न ममेति च निर्दिष्टेः। मार्क 35 6, न च वन्धाद्य तत्कर्म भवत्यनभिसन्धितम्। मार्क 92 15

1434. The story of दत्तात्रेय and of his boons (वरस) to कर्तवीर्य occurs in several Purāṇas. Vide मत्स्य 43 15 ff, ब्रह्म 13. 160 ff The ब्रह्माण्ड III 8 84 quotes a पौराणिकश्लोक 'अत्रेः पुत्रं महात्मानं शान्तात्मानमकल्मषम्। दत्तात्रेयं तद्धं विष्णोः पुराणज्ञां प्रचक्षते ॥'. In the भागवत (I 3. 52 ff) twenty-two avatāras of विष्णु are mentioned out of which Dattātreya is the 6th who propounded ānvikṣiki (Adhyātma vidyā) to Alarka and Prahlāda. In the मार्कण्डेय (Venk) 17. 10-13 दत्तात्रेय says 'ये च मां पूजयिष्यन्ति गन्धमालयादिभिर्नरा। मांसमद्योपहारैश्च मिष्टान्नैश्चात्म-संमतेः। ...तेषामहं परा पुष्टिं पुत्रदारधनादिकीम्। प्रदास्याम्यवधुत्वं हनिष्याम्यवमन्यताम् ॥'

Boar incarnation. It is remarkable that Vyāsa does not appear in the Purāṇa, though the Sūta figures at the beginning of several chapters (e. g. chap. 1, 2, 39, 50, 127, 137-138, 148, 151, 181, 213). It deals with most of the general topics of Dharmaśāstra such as vrata, tīrtha, dāna, images and their worship, āśauca, śrāddha, karmavipāka, narakas, cosmology and geography, prāyaścitta &c. The Kalpataru quotes 150 verses from it on vrata (most of which are traced by the editor), 40 verses on śrāddha (none of which is traced), 250 verses on tīrtha (many of which are traced), 17 on niyatakāla (half traced), five on dāna (all traced), 4 in grhasthakāṇḍa (not traced). One peculiarity is that it mentions some tīrthas like Lohārgala and Stutasvāmī which are not described in other Purāṇas. Aparārka quotes about 55 verses from it on several topics.

The Brahmapurāṇa^{143a} refers to a Vārāha text laying down a śrāddha for pīṭra on the Full Moon when the sun is in Virgo. The Bhaviṣyottara also (32. 12) refers to Varāhavadana. For the priority of the Bhaviṣya to Varāha vide above p. 898. Varāha refers to a śaka prince called Nandavardhana (in chap. 122. 34) and verse 56 refers to a śaka king.

Vide H. in ABORI vol 18 pp 321-337. It is difficult to assign a date to the Varāhapurāṇa. It is not one of the early Purāṇas. In any event it is earlier than the 10th century A.D.

Vāmanapurāṇa (Venk. ed.) It is a short purāṇa as compared with Matsya, Vāyu, Varāha &c. It has 5451 verses in the Venk. ed. There is prose in chapters 26, 44 and 93. For its size it contains many legends, such as Śankara cutting off a head of Brahmā, the story of Prahlāda and his grandson Bali and the latter's downfall, the greatness of Devī and her exploits, marriage of Śiva and Umā at the request of gods, the birth of Kārtikeya and explanation of his various names, the story of Danda who was cursed by Śukra for rape, enmity between Vasistha and Viśvāmītra, Gaṇendramokṣa &c. It briefly deals with many of the usual dharmaśāstra subjects viz. tīrtha, sadācāra, āśramadharmā, sāmānyadharmā, vrata, karmavipāka &c. The Kalpataru quotes from Vāmana about 88 verses on tīrtha (only some of which have been traced), about 80 verses

1435 नान्दीमुखानां कर्तव्यं कन्याराशिगते स्त्री । पौर्णमास्यां तु कर्तव्यं वाराहवचनं यथा ।
 'पिण्डमिच्छन्ति पितरः कन्याराशिगते स्त्री । कन्या गते सवितरि यान्यहानि तु योऽक्ष । कठ-
 भिस्तानि तुल्यानि देवो नारायणोऽब्रवीत् ॥ ब्रह्म 220. 44-47 (Anan. ed.)

on vrata, 14 verses on dāna (which are also quoted by Aparārka p. 364) and 11 verses on niyatakāla.¹⁴³⁶

The Vāmana-purāṇa mentions Kāmasāstras in 91. 73 and Mangalavāra (Tuesday) in 41. 24. It has been stated above p. 899 that it expressly mentions Matsya as the best among Purāṇas. The story of king Danda (in 63. 19 ff.) who perished along with the kingdom because he tried to violate Śukra's daughter appears to be an echo from Kautilya's Arthasāstra (I. 6 p 11 'Dāṇakyonāma Bhojah kāmāt brāhmanakanyām abhi-manyamānaḥ sabandhurāstro vinanāsa.'). It states that the king is called *rājan* because he keeps the subjects contented, just as Kalidāsa says.¹⁴³⁷ It says that Umā was so called because¹⁴³⁸ she was forbidden to practise 'tapas' in the words 'u mā' and that Śiva assumed the form of a Vedic student carrying a staff of Āsāḍha (Palāsa) and wearing a girdle of Muñja grass. This also appears like an echo of Kumārasambhava V.

The Sm.C. I. p. 168 quotes the two verses in which the Vāmana prescribes that a man after a bath and homa should leave his house (for business &c.) after touching certain objects deemed to be auspicious (noted below).

Taking all these matters into consideration the Vāmana purāṇa would have to be placed between 600 to 900 A. D. Vide H. in IHQ XI. pp. 115-130 and PRHR pp 76-92.

1436. On p 358 of the Kalpataru on Niyatakāla three verses are quoted as from Vāmana-purāṇa which the editor was not able to trace. They are three verses from Vāmana 14. 48-51 quoted above on p. 71 note 178. The first of those three verses is quoted from the Vāmana-purāṇa by Bhujabalanibandha p 343. The last two of the three verses are quoted from Vāmana by Sm C. p. 125

1437. ततो राजेति ज्ञेयोऽस्य पृथिव्यां रज्जनादधुत् । वामन 47. 24; compare 'राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् ।' रघु. IV. 12; राजा मजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा । रघु. VI. 21.

1438 तपसो वारयामास उ मेत्येवाजवीच सा । वामन 51. 21; compare उ मेति मात्रा तपसो निषिद्धा पश्चाद्भुमारुयां सुमुखी जगाम । कुमारः 1. 26; बहुसूर्यं समाधाय (समास्थाय ?) आपादौ सुज्जमेखली । वामन 51. 45, compare अथाजिनापाहधरः प्रगल्भवाङ्मूँशरीरबद्धः प्रथमाश्रमो यथा । कुमारः V. 30; दूर्वां दधिं सर्पिरथोदकुर्मं धेष्टुं सवत्सां वृषभं सुवर्णम् । सुहोमये स्वस्तिकमक्षतानि लाजा मधु ब्राह्मणकन्यकाश्च ॥ श्वेतानि पुष्पाणि च शोभनानि हुताशनं चन्दनमकैचिन्वत् । अश्वत्थवृक्षं च समालभेत ततस्तु कार्यं निजजातिधर्मः ॥ वामन 14. 36-37 q. in स्मृतिच. I. p. 168.

Vāyupurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.). This has 112 chapters and 10991 verses. It appears to have been divided like the *Brahmāṇḍa* into four *pādas*, *Prakriyā* (chap. 1-6), *Anusāṅga* (chap. 7-64), *Upodghāta* (65-99) and *Upasamhāra* (100-112). In the first chap, the first verse is the famous one 'Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya' and the 2nd eulogises Vyāsa (both these are not found in several mss). The third verse refers to *bhakti* for Śiva. Chap 104 is not found in many mss and the chapters at the end on *Gayāmāhātmya* are deemed to be later additions by some scholars. There is Śaiva bias in several chapters such as chap 20. 31-35 (with a prose passage containing Vedio texts), 24. 91-165 (called *Śarvastotra*), chap. 55 (*Śivastuti* put in the mouth of Visnu), chap. 101. 215-330. Probably to counter-balance this the chapters on *Gayā* were added and also the praise of Visnu in chap. 98 where *Dattātreya*, *Vyāsa*, *Kalkin* are said to be *avatāras* of Visnu, but *Buddha* is not mentioned. Chapter 99 is the longest one in the *Purāṇa*, contains 464 verses and is full of legendary material and historical references. There are several verses in the *Purāṇa* that appear also in the *Mahābhārata*, *Manu* and *Matsya*. For its relation to *Brahmāṇḍa* vide pp. 852, 896 above. This *Purāṇa*, like the *Matsya*, contains much *Dharmaśāstra* material. It is one of the oldest and most authoritative *Purāṇas*, though it contains some later additions.

The *Vāyu* is not quoted in the *vrata* and *niyatakāla* sections of the *Kalpataru*, but it is largely quoted in several other sections. From the *Vāyupurāṇa* *Kalpataru* quotes about 160 verses on *śrāddha*¹⁴³⁹ (of which the editor identified only about 21), about 35 on *mokṣa* (most traced), 22 on *tīrtha*, 7 on *dāna*, 5 in *brahmacāri* and 5 in *grhastha*. *Aparārka* quotes about 75 verses from *Vāyu* out of which 60 concern *śrāddha* and the rest deal with fast, *dravyaśuddhi*, *dāna*, *sannyāsa* and *yoga*. The *Sm. C* quotes only about 24 verses from *Vāyu* on *śrāddha*, on *atithi*, on *Agnihotra* and *fuel-sticks*.

The *Vāyu* makes a passing reference to the Gupta dynasty (vide p. 852 above), it knows the *yuga* of five years (50. 183),

1439. In spite of great efforts the learned editor of *Kalpataru* has failed to notice in the *Kalpataru* several verses on *śrāddha*, *tīrtha* and *mokṣa*. I have succeeded in identifying a few more, viz *Vāyu* 75 24-25 and 45-46 occur in *Kalpataru* on *śrāddha* (pp 216-217). In *Kalpataru* on *śrāddha* (p. 168 on *Gayā*) there are eleven verses quoted from *Vāyu* left untraced by the editor, which are found in *Vāyu* 77. 98-103 and 105-109. On p. 300 of *grhasthakāṇḍa* two verses not traced are *Vāyu* 62. 161-162.

and Mesa, Tulā (50. 196), Makara and Simha (Jupiter therein) in 82. 41-42. Chapter 87 describes Gītāṅkārās basing its treatment on the doctrines of pūrvācāryas. Brahmanda III. 62 is a similar chapter on the same subject and has almost the same verses.

As it refers to the kings of the Gupta dynasty and as Bāna refers to it in the Kādambarī and the Harsacarita, it must be placed between 350 A. D. and 550 A. D. This date is corroborated in several ways. Śāṅkarācārya in his Bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtrā II. 1. 1 quotes a verse as from a Purāṇa, which is Vāyu except¹⁴⁴⁰ for one word. In another place Śāṅkara quotes a verse as smṛti which is found in Vāyu with slight variations. Another verse which is cited as smṛti by Śāṅkarācārya occurs in Vāyu. The Tattvavaiśārādī of Vācaspati on Yogasūtra I. 25 expressly quotes from Vāyu 12. 33 and 10. 65-66.

Vide Prof. Dikshitar on 'Some aspects of the Vāyupurāṇa' (1933, 52 pages, University of Madras); H in IHQ. vol. 14 pp. 131-139 and PRHR pp. 13-17; Shri D. R. Patil's 'Cultural History from the Vāyupurāṇa' (1946, Poona, a Ph. D. thesis).

Vāyupurāṇa—(Venk. Press edition and another published by Messrs. Gopal Narayan and Co. in śaka 1824 with two commentaries, one called Vaisnavakūṭacandrikā of Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya and the other called Visnucittī). The present text is divided into six *amśas*, 126 chapters and about 6000 verses. There are many chapters in prose alone such as in 4th *amśa* chapters 7, 8, 9 and many in mixed prose and verse as in *amśa* 4 chap. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12 &c. As stated above this purāṇa agrees with the definition of purāṇa as *pañca-lakṣaṇa* far more than any other purāṇa. This purāṇa is declared to Maitreya by

1440. अतश्च संक्षेपमिति "तदुक्ति भूयः" इति पुराणे। शंकराचार्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 1; वायु I. 205 is the same, except that for नारायणः, वायु reads महेश्वरः. Vide p. 825 note 1347 for this verse. This change was probably made by some later redactor on account of the obvious Śaiva bias of the Purāṇa. The previous verse (वायु I. 204) states that महेश्वर is the creator of नारायण. "अथवा-मनो महात्मा मतिर्ब्रह्मा पूर्वादिः ऊपातिरीश्वरः। प्रज्ञा संविच्चित्तिश्चैव स्मृतिश्च परिपश्यते" इति स्मृतेः। शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I. 4. 1. Vide वायु 4. 27-28 मनो महात्मनिर्ब्रह्मा सूत्रादिः ऊपातिरीश्वरः। प्रज्ञा चित्तिः स्मृतिः संविद्धिदुरं चोच्यते इत्ये. II. One ms of वायु does read पूर्वादिः; यो मूर्धानं यस्य विद्या ब्रह्मन्ति खं वे नाभिं चन्द्रसूर्यौ च नेत्रे। दिशः ओत्रे विद्धि पादौ क्षितिं च सोऽचिन्त्यात्मा सर्वभूतमणेता ॥ इत्येवैवातीत्यता स्मृतिरिहोदाहरणं। शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I. 2. 25, compare वायु 9. 120 योमूर्धानं "स्तुवन्ति"नेत्रे। दिशः ओत्रे चरणौ चास्य भूमिः सोऽस्तमस्तुतिः ॥

Parāśara (son of Vasistha), which he received from Śārasvata, who received it from king Purukutsa on the Narmadā, who heard it from Dakṣa and others who learnt it from Brahmā.

Five out of the seven verses of Brahmānda III. 68. 97-103 are the same as Viṣṇu IV. 10. 23-27 (about what Yayāti said about *trsnā*). The same occur in Brahma-purāṇa 12. 40-46. It is likely that all borrow from the Mahābhārata, 'Ādiparva 75. 44 ff., 85. 9 ff. and Anuśāsana 7. 21 ff. The Mit. on Yājñavalkya III. 6 quotes on Nārāyanabali about 14 verses of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. The Kalpataru on Mokṣa quotes 250 verses from the Viṣṇu (most of which have been identified), 70 on niyatakāla (almost all traced), 21 on brahmacāri, 28 on śrāddha (only one not traced), 21 on tīrtha (all traced), about 45 on grhastha-kāṇḍa.¹⁴⁴¹ Aparārka cites about 75 verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Smṛticandrikā about 100. The Kāvya-prakāśa^{1442a} (IV.) quotes two verses from this (V. 13. 21-22 about a gopakanyā attaining final release by her thorough unswerving devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa). The Viṣṇupurāṇa teaches in some places the sublime philosophy of *advaita*;¹⁴⁴³ for example, it says 'He who seeks mokṣa should strive for treating all as equal, gods, men, beasts, birds, trees and creeping life are all the form of the Infinite Viṣṇu, though appearing as distinct from each other; one who realises this should look upon the world as his own self &c.' In another place the Viṣṇupurāṇa¹⁴⁴³ states 'The mind alone is the cause of the bondage of men and their release; mind that is attached to the objects of the senses tends to bondage, but when it is beyond attachment to them, it tends to mokṣa'. It teaches the central doctrine of the Gītā that actions done without an eye to the reward or fruit thereof do not lead to bondage.¹⁴⁴⁴

1441. The editor has traced several verses from गृह्यसूत्र, but he did not notice that the three verses on pp. 272-273 (about brāhmanas having to undergo far more trouble than the śūdra) are Viṣṇu VI. 2. 22-24.

1441a. The two verses begin 'तद्माप्तिः' and 'चिन्तयन्ती' and are quoted as examples of रसध्वनि based on अतिशयोक्ति by the काव्यप्रकाश.

1442. यत्तिस्य समत्वे च निर्वाणमपि चेच्छता । देवा मनुष्याः पशवः पक्षिपुंससरीसृपाः । रूपमेतद्वन्तस्य विष्णोर्भिक्षमिव स्थितम् ॥ एतद्विज्ञानता सर्वं जगत्स्थावरजङ्गमम् । ब्रह्मण्यमात्म-बहिष्कृत्यतोऽयं विश्वरूपधृक् ॥ विष्णुपुराण I. 19. 46-48.

1443. मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः । बन्धाय विपयासङ्गि सुखस्य निर्विषयं मनः ॥ विष्णुपुराण VI. 7. 28.

1444. ब्रह्मे विपयान्कर्म्म चक्रे चानभिरहितम् । विष्णु VI. 7. 105. 'तत्कर्म्म यच्च बन्धाय सा विद्या या विमुक्तये' । विष्णुपुराण I. 19. 41.

The date of the Visnupurāṇa is a difficult question. There is no doubt that it is one of the early Purāṇas and that its text is not very much inflated. Hundreds of verses quoted in the three early digests viz. Kalpataru, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā can be traced in the current text and this leads to the inference that the text has remained fixed for at least a thousand years. One important fact is that in this Purāṇa Vyāsa and the Sūta do not play a prominent part as in many other Purāṇas. It states as some other Purāṇas do, that Vyāsa had four pupils to whom he imparted the four Vedas and a fifth pupil the Sūta Romaharsana (III. chapters 3-7). But the sūta does not appear anywhere as the narrator of this Purāṇa. In the 4th amśa one remarkable matter is the mention of Śākya, Śuddhodana and Rāhula and it is stated that Śuddhodana was 23rd in descent from Bṛhad-bala of the Ikṣvāku line (chap. 22). The possibility of interpolations, particularly in the prose passages, would have to be admitted. Rāsis are referred to in III. 14. 5 (rāsisvarke ca gacchati) and the words lagna and horā also appear (in a prose passage). Vācaspati in his commentary on the Yogabhāṣya 2. 32 quotes it by name on *yamas* and *nyamas* (Visnu VI. 7. 36-38) and a half verse 'evam bhadrāsanaḍḍinām' etc, Visnu VI. 7. 49 in com. on Yogabhāṣya III. 49. Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in *vatsara* 888 which should be taken as Vikrama year as he was a northerner and as the word 'vatsara' is used (and not śaka) i. e. 841 A. D.

The following may be read on this question. Wilson's Intro. to the translation of the Visnu, vol. I. pp. LIX-LXXXIII; H. 'date of Visnupurāṇa' in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 265-275 and PRHR pp. 19-26 (puts it between 100-350 A. D.); Prof. Dikshitar in Pro. of the 13th Indian History Congress pp. 46-50; Jos. Abs in Festgabe Jacobi pp. 386-396 (on heterodox systems mentioned in different Purāṇas including the Visnu). Vide above p. 869 for a Visnupurāṇa of 23000 verses not utilized by the Dānasāgara. It would not be far from the truth to hold that the present Visnu was composed between 300 to 500 A. D.

Viṣṇudharma-purāṇa— Vide pp. 873-876 above for discussion of the date assigned to it by Prof. Hazra. Shri Aśoka Chattarjee read a paper at the A. I. O. Con. at Delhi which has been published in ABORI vol. 38. 305-308, wherein he gives the date of composition of this Purāṇa as between 1250-1325 A.D. H. P. Sastri 'Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf mss p. LIII says that a ms. of it was copied in'

1047 A.D. Buhler in I. A. vol. 19 at p. 407 holds that this Purāṇa as well as the next were canonical acc. to Alberuni's pandits.

Viṣṇudharmottara (U. pub. by Venk. Press). It is a huge work and has been dealt with above (pp. 876-878). In spite of its huge size it is not quoted by the Kalpataru on vrata, tīrtha, brahmacāri, grhastha, rājadharmā, mokṣa and other kāṇḍas. Aparārka quotes only 30 verses from it, of which 24 are on dāna: the Smṛticandrikā quotes about 30 in all and that Dānasāgara quotes profusely from it on dāna. It cannot be earlier than 600 A. D., and cannot be placed later than the 10th century, though parts of it may be later additions. Chapters 52-65 of the first section are called Śāṅkaragītā. The Kālikā Purāṇa expressly refers (in chap. 91 70 and 92. 2) to the Viṣṇudharmottara as having been concerned with Rājanīti and Sadācāra.

Sāmbapurāṇa (U. pub. by Venk. Press). Vide H. in 'Sāmbapurāṇa through the ages' in JASB vol. 18 (1952) pp. 91-111, 'on Sāmba-purāṇa' a śaiva work in ABORI vol. 36 (1955) pp. 62-84 and 'Studies &c.' vol. I, pp. 32-108. This purāṇa is hardly ever quoted by early digests such as the Kalpataru, Aparārka or Smṛticandrikā. Only four verses from it are quoted by the Dānasāgara. Prof. Hazra's propositions that the Bhaviṣya (pp. 68-82) and Brahmapurāṇa (present) borrow from the Sāmba are not at all acceptable to the present author, particularly in view of his own admission (in 'Studies &c.' vol. I, p. 68) that the present Sāmbapurāṇa consists of different units belonging to different climes and ages. All that can be said positively is that a purāṇa called Sāmba is mentioned by Alberuni in 1030 A. D. (Sachau I p. 130).

Śivapurāṇa (a Mahāpurāṇa according to some Purāṇas); Printed by Venk. Press in two volumes. Vide H. on 'Problems relating to Śivapurāṇa' in 'Our Heritage' (Calcutta 1953) vol. I. part 1 pp. 46-48. Dr. Pusalkar in 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas' pp. 31-41 (holds that the printed Vāyu is a genuine Mahāpurāṇa, that the Śivapurāṇa is a late work and is only an Upapurāṇa); the oldest datable reference to it is in Alberuni's work (vide Sachau, vol. 1. p. 131). It is quoted in the Dānasāgara several times, but is not quoted in Kalpataru, Aparārka and Sm. C. It is divided into seven saṃhitās called Viḍyeśvara, Rudrasaṃhitā (in five parts called Srsti, Sati, Pārvatī, ^{144a} Kumāra, Yuddha).

144a. उमेति मात्रा तपसे निविद्धा कालिका च सा । पश्चादुमाख्यां सुखीं जगाम
 भुवने सुने ॥ शिवपुराणे ४३८ पर्वते खण्ड ४ १७; compare 'उमेति' जगाम' कुमारसम्भव १. २६.
 (Continued on next page)

Śatarudra, Kotirudra, Umā, Kailāsa, Vāyaviya (in two parts). It contains about 23000 verses. In Śatarudrasam., chap. 42, the twelve jyotirlingas are mentioned, are spoken of as avatāras of Rudra and described; in Kotirudrasam., chap. 35 one thousand names of Śiva are set out; in Kailāsasam., chap. 5 mandala in pūjā is described; in chap. 7 verses 5-26 various Mudrās and Nyāsas are provided for; in the Rudrasam. section, Pārvati, there is a close resemblance between this purāṇa and the Kumārasambhava as noted below.

Śivadharmā. Vide H. in JGJRI vol. X. pp. 1-20; Aparārka p. 274 on Yāj. I. 193 quotes one verse from it which is a paraphrase of Yāj.

Śaura (U.)—Vide H. in N. I. A. vol. VI. pp. 103-111 and 121-129, in B. V. vol. IV. pp. 212-216 and 'Studies &c.' vol. I. p. 348.

Śkanda—This is the most extensive of Purāṇas and poses perplexing problems. It is found in two forms, one being divided into seven khandas, viz. Maheśvara, Vaisnava, Brāhma, Kāśi, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa, the other being divided into six samhitās, viz. Sanatkumāra, Sūta, Sāṅkarī, Vaisṇavī, Brāhmī and Saura. The Skanda in seven khandas has been published by the Venk. Press and the Sūtasamhitā with the commentary of Mādhavācārya has been published by the Anan. Press, Poona. The extent of the Skanda is variously given as 81000 ślokas, at 100000 ślokas (vide PRHR p. 158), at 86000 (in PRHR p. 159). The god Skanda does not figure prominently in this Purāṇa named after him. The Skanda is named in the Padma V. 59. 2 Skanda I. 2. 6. 79 is almost in the same words as Kīratārjuniya¹⁴⁴⁵ (II. 30 'śahasā vidadhita na kriyām'). Skanda, Kāśikhanda 24 (8 ff) is full of Śleṣa and Parisankhyā in the style of Bāna as in 'yatra ksa-

(Continued from last page)

वरैषु ये शुणाः शोका नारीणां सुखदायकाः । तन्मद्ये हि विरूपाक्षे एकोऽपि न शुणः स्मृतः ॥ पार्वतीखण्ड 27. 32. Compare वरैषु यद्वाल्लस्यक्षि "तदस्ति किं व्यस्तमपि त्रिलोचने ॥ कुमारः V. 72; न केवलं भवेत्पापं निन्दां कर्तुं शिवस्य हि । यो वै शुणोति तज्जिन्दां पापभाक् स भवेद्दिह ॥ पार्वतीखण्ड 28. 37, compare न केवलं यो महती "स पापभाक् ॥ कुमारः V. 83; अद्यभ्युति ते दासस्तपोभिः क्रीत एव ते । पार्वतीखण्ड 28. 44, compare कुमारः V. 86. There are several other close parallels, which are not set out for reasons of space.

1445. सद्गता न क्रियां कुर्यात्पदमेतन्महापदाम् । विमुक्ष्यकारिणं धीरं वृणते सर्वसम्पदः ॥ स्कन्द I. 2. 6. 79.

panakā eva drśyante maladhārinah' (verse 21) or 'vibhramo yatra nārisu na vidvatsu ca karhicit' (verse 9). Nātyaveda and Arthashastras are mentioned in Kāśikhanda (Pūrvārdha 7. 4-5), Dhanvantari and Caraka on medicine are mentioned in Kāśikhanda (Pūrvārdha 1.71); the word Jhotinga occurs in Kāśikhanda 72. 74 (Jhotingā rāksasāḥ krūrāḥ). Skanda is quoted on topics of Dharmaśāstra in early commentaries and digests. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 290 mentions it in connection with the status of veśyās (courtezans). Kalpataru on vrata quotes only 15 verses from it, Kalpataru on tīrtha (pp. 36-39, 32, 46, 130-135) quotes 92 verses from it, on dāna only 44, on niyatakāla 63 verses, 18 verses on Rājadharmā (on Kaumudimahotsava), only 4 in śrāddhakānda and 3 in grhasthakānda. Aparārka¹⁴⁴⁶ quotes only 19 verses from it; one quotation indicates Tāntrik influence (vide note). The Dhanasāgara cites 48 verses on dāna from it and the Sm. C. only 23 in all. Considering the colossal figure of ślokas in the Skanda it must be said that it is rather sparingly quoted in the Dharmaśāstra works. A verse in it seems to echo the very words of Kālidāsa and quotes the view of Devala.^{1446a} In such a huge work interpolations could easily be made. So it is difficult to assign a definite date to it. A ms. of the Skanda in the Nepal Durbar Library is written in characters which belong to the 7th century A. D. according to Haraprasad Shastri (vide Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf mss. p. LII.)

It would be not far from the truth to say that the Skanda cannot be placed earlier than the 7th century A. D. and not later than 9th century A. D. on the evidence so far available.

1446 स्कन्दपुराण is quoted by अपरार्क p. 295 on या I 204 on the gift of a cow. After citing five verses and a half a prose mantra is quoted as follows : ओं ह्रीं नमो भगवति ब्रह्मातर्विष्णुभगिनि रुद्रदेवते सर्वपापविमोचिनि स्वरूपं स्मर इवे इदानीं हव्ये चान्द्रे धृतिमति सरस्वति मुञ्चते पण्येहि हुक्व ह्रक्व सर्वलोकमये एवागच्छागच्छ स्वाहा । इति धेनुर्गर्जप. 17.

1446a. मरणं प्रकृतिश्चैव जीवितं विकृतिर्यदा । स्कन्द I. 2 10. 27; compare मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणा विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते ध्रुये. ॥ रघुवंश VIII, 87, त्रीणि ज्योतीष्ये दुरुच इति वै देवलोऽब्रवीत् । भार्यां कर्म च विद्या च संसाधयं पल्लवस्त्वयम् । स्कन्द I. 2 15. 10.

SECTION V

CHAPTER XXIV

Influence of Purāṇas on Dharmaśāstra

Literary works and society act and re-act on each other. The state of Indian society a few centuries before and after Christ, riven as it was by the growing strength and onslaught of Buddhism, Jainism and other dissenting sects and disturbed by invasions of the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Hūnas and other foreign tribes, gave much food for thought to those who were devoted to the Vedic religion and induced them to write works setting forth new ideologies and practices and effecting a re-statement of the ancient Vedic and Smṛti religion. When these works attained a position of authority and eminence, the endeavour of the followers of the Veda was to follow them as far as possible and to adapt their practices and religious rites to the requirements of the Purāṇas. We have to see how the Purāṇas set about their task of re-orientation. We must note that current Hindu religious practices, judging from the *sankalpa* made at the beginning of every rite, are meant to confer upon the performer the rewards declared by Śruti (Veda), Smṛti and Purāṇas (*Śruti-smṛti-purāṇokta-phalaprāptyarthaṃ*). The task was twofold, viz. (1) to undermine the power and prestige of Buddhism and Jainism and the influence of the numerous philosophical¹⁴⁴⁷ schools that had sprung up and (2) to wean away large sections of the masses from the attractive features of Buddhism and to convince them that they could secure in the re-orientated Hindu faith the same benefits, social and spiritual, as Buddhism promised and that the religious principles of the followers of Veda coincided with many of the teachings of Buddhism and were borrowed by Buddhism from Vedic practices. Ultimately Buddhism vanished from the land of its origin. The main causes of this disappearance of Buddhism from Bhārata will be stated at the end of this section, but this much may be said here at once that the Purāṇas played a substantial role in bring-

1447. It is stated in the Mahāvagga (part of Suttanipāṭa) that there were 63 philosophical schools at the time of Buddha (vide SBE vol. X, part 2 p. 92).

ing about the decline and disappearance of Buddhism by emphasizing and assimilating some of the principles and doctrines of Buddha¹⁴⁴⁸ such as ahimsā, by accepting Buddha himself as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, by adopting vegetarianism as a high form of austerity, by making use of monasteries and asceticism as stated in such smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj.

The Purāṇas set about their task by saying that for the proper understanding of the Veda, knowledge of Itihāsa and Purāṇa was essential. A famous verse says¹⁴⁴⁹ 'one should strengthen the Veda by (the study and application of) Itihāsa and Purāṇa; the Veda is afraid of the person of little learning (with the thought) that he (the man of small learning) may harm it'. Manu states¹⁴⁵⁰ that those brāhmanas that have learnt according to the rules (of Veda study) the Veda together with the works that strengthen it are to be understood as śiṣṭas and are instrumental in making (the meaning of) the Veda clearly perceptible. The Vāyu¹⁴⁵¹ emphasizes in this connection that that brāhmana who knows the four Vedas together with (the six) ancillary lores and the Upanisads would not be a wise man if he did not know Purāṇas. The Upanisads drop brief hints about the creation of ākāśa from the one *brahma* (in Tai. Up. II. 1), of *tejas* (Chān. Up. VI. 2 3), of waters (Chān. Up. VI. 2. 4). The Purāṇas explain at great length the creation and dissolution of the elements (in the order reverse of that of creation) e.g. Vāyu 4. 17 ff, Brahma 1-3, Agni 17, Brahmānda II. 3 ff, Kūrma I. 2, 4, 7, 8 &c. The stories of Hariścandra and

1448. Pargiter (in 'Purāṇa texts of the Dynasties of the Kali age' p. XVIII footnote) thinks that it was largely through the Paurāṇika Literature that Hinduism secured its revival and the downfall of Buddhism.

1449. इतिहासपुराणाभ्या वेदं संप्रबृहयेत् । विभेत्पुत्रपुत्रताद्वेदो नामय प्रहरिष्यति ॥
आदिपर्व I 267-268, वायु I. 201, पद्म V 2. 51-52, ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1 171, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 27. 6, लघुन्याससूत्रेति II. 86, बृहदारि chap. 3 p. 50 in Jivaoanda's edition (reads प्रतरिष्यति). The स्मृतिच. (I. p. 3) ascribes this verse to बृहस्पति. The मायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 511 quotes it from वसिष्ठ. The कूर्म I. 2 19 reads 'इतिहासपुराणाभ्या वेदार्थात्प्रबृहयेत्' रामानुज in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र (p. 72 B. S. S.) quotes this verse and reads प्रतरिष्यति

1450. धर्मेणाधिगतो येस्तु वेदं संप्रबृहयेत् । ते शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ज्ञेयाः, श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षदेतवः ॥
मनु XII. 109.

1451. यो नित्याच्चतुरां वेदान्साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः । न चेत्पुराणं सविद्यालेव स स्यात् द्विचक्षणः ॥ वायु I 200, स्कन्द, प्रभासपण्ड 2 93, पद्म V. 2 50-51 (reads the second half as 'पुराणं च विजानाति यः स तस्माद्विचक्षणः.'). ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 170 has the first half.

Naciketas that occur in the Ait. Br. and the Kathopanishad are explained at length in Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 104 and 150 about Hariścandra), in Sabhāparva chap. 12 (for Hariścandra) and in Anuśāsana chap. 91 (for Naciketas). The famous dialogue of Yama and Yamī (Rg. X. 10) is expanded in the Narasimhapurāṇa (chap. 13. 6-36). The Visṇupurāṇa¹⁴⁵² (IV. 6. 34 ff) sets out the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, refers to the hymn in the Rg. X 95 for that story and quotes the first verse of the hymn in a somewhat corrupt form.

But the claims of the extant Purāṇas go far beyond the above viz. as strengtheners of the Veda. The Kūrma¹⁴⁵³ states: '(put) on one side all the Purāṇas together with Itihāsa (Mahābhārata) and on another the highest Veda; it is this (Purāṇas) that surpasses (the other viz Veda)'. The Mahābhārata also makes a similar claim. The Purāṇas appear to claim priority (and even equality) with the Veda. In note 1349 passages from the Matsya and other Purāṇas have been cited, stating that Brahmā first thought of the Purāṇas before all other śāstras and then the Vedas sprang forth from his lips. Several Purāṇas are spoken of as equal to the Veda (Vedasammita) as in¹⁴⁵⁴ Vāyu I. 11, 4. 12, Brahma I. 29, 245. 4 and 21, Viṣṇu I. 1. 13, VI. 8. 12, Padma VI. 282. 116. Further, several Purāṇas claim to have been delivered by some God such as Brahmā (Brahmapurāṇa I. 30) or by the Wind-god (Vāyu I. 196)¹⁴⁵⁵ or by the avatāras of Viṣṇu as in the case of Matsya-purāṇa (I. 26) or Varāha (2. 1-3). The japa of Vedic texts was deemed to destroy all sins as shown in H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 45-50. The Purāṇas also say that reading the Purāṇas or listening to a recitation of them

1452. विष्णुपुराण IV. 6. 64 in prose runs . ततश्चोन्मत्तस्यो जाये हे तित्थ मनसि घोरे तित्थ बचसि कपदिके तिष्ठत्येवमनेकमकारं सूक्तमवोचत् । Compare ऋग्वेद X. 95 1 'हये जाये मनसा तित्थ घोरे बचासि मित्रा कृणवावहै ह्य'.

1453 एकतस्तु पुराणानि सोतिहासानि रच्यते ॥ कूर्म II 46, 129 (q. in note 1402 above). एकतश्चतुरो वेदा भारतं चैतदेकत । पुरा किल सुरैः सर्वैः समेत्य तुलया धृतम् । चतुर्भ्यः सरहस्येभ्यो वेदेभ्यो ह्यधिकं यदा । तदाप्रभृति लोकेऽस्मिन्महाभारतमुच्यते । आदिपर्व 1 271-273.

1454 पुराण संवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मोक्तं वेदसंमितम् । वायु I 11, शुक्र प्रणम्य वक्ष्यामि पुराणं वेदसमितम् । ब्रह्म I. 29, पुराणं नारदोपाख्यमेतद्देवार्थसंमितम् । नारदीय I 1. 36.

1455. Vāyu (103 58-66) narrates how from Brahmā the purāṇa came to Vāyu and how through a succession of about 30 teachers it came down to Dvaipāyana and lastly to Sūta.

would destroy all sins.¹⁴⁵⁶ Vide Vāyu 103. 58, Brahma 175. 89-90, Matsya 290. 20, 291. 29 and 31, Visnu VI. 8. 3, 12. Some of the Purāṇas indulge in extravagant praise of themselves, e. g. the Varāha-purāṇa (217. 12-13, 217. 15-16) states that reading ten chapters of that Purāṇa confers the merit secured by the performance of Agnistoma and Atirātra sacrifices. Vide Brahma 254. 34-35, Agni 384. 13-30, Devī-Bhāgavata XII. 13. 11-17 in a similar strain. Moreover, the Purāṇas dwell upon the superior value and efficacy, as compared with the Vedic sacrifices, of some of the institutions on which they lay emphasis, such as pilgrimages,¹⁴⁵⁷ *vratas*, *bhakti*. The Padma states (I. 38. 2 and 18) that by merely going to Gayā or by taking a bath in the Phalgu river one secures the reward that the performance of Aśvamedha confers. The Skanda proclaims¹⁴⁵⁸ 'I have no use for sacrificial rites that are declared by the Veda, that have no life in them, that are within the domain of ignorance and that entail injury (to animals). If (a sacrifice) is performed with such inanimate things as fuel-sticks, flowers and kuśa grass, the result must be similar (inanimate), since the effect is like the cause'. Vide Śāntiparva 337 for a story on the discussion between sages and gods about offering in sacrifices merely products of grains or goat-flesh. Offerings of flesh in sacrifices to gods were made in the Rgvedic period. But even in the Rgveda there are a few verses that indicate that offerings of ghee and fuel-sticks were declared to be able to win the favour of gods as much as animal sacrifices might do. 'Whoever¹⁴⁵⁹ offers to (or worships) Agni with a fuel-stick or with an oblation of ghee or

1456 सर्वपापहरं पुण्यं पवित्रं च यज्ञसि च । ब्रह्मा ददौ शास्त्रमिदं पुराणं मातरि-वने ॥ वायु 103. 58, पुराणसंहिता चैव तत्र भूय मयोदिता । सर्वपापहरा नित्यमारोग्यश्रीफलमदा ॥ मत्स्य 290. 20, पुराण वैष्णव चैतत्सर्वफलिवचनाक्षनम् । विशिष्टं सर्वशास्त्रेभ्यः पुराणार्थप-पादकम् ॥ एतत्तै यन्मयाख्यातं पुराणं वेदसंमतम् (सामितम् ?) । श्रुतेऽस्मिन् सर्वदोषोत्थं पापराशिं प्रणश्यति ॥ तिष्ठुः VI 1 8. 3 and 12.

1457 Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp 561-564 for superiority of tīrthas to solemn Vedic sacrifices and pp. 43-45 above for the eulogy of *vratas*. The efficacy of *bhakti* (loving faith in God) will be dealt with later on in this section.

1458. अविद्यान्तर्गतैर्यज्ञकर्मभिर्न प्रयोजनम् । मम हिंसात्मकैरसि निगमोक्तैरचेतनैः ॥ समित्युपकुक्षाभायैः साधनैर्यद्यचेतनैः । क्षिपते तत्तथा भानि कार्यं कारणनन्द्याम् ॥ स्कन्द I. 2. 13. 59-60.

1459 यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तोऽग्नये । यो नमसा स्वधरः ॥ तस्यै-वर्धन्तो रक्षन्त आश्वस्वस्य युञ्जितमं यज्ञाः । न तमदो देनकृतं कुतश्चन न मर्यकृतं नशद् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 19. 5-6.

with (the study of) the Veda or who performs a good sacrifice with prostrations, for him alone run fleet horses and his is most brilliant fame, and no evil whether brought about by gods or by men might reach him from any side'. Another mantra¹⁴⁶⁰ says 'O Agni! we bring to you an offering accompanied by a ṛkmantra fashioned (or produced) by our heart. May those mantras be oxen, bulls and cows from you'.

The Purāṇas only pursue an attitude to Veda and sacrifices that is found in some of the Upanisads. The Mundakopaniṣad¹⁴⁶¹ says: 'one should know two vidyās (lores), *parā* (the higher) and *aparā* (the lower); the latter comprehends the four Vedas and Phonetics, aphorisms about solemn sacrifices, grammar, Nirukta (derivation of words), metres, astronomy; while the highest lore is that whereby the Imperishable (Reality) is known'. The same Upanisad condemns *aparā-vidyā* when it says "These sacrifices are infirm (leaky) boats constituted by eighteen (persons) depending on which are declared actions that are inferior, those foolish people who welcome these actions as the highest good become subject again to old age and death'. The Kathopaniṣad¹⁴⁶² states that what are known as *andīyā* and *vidīyā* are far apart from each other, are contradictory and lead to different results. When Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and requested the latter to teach him, the latter said to him 'tell me what you know and then I shall tell you what is beyond that.' Then Nārada stated that he knew all the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa the fifth Veda and several other lores, whereupon Sanat-kumāra told him that the four Vedas and the other lores he had learned were merely a name and then he led Nārada gradually to the understanding of the Highest Self. The Br. Up. I. 4. 10 condemns him, who worships a deity thinking he is different from the *devatā*, that he does not know the truth, that he is like a (sacrificial) animal to the gods. Similarly, in

1460 आ ते अग्न ऋचा हविर्हृदा तटं भरामसि । ते ते भवन्तुक्षण ऋषभासो वशा उत ॥ ऋ. VI 16 47.

1461 द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये इति ह स्म यद् ब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति परा जैवापरा च । तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निबन्तं हृन्दो ज्योतिषमिति । अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते ॥ सुण्डकोप० I 1 4-5. प्लवा इति अष्टहा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्तमवर येयुः कर्म । एतच्छ्रेयो येऽभिनन्दन्ति मुद्धा जरासृष्टुं ते पुनरेवापियन्ति ॥ सुण्डकोप० I, 2 7. The 18 are the 16 priests, the sacrificer and his wife. In his भाष्य on Vedāntasūtra I 2 21 Śaṅkarācārya holds that this verse is part of the condemnation of *aparā vidyā*.

1462. दूरमेते विपरीते विपृची अविद्या या च विद्येति ज्ञाता । कठोप. I. 2. 4.

several passages of the Upanisads austerities, liberality, straightforwardness, ahimsā and truthfulness are put forward as equal to or superior to the actual performance of the ceremonial of sacrifice (*yajña*), vide Chāndogya III. 17. 4, Praśna I. 15, Mundaka I. 2. 11.

Though in a few passages of the Upanisads the knowledge of the Highest Self is put higher than the four Vedas, the Upanisads generally treat the Vedas as authoritative and quote Vedic verses in support of their statements. For example, the Ait. Up. II. 5 quotes R̥gveda IV. 27. 1 (*taduktam-rsinā-Garbhe nu &c.*), Praśnop. I. 11 quotes R̥g. I. 164. 12 (*pañcapādāmapitaram*), Br. Up. II. 5. 15, 17 and 19 quote respectively R̥g. I. 116. 12, I. 117. 22, VI. 47. 18 (*rūpam rūpam pratirūpo*). The Upanisads further emphasize¹⁴⁶³ that *brahmavidyā* is to be imparted only to those who are *śrotriya* (who have studied the Veda), who engage in their duties and who have properly performed Śīrovrata. The Br.¹⁴⁶⁴ Up. shows that Veda study, sacrifices, charity &c. are preparations for the knowledge of *brahma*: 'Brāhmanas (and others) desire to know this (great Self) by study of the Veda, by sacrifices, gifts, *tapas*, fasting'. These passages make it clear that study of the Veda and performance of sacrifices enjoined by it are accepted by the Upanisads as preparatory and as cleansing the mind of its lower passions and as making a person worthy of receiving the knowledge of the highest truth about the One Supreme Spirit and that the Upanisads do not altogether condemn and give up the Vedas and sacrifices.

The Purāṇas adopt, in spite of the claims made by them here and there about their priority to the Vedas, about their own value and efficacy, the same attitude towards the Veda as the Upanisads do. They treat the Vedas as authoritative and enjoin

1463 तदेतद्व्याख्ययन्तः । क्रियावन्तः श्रोत्रिया ब्रह्मभिष्टाः स्वयं शुद्धत एकर्वि अज्ज-
यन्त । तेपामैत्रेता ब्रह्मविद्या वदेत शिरोव्रतं विधिवद्यैस्तु च्छीर्णम् ॥ मुण्डकोप० III 2 10
शिरोव्रत is carrying fire on the head (according to Ātharvāna rules) The
देवीभागवत (XI 9. 12-13) remarks 'अग्निस्त्रियादिभिर्मन्त्रैः पङ्कभिः शुद्धेन भस्मना ।
सर्वाङ्गीभूतलं कुर्यात् शिरोव्रतसमादयम् ॥' 'यावद्विद्योदयस्तान्तस्य विद्या खलूत्तमा ॥' The
six अथर्वशिरोव्रत mantras are . अग्निरिति भस्म, वायुरिति भस्म, जलमिति भस्म, स्थलमिति
भस्म, व्योमिति भस्म, सर्वं ह वा इदं भस्म'

1464. तमेत वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विनिदिपन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । वृष.
उप. IV 4. 22, vide गीता 18. 5 यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्य कार्यमेव तत् । यज्ञो दान तपश्चैव
पावनानि मनीषिणां ॥

the employment of Vedic mantras in many rites. The author contributed a paper to the Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation volume pp. 5-8 on the 'Vedic mantras and legends employed in Purāṇas' citing illustrations from the Brahmapurāṇa. A few illustrations from other Purāṇas may be set out here. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 93) when describing the procedure of the *homa* to the nine planets prescribes nine Vedic mantras, five of which are different from those provided by Yaj. (I. 300-301). Vide p. 750 above for a comparative table of the two sets of mantras. In the Udvāhatattva¹⁴⁶⁵ Raghunandana remarks that the mantras 'a krsnena' and others are common to persons following the four Vedas and that Bhavadevabhata held the same view. Matsya prescribes that when inauspicious birds (like an owl) or animals cry near a house or enter it, a *homa* should be performed, or five brāhmanas should engage in a *japa*¹⁴⁶⁶ of the hymn beginning with 'Devāḥ kapota' (Rg. X. 165.1-5). In describing the whole procedure of the establishment of images of gods or the *lūṅga* (of Śiva), the Matsya (chapter 265) prescribes numerous Vedic verses and hymns for the different parts of the ceremony. For example, for bringing about the purification of the image four mantras are prescribed viz. Rg. VII. 49. 1-3 and X. 9. 1; in providing for the placing of a jar full of water near the head of the bed on which the image is to be placed, two mantras 'Āpo devī' (Vāj S. 12. 35, Tai. S. IV. 2. 32) and 'āpo asmān mātaraḥ' (Rg. X. 17. 10) are to be recited. Matsya (265. 24-29) prescribes for the *japa* of several *sūktas* (hymns) by four door-keepers learned in the Vedas that are to stand in the four main directions. The Agnipurāṇa (41. 6-8) providing for the laying down of baked bricks or stones in building a temple prescribes the recital of many Vedic mantras, viz. Rg. X. 9. 1-3, Rg. X. 9. 4, Rg. IX. 58. 1-4, Pāvamāni verses (either Rg. IX. 1. 1-10 or verses from Rg. IX), Rg. I. 24. 15, Rg. IV. 31. 1, Vāj S. IV. 36 (Varunasya), Rg. IV. 40. 5 and the Śrisūkta (of 29 verses

1465 शुद्धोमे तु आ कुण्जेनेत्यादिमन्त्राः सर्ववेदसाधारणाः पुराणीकत्वाद् । तथा च मत्स्यपुराणम् । आ कुण्जेनेति सूर्याय होमः कार्प्यो द्विजन्मना । .. केतुं कुण्वन्ति कुर्यात् केतुना-
मुपशान्तये ॥ अत एव भवदेवभट्टेनापि तथा लिखितम् ॥ उद्धाहृतम् (Jiv II p 126). The
मत्स्यपुराण verses quoted are 93. 33-37. The mantras are taken from the
Rgveda, Tai. S., Vāj S. What रघुनन्दन emphasizes is that whatever Veda
may be studied by a man and his family, he has to employ the mantras
specified by Matsya when he performs a *grāhahoma*.

1466. मृगपक्षिविकारेषु कुर्याद्धोमं सदाक्षिणम् । देवाः कपोत इति वा जतस्याः पञ्चानि-
द्विजैः ॥ मत्स्य 237. 13

beginning with 'Hiranyavarnām harinīm'). The Nārādiya-purāṇa (II. 73. 83-90) contains at end of each of the verses parts of vedic prayer, which occur in Rg. VII. 66. 16, Tai. Ār. IV. 4. 2-5 and Vāj. S. 36. 24; Bhāgavata I. 2. 21 (*bludyate* &c.) is taken from Mundaka Up. II. 2. 8.

The Purāṇas not only prescribe Vedic mantras for various purposes, but suggest the employment of numerous Paurāṇika mantras. It appears that Paurāṇika mantras came to be employed along with Vedic mantras in religious rites even of Brāhmanas at the beginning of the Christian era or within a few centuries after Christ Yāj. I. 229 prescribes that the Viśve Devas should be invited to come to a śrāddha with the rk, 'O Viśve-Devas! Come, listen to this my call, sit down on these *kuśas*' (Rg. II. 41. 13). On this the Mitākṣarā (about 1100 A. D.) remarks that along with the Vedic *mantra* mentioned by Yāj. a smārta *mantra* should also be employed viz. the *mantra*¹⁴⁶⁷ 'āgacchantu mahābhāgā,' which occurs in Skanda and Garudapurāṇa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 440 note 984 for the ascription of this verse to various authorities. The Vāyupurāṇa¹⁴⁶⁸ prescribes that the *mantra* 'adoration to the *devatās*, to *pitrs*, to the great Yogins, to *svadhā* and *svāhā*; they are always present' should be recited thrice at the beginning and at the end of śrāddha and at the time of offering *pinḍas*; the *pitrs* quickly come when the *mantra* is repeated and goblins run away; this *mantra* protects the *pitrs* in all three worlds'. This *mantra* is styled 'Saptārcis' (having seven flames) in Vāyu 74. 20, Brahmanāda III. 11. 30 and in Viśnudharmottara I. 140. 68 and by Hemādri on śrāddha pp. 1079 and 1208, who notes that it occurs in seven Purāṇas. In chap. 206 of the Agni in the procedure of offering *arghya* to the star Agastya (Canopus) Rg. I. 179. 6 has been adopted as verse 13.

1467 The मन्त्र is: आगच्छन्तु महाभागा विश्वेदेवा महाबलाः । ये यज्ञं विहिता. आदि सावधाना भवन्तु ते ॥. This is गृह्यसूत्राण I. 218. 7, but q. by अपरार्क on p. 478 from बृहस्पति and on p. 481 from ब्रह्मसूत्राण.

1468. The *mantra* is. देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च । नमः स्वादायै स्वादायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत ॥ वायु 74 15-16. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 458-459 note 1020 for all the verses in relation to this *mantra* and the purāṇas where they occur. In the printed ब्रह्माण्ड III 11. 17-18 the मन्त्र is देवताभ्यः...एव च । नमः स्वादायै स्वादायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत. Some read नित्यमेव नमो नमः. Tho सिता on या I. 121 says that this *mantra* should be employed by śūdras in all the five daily sacrifices according to some, while others said that the śūdra was only to utter the word नमः.

Not only are mantras from Vedīo Samhitās prescribed by the Purāṇas for certain rites, but Upaniṣad passages also sometimes with slight variance are bodily transferred into some of the Purāṇas. For example, Kūrma II. 9. 12, 13 and 18 embody Tai. Up. II. 4 (yato vāco nivartante), Śvetāśvatara-up. III. 8 (vedāham-etam puruṣam) and VI. 11 'eko devah'. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa VI. 5. 65 is 'dve vidye veditavye iti cātharvaṇi śrutiḥ' and contains a passage of the Mundaka Up. I.1.4 (vide note 1461 above). The Vāyu 20. 5 (pranavo dhanuḥ) and 20. 28 (Aṣṭm-ekām) are respectively Mundakop. II, 2. 4 and Śvetāśvatara-up. IV. 5. Vāyu 14. 13 (sarvataḥ pāṇipādāntam) is almost the same as Śvetāśvatara Up. III. 16 and Vāmana 47. 64-65 has the same verse. Vāmana 47. 67 is almost the same as Rg. I. 10. 1.

This gives rise to interesting questions. The sūtras had no right to study the Veda. But as a matter of fact the Purāṇas contain as exemplified above a good many Vedic mantras. It is stated in the Bhāgavata^{1468a} 'women, sūtras and brāhmanas in name only are beyond the pale of the three Vedas; therefore the sage (Vyāsa) composed through compassion for them the Bhārata tale'. The Devībhāgavata states 'study of the Veda

1468 a. श्रीशुद्धिजन्मधूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा । तस्माद्भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम् ॥ भागवत I. 4. 25 q. by परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 37, which remarks वेदकार्यकारित्वा-वामाद्भारतस्य वेदकार्यात्मज्ञानकारित्वसिद्धिः. श्रीशुद्धिजन्मधूनां न वेदश्रवणं मतम् । तेषामेव हितार्थाय पुराणानि कृतानि च । देवीभागवत I. 3. 21. शङ्कराचार्य is careful to point out on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 38 that sūtras have no *adhyākāra* for brahmayāgyā based on the study of the Veda. But he does not deny to the sūtras the knowledge of the Self altogether. He refers to the instances of Vidura and Dharmavyādha that were possessed of the knowledge of *brahma* due to the effects of their former lives, states that they would secure the result of brahma-jñāna (viz mokṣa, final liberation from *samsāra*), that sūtras have the right to learn from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas as stated in 'he should read to the four varṇas' and that in that way they might secure knowledge of *brahma* and mokṣa. "तेषां पुनः पूर्वकृतसंस्कारवशाद्विदुरधर्मव्याघ्रभृतीनां ज्ञानोत्पत्ति-स्तेषां न शक्यते फलप्राप्तिः प्रतिवेष्टुं ज्ञानस्यैकान्तिकफलत्वात् । 'आवयेच्चतुरो वर्णान्' इति चेतिहासपुराणाधिगमे चातुर्वर्ण्यस्याधिकारस्मरणात् । वेदपूर्वकस्तु नास्त्यधिकारः सूत्राणामिति स्थितम् ॥ भाष्य on वे. सू. I. 3. 38. On वे. सू. III, 4 36 शङ्कराचार्य refers to the woman वाचकनी as one who had the knowledge of *brahma* 'रैक-वाचकनी-भृतीनामेवैवभूतानामपि ब्रह्मविच्चक्षुस्तुल्येः. गार्गी वाचकनी figures as a great seeker after *brahma* in the Br. Up. III. 6. 1, III. 8. 1 and 12. The महाभारत says that what it dilates upon as to the सुवार्थः, धर्मः, अर्थः, काम and मोक्ष, is found elsewhere and that what it does not contain on those subjects can be found nowhere else and that the Mahābhārata should be listened to by him who desires mokṣa, by brāhmanas, kings and pregnant women (Svargārohana-parva 5. 50-51).

is not accepted for women, śūdras and brāhmanas in name only and Purāṇas are compiled for the purpose of benefitting them'. From this it follows that in the case of śūdras the listening to the Bhārata was deemed to bring about the same results that the Veda does for *dvijas* and that even the śūdra may acquire the knowledge of the Self (and mokṣa) from the Bhārata.

Though the brāhmanas in the 5th and following centuries A. D. wanted to placate the śūdras who were probably a majority of the whole people and to wean them away from Buddhism, they still kept a distinction between *dvijas* and *śūdras* and the only concessions made were that the śūdras could worship in the same way as *dvijas* did and that they could have mantras (Paurāṇika) in their rites and ceremonies. For example, in allowing *bhasma-snāna* (smearing ashes on the body) the Padma (IV. 110. 286-289) provides Vedic mantras for men of the three varṇas but Paurāṇika mantras only (Padma IV. 110. 290-293) for śūdras. The Padma¹⁴⁶⁹ further provides that śūdras could not perform *prāṇāyāma* or utter the sacred syllable 'om' but that they should substitute *dhyaṇa* in place of *prāṇāyāma* and 'Śiva' in place of 'om'.

Gradually in some matters the procedure provided in the Purāṇas came to supersede the ancient Vedic procedure prescribed for them. Aparārka states (on p. 14) that in Devapūjā one should follow the procedure prescribed in the Narasimhapurāṇa¹⁴⁷⁰ and the like and not the procedure of the Pāśupatas or Pāñcarātras and (on p. 15) he says the same about the consecration of temples,¹⁴⁷¹ images and the like.

The Narasimhapurāṇa (chap. 63 5-6) says that the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' enables one to secure all objects and *japa* of it frees a man from all sins and leads him to absorption into Viṣṇu.¹⁴⁷²

1469 माणायासश्च प्रणवः हृद्रेषु न विधीयते । माणायासपदे ध्यानं त्वित्योङ्कारवर्णनम् ॥ पद्म IV 110. 316.

1470 नरसिंहपु० chap. 62 deals with the procedure of विष्णुपूजा

1471 एव प्रतिष्ठापयामि पुराणाद्युक्तैवेति कर्तव्यता । ब्राह्म नान्या । तेषामेव ध्यामिश्रयः प्रमाणत्वेन भविष्यपुराणे परिज्ञातत्वात् । अपरार्क p. 15.

1472. किं तस्य बहुभिर्मन्त्रैः किं तस्य बहुभिर्भक्तैः । ओं नमो नारायणेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थसाधकः ॥ दुर्म मन्त्र जपेद्यस्तु शुचिर्भूत्वा समाहितः । सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो विष्णुसाधुजयमाप्नुयात् ॥ नरसिंहपु० 63 6-7, किं तस्य बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्भक्तिर्यस्य जनार्दने । नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थसाधकः । विष्णुर्येषा जयस्तेषां कुतस्तेषां पराजयः । येषामिन्द्रीवरक्षामो हृदयस्थो जनार्दनः ॥ वासनपु० 94. 58-59, the mss. say 'ओं नमो नारायणेति मूलमन्त्र उदाहृतः ॥'.

The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 218) describes the procedure of the king's coronation and (chapter 219) sets out the Paurāṇika mantras (about 70) employed at the coronation. Similarly, the Visnudharmottara (II. 21) describes the procedure of coronation with Vedic mantras and (in II. 22) with 184 Paurāṇika verses invoking various gods, minor deities, sages, rivers &c. Medieval digests like the Rājanītiprakāśa (pp 49-83), Nitimayūkha (pp. 1-4), Rājadharmakaustubha (pp 318-363) describe the combined coronation procedure of Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras from the Visnu-dharmottara (vide pp. 78-79 of the H. of Dh. vol. III. for details). The Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 430-433) prescribes numerous mantras derived from the Visnudharmottara as prayers and as blessings.

The Padmapurāṇa¹⁴⁷³ narrates the interesting story of a person called Dhanaśarmā whose father followed only the Vedic path (śrauta-mārga), who did not engage in such Paurāṇika prescriptions as Vaiśākhasnāna and who therefore became a horrible and distressed *preta*. Some of the verses are very interesting. 'I performed in my ignorance only Vedic rites and I never observed *Vaiśākhasnāna* in honour of God Mādhava (Visnu), nor observed a single Vaiśākha *Full Moon* vrata which is like an axe for cutting the tree of sins that afflicts one like a conflagration fed by the fuel of sinful deeds &c.; to one who studies many śāstras and several Vedas with their extensive ancillary Literature, learning does not come, if he has not studied Purāṇas'. This shows what importance came to be attached to Purāṇas not only for śūdras but even for brāhmanas who performed the Vedic rites prescribed for them.

The influence of the Purāṇas went on increasing gradually. At first it was said¹⁴⁷⁴ that the dharma understood from the Veda was the highest, while the dharma declared in the Purāṇas

1473. मया केवलमेवैकश्रौतमार्गमुत्सर्जितम् । उद्दिश्य माधवं देवं न स्नातं मासि माधवे ॥ वैदिकं केवलं कर्म कृतमज्ञानतो मया । पापेभ्यश्च दृष्ट्वा लापापद्रुमकुटारिका ॥ कृता नैकापि वैशाखी विधिना वत्स पुर्णिमा । अमृता यस्य वैशाखी सोऽवैशाख्यो भवेन्नरः । दश जन्मानि च स ततस्तिर्यग्योनिषु जायते ॥ पद्म IV. 94. 68. 88-90, बहुशालं समग्रस्य बहुत्वेदाच्च सविस्तरम् । ईदृशोऽश्रुतपुराणस्य न सन्त्यग्याति दर्शनम् ॥ पद्म IV, 105. 13.

1474 अतः स परमो धर्मो यो वेदादधिगम्यते । अवरं स तु विज्ञेयो यः पुराणादिषु स्मृतः ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 9, हे on ब्रत I p 22, परिभाषायकाक्ष p 29. The कु र. p. 39 reads 'अपरः स तु विज्ञेयो'. It may be noted that while अपरार्क read अवरः (inferior), the कु र. (about two centuries later than अपरार्क) reads अपरः (another).

and the like was *inferior*. This gradually changed and dharma was said to be of three kinds, Vaidika, Tāntrika and Mīśra and it was said in the Bhāgavata¹⁴⁷⁵ and the Padma that one may worship god Viṣṇu in any one of the three ways that one desired. The Padma adds that the Vaidika and Mīśra methods are declared to be proper for brāhmanas and the like, while the Tāntrika method of worship is meant for a devotee of Viṣṇu and also for śūdras. The Devībhāgavata (XI. 1. 21-23) states that Śruti (Veda) and Smṛti are the eyes of dharma and Purāṇa its heart, and that that is dharma which is declared by these three and that *dharma* can be found nowhere else than in these, that in Purāṇas sometimes what is found in Tantras is put forward as dharma, but one should not accept that.

The Bhaviṣya (Brāhmaparva I, 43-47) in a dialogue between Śatānika and Sumantu first enumerates the 18 dharma-śāstras from Manu to Atri, states that the Vedas, the śāstras of Manu and others and the angas are promulgated for the three varṇas and not for the benefit of śūdras, that śūdras appear to be very much helpless; how can they be able to secure the four *puruṣārthas*? They are devoid of āgama (traditional lore); what traditional lore was declared for them by the wise among the brāhmanas for enabling them to secure the three viz. dharma, artha and kāma? Sumantu replies:¹⁴⁷⁶ listen to the Dharma-śāstras that were declared by wise men for the benefit of all four varṇas and specially for śūdras viz. the 18 Purāṇas, the life of Rāma of the Raghu race (i. e. the Rāmāyana) and the Bhārata

1475 वैदिकस्तात्त्रिको मिश्र इति ते त्रिविधो मखः । त्रयाणामीप्सितेनैव विधिना मा समर्चयेत् ॥ भागवत XI 27. 7, q by नित्याचारपद्धति p 510, पद्म (IV. 90. 3-4) reads वैदिक* और्विण्णोस्त्रिविधो मखः । त्रयाणामुदितेनैव विधिना हरिमर्चयेत् ॥ वैदिको मिश्रको वापि विभादीनामुदाहृतः । तान्त्रिको विष्णुभक्तस्य शूद्रस्यापि प्रकीर्तितः ॥ Vide अग्निपुरा 372. 34 for almost the same words as in भागवत. Compare बृहदारण्यकस्मृति 11 77 'औतस्मात्तगमैर्विण्णोस्त्रिविधं पूजन् स्मृतम् । एतच्छ्रौतं ततः स्मार्तं पौरुषेण च यस्मृतम्' ॥

1476 चतुर्णामपि वर्णानां यानि मोक्षानि श्रेयसे । धर्मशास्त्राणि राजेन्द्र शृणु तानि नृपोत्तम ॥ विशेषतश्च शूद्राणां पावनानि मनीषिभिः ॥ अष्टादश पुराणानि चरितं राघवस्य च । रामस्य कुरुशार्ङ्गल धर्मकार्यसिद्धये । तथोक्तं भारतं वीर पाराशर्येण धीमता । वेदार्थं सकलं योज्यं धर्मशास्त्राणि च भभो । कृपालुना कृतं शास्त्रं चतुर्णामिह श्रेयसे । वर्णानां भवमशानां कृतं पोतो ह्यनुत्तमम् । भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 1 53-57, आ किं कौ p. 66 quotes the verses अष्टादश धीमता The भागवत also says that the whole meaning of the Veda was put forward under the name Bhārata, in which even women and śūdras find what *dharma* is. 'भारतस्यपदेशेन ह्यग्रायार्थश्च दर्शितः । दृश्यते यत्र धर्माविस्तीर्णश्चादिभिर्न्युत ॥ भागवत I 4 29. Vide, above p 870 and note 1408 about the lack of antiquity in the case of this passage from Bhaviṣya (Brāhmaparva),

declared by Parāśara's son (Vyāsa), the compassionate Vyāsa composed a śāstra for the benefit of all four varnas in which he comprehended the entire meaning of the Veda and the Dharmaśāstras; it is an unparalleled boat for all that are engulfed in *samsāra*. This makes it clear that the Purānas, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana embody pristine traditions and thoughts and were deemed to have been composed as the instruments of the education and enlightenment of the common people. As a matter of fact we find that some Purānas like Agni, Matsya, Viśṇu, and Bhāṣya are encyclopaedic and include treatises on politics and government, on law, medicine, astronomy, astrology, poetry, music, sculpture &c. They illustrate India's life and character as a country and exemplify Bhārata's achievements, weaknesses and shortcomings. Two questions that arise are: (1) could the Purānas including the Vedic mantras quoted therein be read by the śūdras themselves; (2) supposing that Vedic mantras could not be read by the śūdras, could they, if they were able to do so, by themselves read the purānas without a brāhmana's help. All writers of digests and commentaries were agreed that śūdras could not read or listen to the Vedic mantras contained in the Purānas (which being meant for the benefit of all varnas contained Vedic mantras also), but only those that belonged to the three upper classes. Some writers, however, were agreeable to śūdras reciting Paurāṇika mantras in religious rites, relying on a passage of the Padmapurāṇa. But others like Kamalākaraḥ, author of the Nirṇayasindhu and Śūdrakamalākara, held relying on verses of the Bhaviṣya that Paurāṇika mantras alone were to be used by a brāhmana in a religious rite for a śūdra, that the śūdra was only to listen to the reading of a purāṇa by a brāhmana reader. There was a third view held by Śrīdatta and others that a śūdra could recite a paurāṇika mantra, but he should not himself read the Purānas and should only listen to the reading of Purānas by a brāhmana. In the times of the Dharmaśāstras the only mantras employed were mostly Vedic and therefore in the case of śūdras Gautama¹⁴⁷⁷ provided that the śūdras were allowed the alternative of saying 'namah' in place of a Vedic mantra. In the centuries preceding Christ the śūdras would naturally have been attracted to Buddha's teaching as it was addressed to all including śūdras. Comparatively early orthodox writers like

1477. अद्वैतालोचन नमस्कारो मन्त्रः, ११०. X. 66; compare the quotation from the Padma in note 1469 p. 922.

Kumārila knew that the śūdras formed the largest number of professed Buddhists when he says¹⁴⁷⁸ 'the dicta of Śākya and others were all opposed, except a few relating to self-restraint, charity and the like, to all the fourteen sources of learning, were promulgated by Buddha and others that had strayed from the path of the three Vedas and did acts contrary (to the Veda) and that those dicta were presented by them to those who were deluded, who were outside the pale of the three Vedas, who mostly comprised the 4th varṇa (i. e. śūdra) and those that had lost caste'. Therefore, the learned brāhmaṇas who wanted to wean sections of the masses (including śūdras) away from Buddhist teachings composed new Paurāṇika mantras by the thousand and employed them in all religious rites like śrāddhas, vrataś &c. It was, therefore, that earlier *mbandha* writers like Śrīdatta were prepared to allow śūdras to recite Paurāṇika¹⁴⁷⁹ mantras. But when centuries had elapsed after Buddhism had disappeared from India, orthodox brāhmaṇa writers like Kamalākara¹⁴⁸⁰ (who wrote his N. S. in 1612 A. D.) showed a stiffer attitude by confining śūdras merely to the listening to Purāṇas read by a brāhmaṇa and by not allowing them even to recite a Paurāṇika mantra. It may be noted that the Nara-simhapurāṇa in laying down the duties of śūdras provides that they should listen to the reading of purāṇas by a brāhmaṇa

1478. शाक्यादियचनानि तु कतिपयदमदानादियचनवर्जं सर्वाण्येव समस्तचतुर्दशविद्या-
स्थानविरुद्धानि त्रयीमार्गव्युत्थितविरुद्धाचरण्यश्च बुद्धादिभिः प्रणीतानि । त्रयीवाद्येभ्यश्चतुर्थ-
वर्णनिस्वसितमायेभ्यो व्यामृद्ध्यै समर्पितानीति न वेदमूलत्वेन सम्भाव्यन्ते । तन्त्रवार्तिके on जे.
I. 3. 4 p. 195 (Ānaṇ). The 14 विद्यास्थानाः are enumerated in या I 3 quoted
above and in भविष्य (ब्राह्मण 2 6) Four more विद्यास्थानाः are sometimes
added, viz आनुवंदी धनुर्वेदी गान्धर्वश्चैव ते चयः । अर्थज्ञास चतुर्थं तु विद्या द्वादशैव ता. ॥
भविष्य (ब्राह्मण) 2 7 and विष्णुपुरा III. 6 28 This verse and अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारः
(विष्णु III. 6. 27) are quoted by कल्पतरु (ब्राह्मचारि p 2) and by हे on व्रत vol. I.
p. 18 and कृ २ p. 27 For निस्वसित meaning चरिष्यन्त, वदो पाणिनि 'बुद्धाणाम-
निरसितानाम्' II. 4 10 and the महाभाष्य thereon

1479. अत्र केचित् । वेदिकमन्त्रो विमस्य पौराणस्तु शूद्रेः पठनीयः - न हि वेदेभ्य-
कारः कश्चिच्छूद्रस्य दृश्यते । पुराणेष्वधिकारो मे दर्शितो ब्राह्मणैरिव - इति तत्रैव पात्रोक्त-
रित्याहुः । गोडा अप्येवम् । नि. सि. p. 392.

1480. अध्येतव्यं ब्राह्मणेन वेदेन सन्निधेयं च । श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन ।
श्रौतं स्मार्तं च वै धर्मं प्रोक्तमस्मिन्द्वयोक्तम् । तस्माच्छूद्रेणास्मिन् श्रोतव्यं कदाचनेति तत्रैव
पुराणव्याख्यारे भविष्योक्तेश्च । * तेन पौराणमन्त्राणामेव विधिं पाठेन न वेदिकानामिति सिद्धम् ।
नि. सि. p. 392 The printed भविष्य (ब्राह्मण) I. 72-74 are अध्येतव्यं न चान्येन
ब्राह्मणेन सन्निधेयं विना । श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन । "श्रौतं स्मार्तं "कदाचन ॥
These are q. by आ. कि. की. p. 76. पुराणमन्त्राणामेव विधिं पठेत्तदस्य पूजनम् । नरसिंह-
पुराण 58. 13

(reader) and should worship Narasimha (*avatāra* of Viṣṇu). The relation of Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇas and their spheres of application are summed up in the Nāradyapurāṇa as follows:—
 “The Veda exists in different forms; there is the Veda which has the performance of sacrificial rites (as its sphere); smṛtis are the Veda for the householder's stage; both those are centered in (or supported by) the Purāṇas. Just as this wonderful world sprang from the ancient Being (God), there is no doubt that all this literature arose from the Purāṇas. I hold that the meaning (or purpose) of the Purāṇas is more extensive (or superior to) than the meaning (or purpose) of the Veda. All the Vedas always rest on the Purāṇas; the Veda is afraid of the man of little learning (with the thought that) that man may harm it. The Veda does not deal with the movements of the planets, nor does it contain correct calculations about the proper times (for religious acts), nor does it deal with the *tithyṛdāhi* or *tithiksaya*, nor with the determination of the *parvans* (*amāvāsyā*, *pūrṇimā* &c.) or eclipses. Determinations about these were formerly made in Itihāsa and Purāṇas. What is not seen in the Vedas is all noticed in the Smṛtis; what is not seen in both is declared in the Purāṇas. What is declared by the Vedas and what is declared by the auxiliary lores—it is Veda that is declared by Smṛtis and Purāṇas. The person who looks upon Purāṇas in any other light would be born as a lower animal’.¹⁴⁸¹ The Nāradyapurāṇa¹⁴⁸² further states ‘the merit acquired by those wicked men who speak about Purāṇas as *artharūdas* (mere laudatory¹⁴⁸³ or condemnatory statements) are destroyed and

1481. शृणु मोहिनि मद्वाक्यं वेदोऽयं बहुधा स्थितः । यज्ञकर्मक्रिया वेदः स्मृतिर्वेदो
 यथाश्रमे ॥ स्मृतिर्वेदः क्रियानेदः पुराणेषु प्रतिष्ठितः । पुराणपुराणाज्जातं यथेदं जगद्वृत्तम् ॥ तथेदं
 वाङ्मयं जातं पुराणेषु न संशयः । वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं वरानने ॥ वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे
 पुराणेष्वेव सर्वदा । विभेद्यल्पश्रुताद्देवो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥ न वेदे ग्रहसञ्चारो न शुद्धिः काल-
 बोधिनी । तिथिवृद्धिः क्षयो वापि पूर्वग्रहविनिर्णयः ॥ इतिहासपुराणस्तु निश्चयोऽयं कृतः पुरा । यज्ञ
 दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तत्सर्वं लक्ष्यते स्मृतौ ॥ उभयोर्यज्ञ दृष्टं हि तत्पुराणे । प्रणीयते । “यद्देवैर्गीयते सुभ्रु
 उपाङ्गैर्यज्मनीयते ॥ पुराणैः स्मृतिभिश्चैव वेद एव निगद्यते । पुराणमन्यथा मत्वा तिर्यग्योनिमवाप्नु-
 यात् ॥ नारदीयपुराण II 24. 15-24 Some of these verses (such as वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः
 “मामयं चालिष्यति and यज्ञ दृष्टं “गीयते) occur in स्कन्द, प्रभासखण्ड, 2 90-92

1482. पुराणेष्वर्थवादेऽयं ये वदन्ति नराधमाः । तैरर्जितानि पुण्यानि क्षयं यान्ति द्विजो-
 त्तमाः । समस्तकर्मनिर्मुक्तसाधनानि नराधमाः । पुराणाण्यर्थवादेन (पुराणाण्यर्थवादेन) ब्रुवन्
 नरकमश्नुते ॥ नारदीय I 1 57-59.

1483 The great अर्थवादाधिकरण is जै I. 2. 1-18. There are Vedic
 passages like ‘सोऽरोदीद्यदरोदीत्तमुद्रस्य यद्वल्म’ (तै सं I. 5 1 1), ‘स आत्मनो
 वपाद्दक्षिणदत्’ (तै. सं. II, 1 1), ‘देवा वै देवयजनमध्यवसायं दिशो न प्राजानन्’ (तै. सं.
 (Continued on next page)

the wicked man who regards as *arthavādas* the Purāṇas that are the means of uprooting (the evil effects of) all acts, reaches Hell'.

The Purāṇas introduced several striking changes in the religious rites, practices and ideals of the people. The most characteristic thought and the keynote of the Purāṇas is to declare how great rewards and results could be secured with little effort. The Visṇupurāṇa (VI. 2) narrates how sages approached Vyāsa with the question 'in what age does a little *dharma* yield very great rewards'? Vyāsa was bathing in the Ganges; he came out, uttered 'śūdra is good and Kali is good' and then again plunged into the river; then he again came out and said 'well done, O śūdra! you are blessed'; he again plunged into the river, came out and said 'women are good and blessed; who is more blessed than they'. When he finished his bath and performed his morning rites, the sages asked him to explain what he meant by calling Kali, śūdras and women good and blessed. He replied: 'a man secures in a single day and night in Kali age as much reward of *tapas*, celibacy and *japa* as is obtained in ten years in Kṛta age, in one year in Tretā and in a month in Dvāpara; therefore, I spoke of Kali as good; in Kali age a man secures merely by the glorification or incessant repetition of the name of Keśava what he would secure by deep meditation in Kṛta, by sacrifices in Tretā, and by worship in Dvāpara; I am pleased with Kali because a man secures great eminence of *dharma* with a little effort. Persons of the three higher varṇas have to study the Vedas after observing many strict rules, then they have to perform sacrifices which require wealth, they incur sin if they do not perform their duties properly; they cannot eat and drink as they please, but are dependent on the observance of many rules as to food &c.; dvijas secure higher worlds after great trouble; the śūdra secures his worlds by serving the three varṇas, he has the right to offer the *pākayajñas* (without mantras) and therefore he is more blessed than a dvija. He has not to observe strict rules about proper and disallowed food or drink and therefore he was

(Continued from last page)

VI 1 5 1), 'तस्मिन् ब्रह्महत्यां योऽप्यनेधेन यजते' (तै सं V. 3 12 2), 'न वृथिभ्या-
नग्निव्येतयो नान्नरिक्षे न दिवि। तै सं V. 2 7. The question is are these passages
to be taken literally or do they convey any meaning? The reply is. 'विधिना
श्लेषवाक्यत्वात् स्तुत्यर्थेन विधिना स्युः' (तै I 2 7) i. e. they are laudatory and
are meant to praise vidhīs.

declared 'good' by me. A woman by serving her husband in thought, word, and deed secures with less trouble the same worlds that her husband secures with great effort and trouble and therefore I said a third time about women that they were blessed. The acquisition of *dharma* is secured with small trouble in Kali age by men who wash off all their sins by the water in the form of the qualities of their soul; śūdras do the same by being intent on service to dvijas and women also secure the same without trouble by service to their husbands. Therefore all these three are regarded by me as most blessed.¹⁴⁸⁴ The Brahmapurāṇa chapter 229 verses 62-80 are identical with Viṣṇu-purāṇa VI, 2. 15-30 and 34-36. The Viṣṇupurāṇa emphasizes that each one must do one's duty in the society in which one is born or one's duty which one has undertaken, that, if a person does this, he reaches the same higher worlds, whether he be a brāhmaṇa or a śūdra. This doctrine is the same as taught in the Bhagavadgītā¹⁴⁸⁵ 18. 45 and 46 'a person secures the highest perfection (final emancipation) by being intent on carrying out the duties appropriate to him; man secures perfection (or bliss) by worshipping with the performance of his peculiar duties (not with flowers and the like or by words) Him from whom all beings proceed and by whom all this (world) is enveloped'. Ancient works like the Vedas, Jaimini's sūtras on Mīmāṃsā and the Vedāntasūtras did not consider or discuss how women or śūdras were to secure higher spiritual life and final Beatitude. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 34-38) denies to the śūdra the right to study the Veda and the Upanisads. Buddha's teaching held out the same promise of liberation from suffering

1484 Some of the verses are striking and they are therefore quoted here : ध्यायच्छ्रुते यज्ययज्ञैश्चेतायां ह्यापरेऽर्चयन् । यद्दामोति तद्दामोति कलौ संकीर्त्य केशवम् ॥ धर्मोक्तिर्धर्मतीव्रान् प्रामोति पुरुषः कलौ । अल्पायासेन धर्मज्ञास्तेन तुष्टोऽस्म्यहं कलैः ॥ ...जयन्ति ते निर्जालोकाश्च क्लेशेन महता हिजाः ॥ द्विजशुश्रूषयैव पाकयज्ञाधिकारवान् । निजाश्रयति वै लोकान् शुद्धो धन्यतरस्ततः ॥ भव्याभक्ष्येषु नास्यास्ति पेयापेयेषु वै यतः । नियमो मुनिशार्दूल-सेनासौ साध्वितोरितः । ...योविच्छुश्रूषणाद्भर्तुः कर्मणा मनसा गिरा । तद्धिता शुभमामोति तत्सा-लोक्यं यतो हिजा ॥ नोतिक्लेशेन महता तानेव पुरुषो यथा । तुलीयं व्याहृतं तेन मया साध्विति योषितः ॥ ...स्वरूपेन हि प्रयत्नेन धर्मः सिध्यति वै कलौ । नरैरात्मशुणाम्भोमि. क्षालितास्त्रि-कलिवयैः ॥ शुद्धैश्च द्विजशुश्रूषा तत्परैर्द्विजसत्तमा । तथा स्त्रीभिरनायासात् पतिशुश्रूषयैव हि । ततस्त्रितयमप्येतन्मम धन्यतरं मतम् । धर्मसम्पादने क्लेशो हिजातीना कृतादिषु ॥ विष्णुसू. VI 2. 17-18, 22-24, 28-28, 34-36. The कल्पतरु (यहस्थकाण्ड pp 272-273) quotes from विष्णु VI 3. 22-24 पारतन्त्र्य...रितः (तम् v. 1.). The editor of कल्पतरु was unable to trace these

1485 स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः । ...यतः प्रवृत्तिर्धृतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् । स्वकर्मणा तमग्यर्च्यं सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥ भगवद्गीता 18. 45-46.

to all men irrespective of class or caste and was therefore most attractive to śūdras. The Bhagavadgītā and the Purāṇas changed the whole outlook of Indian society, high or low, and promised the same higher spiritual life or worlds to all who did their work under a sense of social duty, did not hanker after mundane rewards and brought all their actions, in whatever avocation they might be engaged, as an offering to God. In the Padmapurāṇa,¹⁴⁸⁶ Vyāsa is made to say to Yudhisthira: "It is not possible to observe in the Kali age the rules of Dharma laid down by Manu and by the Vedas; the one thing which one should do is to observe a fast on Ekādaśī in both fortnights (of a month), which is an easy means (that) requires little wealth, that entails little trouble, but yields great rewards, that is the very essence (of the teachings) of all Purāṇas; he should be pure and on Dvādaśī after worshipping Keśava with flowers he should first feed brāhmanas and then himself take his meal; those who desire to secure heaven should perform this vrata throughout their lives; even persons of evil conduct, the greatest sinners devoid of dharma, do not go to Yama (do not fall into hell) if they fast on Ekādaśī." The Sūtasamhitā states 'effort for acquiring true knowledge (of the Self) is meant for all (for persons even lower than śūdras), that effort made by explaining in a different language (than Sanskrit) and by the lapse of enough time will tend to the good (of the lowest)'. This clearly shows how the Purāṇas put before all people easy ways whereby they could attain bliss in the Hereafter.

The Baud¹⁴⁸⁷ Dh. S., Manu and Vasistha emphasize that one should not invite a large company of brāhmanas at a śrāddha, because a large company destroys these five (advantages) viz showing proper respect to invitees, propriety of place and time, cleanliness and the securing of worthy brāhmanas and

1486. वेदव्यास उवाच । श्रुता ये मानवा धर्मा वैदिकाश्च श्रुतास्त्वया । कलौ युगे न ज्ञायन्ते ते ये कर्तुं नराणि ॥ सुश्रोपायमल्पधनमल्पश्र्मं महाफलम् । पुराणां च सर्वेषां सारभूतं महान्तम् ॥ एकादश्या न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोऽभयोरपि । द्वादश्यां तु शुचिर्भूत्वा पुन्यैः संपूज्य केशवम् ॥ भुञ्जीत कृतकृत्यस्तु पश्चाद्विप्रैः सरम् । ... यावज्जीवं व्रतमिदं कर्तव्यं पुण्यपूर्वम् । स्वर्गं हि प्राप्नुमिच्छन्ति ते न नास्ति संशयः ॥ अपि पापदुराचाराः पापिष्टा धर्मव्रजिताः । एकादश्या न भुञ्जन्ति न ते यान्ति यमस्तिक्रमः ॥ पद्म VI 53 4-9. These verses are quoted as from महाभारत by वै. on व्रत vol. I p 1089. Vide p 44 note 108 above for some of these verses, अन्येषामपि सर्वेषां ज्ञानाभ्यासो विधीयते । भाष्यान्तरेण कालेन तेषां सोऽप्युपकारकः ॥ सूतसंहिता I 7. 22.

1487 संहिता देशकालो च शौचं ब्राह्मणसम्पदः । पथैतान् तिस्रो हन्ति तस्माज्जेत निस्तरम् ॥ मनु III 26, कर्मपुराण II 22, 27, वी न च II 4 30, वसिष्ठ XI. 28 (the last two read the 4th pāda as 'तस्मान्न परिवर्जयेत्')

it was further provided by the Anuśāsana-parva¹⁴⁸⁸ and others that one should not go deep into examining the learning, family and character of brāhmanas in a rite for the gods, but in rites for the Manes close examination as to these matters is proper (or justified). The Purāṇas went against both these prescriptions. They are not tired of recommending again and again profuse expense in śrāddhas and condemning stinginess (lit. rogishness in spending money) in śrāddhas and also in such other matters as the observances of Ekādaśī. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa¹⁴⁸⁹ quotes nine verses (III. 14 22-30) as uttered by the pīṭrs, two of which may be translated here 'Would that a wise and blessed person be born in our family who not indulging in stinginess in spending wealth will offer pindas to us and who would donate to brāhmanas for our sake jewels, clothes, a large conveyance, wealth and all enjoyments if he has riches'. Padma¹⁴⁹⁰ recommends that avoiding stinginess brings pleasure to the pīṭrs. The Matsya (56. 11) prescribes that one should not show stinginess in the Kṛsnāstamivṛata. The Padma says that that bad man who being possessed of wealth celebrates the *jāgara* on Ekādaśī in a close-fisted way loses his soul. The Brahmapurāṇa¹⁴⁹¹ says in a general way that whoever does a religious act with stinginess is a sinner.

Manu (III. 149) provides that 'in rites in honour of gods one who knows dharma should not critically examine the brāhmanas to be invited for dinner, but in a rite for ancestors one should carefully investigate (the fitness of) brāhmanas'. This does not mean that in rites for gods any one may be invited. We have to observe the general rule of Manu (III. 128) that donors should give only to a man who has studied the Veda

1488. ब्राह्मणान् परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित् । दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु न्याय्यमाहुः परीक्षणम् ॥ अष्टाशतन 90 2, q. by हे on आह p 511. दैवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत । यत्नान्पित्र्ये परीक्षेत । विष्णुधर्मसू 82 1-2, न ब्राह्मणान् परीक्षेत सदा दैवे तु मानवः । दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये च श्रूयते वै परीक्षणम् । बायु 83. 51.

1489. अपि धन्यः कुले जायादस्माकं मतिमाह्वरः । अकुर्वन् वित्तशास्त्रं यः पिण्डाहो निर्वापिष्यति ॥ रत्नं वर्षं महायानं सर्वभोगादिकं वस्तु । विभवे सति विभेभ्यो योऽस्माद्विद्ध्य दास्यति ॥ विष्णु III. 14. 22-23, वराह 13. 50-51 (reads सर्वं तोषादिकं वस्तु). All the following seven verses are the same in both पुराणस. Verses III. 14 24-30 are q. by आ क्रि. कौ pp. 253-254 and are also explained.

1490. वित्तशास्त्रेण रहितः पितृभ्यः श्रीतिमाह्वरः । पञ्च I. 9. 181; धनवान् वित्तशास्त्रेण यः करोति प्रजागरम् । तेनात्मा हारितो दूतं कितवेन दुरात्मना ॥ पञ्च VI 39. 21.

1491. वित्तशास्त्रेण यो धर्मं करोति स तु पातकी । ब्रह्म 123, 174.

dinner in rites for gods or pitrs. So what Manu III. 149 means is that deep investigation of ancestry &c. is not necessary in rites for gods.

It is provided by the Vāyu¹⁴⁹² that there is to be no examination of the qualities and character of the brāhmanas at Gayā and the Varāhapurāṇa provides that all brāhmanas of Mathurā are like gods and that a brāhmana of Mathurā not knowing even a *ṛk* verse is superior to a brāhmana of another place that has studied the four Vedas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 579, 670 for details of Gayā and Mathurā brāhmanas. The Padmapurāṇa and the Skanda (Kāśikhaṇḍa 6. 56-57) recommend that at tīrthas (sacred places) one should not engage in investigation (of the worth) of brāhmanas, and that Manu declares that brāhmanas appearing (at a tīrtha) and desiring food should be fed.¹⁴⁹³

It is not unlikely that the above passages from the Vāyu, Varāha and Padma are later interpolations. When Buddhism was flourishing large companies of Buddhist monks were fed by the people. When Buddhism declined and disappeared from India after the 12th or 13th century A. D. people came to believe that there was great merit in feeding poor brāhmanas just as in former times people fed monks and the Purāṇas might have only echoed and emphasized the general sentiments of the people. If the people in general had not come to believe in this, the author feels that no amount of interpolations or insistence by the so-called crafty brāhmanas would have been effective. Writers, Western or Indian, that, relying on the notions current in the 19th and 20th centuries, pass severe and unmeasured strictures on the provisions for brāhmanas in the Purāṇas do great injustice to the authors of Purāṇas that flourished about a thousand years ago or more. Such writers should compare Indian medieval conditions, ideas and doings of brāhmanas with the claims of the Popes, Christian priests, Inquisitions and the state of monastic Orders in Europe from about the 10th century A. D. to the 15th century. In comparison it would be

1492. न पिचार्यं कुलं शीलं मित्रं च तप एव च । एतैर्लोकैस्तु राजेन्द्र युक्तिं मानसि
मानसः ॥ वायु 82. 27, अहमं नाहुरो यत्र चतुर्दशवापरः । वेदेष्वतुर्भिर्न च भ्यान्नाहुरेण सप्तः
कचित् ॥ ...नहुराया ये धमन्ति निष्कुरुता हि ते नराः ॥ ब्राह्म 165. 55 and 57.

1493. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथंचन । अत्रादिनमनुयात भोज्यं ते मनुस्मृतौ ॥
पत्र V. 29. 212. The first half is q. by आ. कि. को. from ब्रह्मपुराण on p. 34
and from देवीपुराण on p. 266.

found that the conditions in Europe were terribly worse than in India in those centuries.¹⁴⁹⁴

As a consequence of the abovementioned dominating principle the Purānas strongly recommend *dāna* (gifts, particularly of food), pilgrimages and baths in sacred waters, *vratas*, *ahimsā*, *bhakti*, repetition of the name of god, *śrāddhas* &c. These will be briefly illustrated below.

The Purānas institute a comparison between solemn Vedic sacrifices on the one hand and pilgrimages and baths at sacred places on the other. The *Vanaparva*¹⁴⁹⁵ contrasts the two as follows, "the solemn sacrifices promulgated by the sages cannot be accomplished by a poor man; sacrifices require many implements and a collection of various materials, which are secured by kings or sometimes by rich men, but not by poor men who have to rely on themselves alone, who have no helpers and who do not possess means. Going to holy places confers merit and surpasses sacrifices. One does not secure that reward by such sacrifices as *Agnietoma*, in which profuse fees are distributed, which is secured by repairing to sacred places." Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 561-564 for further encomiums of sacred places and the virtues to be cultivated for reaping the full merit of pilgrimages.

In pursuance of the same dominant principle the *Anuśāsana-parva* and Purānas extol fasts and *vratas*. The *Anuśāsana-*

1494. For the barbarities and abominations in every European country of the Inquisition, particularly in Spain, one may read W. H. Rieu's 'History of the Inquisition' (1868), particularly pp. 298-314 on 'Inquisition in Goa' and Rafael Sabatini's work on 'Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition' (8th ed. in 1937), 'the Spanish Inquisition' by Prof. A. S. Turberville (Home University Library, 1932), who is constrained to say on p. 235 that at the best the Holy Office in Spain has a terrible record of destruction; Cambridge Medieval History vol. VI, chap. XX on 'Heresies and the Inquisition in the Middle Ages' (1929) pp. 699-726. Cambridge Medieval History vol. VI, pp. 694-695 where it is shown that 'Indulgences' (granting forgiveness of sins and a certificate of entry in Paradise) were freely put on sale by the highest ministers of the Christian Church in the hands of licensed traders without the necessity of any confession and penitence and that they became a formidable bar to the proper working of the penitential system of the Church.

1495. तीर्थयात्रिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विशिष्यते। वनपर्व 82 17, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 561 n 1263 for the whole passage.

parva¹⁴⁹⁶ (107 5-6) remarks that fasts are equal to sacrifices in the matter of rewards. They are put forward as superior to sacrifices in Padma.¹⁴⁹⁷ It says: Visnuvrata is super-eminent; a hundred Vedic sacrifices are not equal to it, by performing a sacrifice one may go to heaven, but one who observes the Kārti-kayrata goes to Vaikuntha (the world of Visnu). For the exaggerated importance attached to fasts and vratas, vide pp. 43-45 above.

First *dāna*. High eulogies of gifts have been sung from the Rgveda downwards. The subject of *dāna* (gifts) in all its aspects has been dealt with in the H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 837-888. The Mahābhārata in numerous places (particularly in the whole of Anuśāsana-parva) and the Purānas such as Matsya chap. 82-92 and 274-289, Agni chap. 208-213, Varāha 99-111, Padma V. 21. 81-213 (which agree almost verbatim with Matsya 83-92), Padma II. 39-40 and 94, III 24, Kūrma II. 26 devote a great deal of space to the subject of *dānas*. But here only two topics in relation to gifts will be dealt with, viz. gifts of food and gifts to brāhmanas. The Rgveda condemns the person as merely a sinful one who does not offer food to the gods nor to his friends and uses it only to fill his own belly.¹⁴⁹⁸ The Ait. Br and the Tai¹⁴⁹⁹ Br. speak of 'food' as 'prāna' (life). The Baud¹⁵⁰⁰ Dh. S. states "all beings depend on food, the Veda says 'food is life,' therefore food should be given (to others), food is the highest offering". Manu¹⁵⁰¹ and Visnu Dh. S. state 'the man who cooks food only for his own sake (and not for offering to gods and men) eats merely sin'. The Bhagavadgītā carries the same message 'those who eat food left after offering in sacrifice are freed from all sins, but those who cook food for their sake alone eat sin'. The Padma has a fine passage 'those who always feed the cripple, the blind, children, old men, persons that are dis-

1496. इदमङ्गिरसा भोक्तुमुपवासफलात्मकम् । विधिं यज्ञफलैस्तुल्यं तन्निबोध शुचिष्ठिर ॥ अशुश्रासन 107 5-6

1497. ओष्ठ विष्णुव्रतं विप्र तत्तुल्या न शतं मखा । कृत्वा क्रतुं ब्रजेत्सर्वं वैकुण्ठं कार्त्तिक-व्रती ॥ पञ्च III. 21 29. The same idea is repeated in पञ्च VI. 96 25.

1498. मोघमर्लं बिन्दते अपचेता सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तरय । नार्यमणं दुष्यति नो सखाय केवलायो भवति केवलादी ॥ ऋ X 117. 6.

1499. अन्न प्राणमन्नमपानमाहु । ते वा II. 8. 8. 3. अन्नं ह प्राणः । ऐ वा 33. 1 in the fifth gāthā recited by नारद.

1500. अन्ने श्रितानि भूतानि अन्नं प्राणमिति श्रुतिः । तस्मादन्नं प्रदातव्यमन्नं हि परमं हविः ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 68.

1501. अथ स केवलं शृङ्गे यः पचत्पात्मकारणात् । मनु. III. 118, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 67.43,

eased, helpless and pinched by penury, always enjoy bliss in heaven; there is no end to the merit (accumulated) by constructing wells and tanks, where aquatic animals and others moving on land drink water when they desire, for water is the life of living beings and life is centred in water'. The distribution of food particularly to learned brāhmanas is highly praised in *Brahma-purāṇa*¹⁵⁰² 218, 10-32, *Padma V.* 19. 289-307m, *Agni* 211. 44-46. 'The gift of food is superior to all gifts; food is the life of men, from food spring all beings; the worlds are dependent on food, therefore food is praised; man secures heaven by the gift of food; a person who joyfully gives food acquired by just means to brāhmanas deeply learned in the Veda is released from all sins' says *Brahma*. The *Agnipurāṇa* says 'The gifts of elephants, horses, chariots, male and female slaves and houses do not come up even to a sixteenth part of the gift of food (in merit), a person who committing a great sin afterwards distributes food becomes free from all sins and secures everlasting worlds' (211. 44-46). The *Kūrma*¹⁵⁰³ prescribes 'a man should give to a brahmacārin (Vedic student) food every day (i. e. when he comes begging), thereby he becomes free from all sins and reaches the abode of *Brahmā*'. Similarly, *Padma* calls upon house-holders to give as much cooked food to ascetics as would fill the begging bowl. From very ancient times a householder was called upon to perform five *Yajñas* (sacrifices) daily, two of which were *Baliharana* and honouring a guest (*Manu* III. 70) and he was to place food on the ground for persons who had lost caste, who suffered from loathsome diseases, to cāṇḍālas, dogs, crows and even insects¹⁵⁰⁴ (*Āp. Dh S* II. 4. 9. 5, *Manu* III. 92). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 745-747 on *Vaiśvadeva* and *Baliharana*. Underlying these provisions was the noble sentiment of universal kindness and charity, the persistent idea that, in spite of social gradations, rules and prejudices dividing

1502. सर्वेषामेव दानानामर्चं श्रेष्ठमुदाहृतम् । ... प्राणा ह्येवं मनुष्याणां तस्माज्जन्तुः प्रजायते ॥ अस्ते प्रतिदिता लोकास्तस्मादर्थं प्रशस्यते । ... अन्नस्य हि पदानेन स्वर्गमाप्नोति मानवः । ... त्र्यपेनावाप्तमन्नं तु नरो हर्षसमन्वितः । द्विजेभ्यो वेदद्विजेभ्यो दत्त्वा पापात्यमुच्यते । ब्रह्मपु. 218 10-13, 22-23.

1503 दद्याद्वरहरस्त्वनं अद्भया ब्रह्मचारिणे । सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः ब्रह्मणः स्थानमाप्नुयात् ॥ कूर्म II. 26 17 q by दानसागर p 370, यः पात्रपूरणीं भिक्षां यतीनां तु प्रयच्छति । विमुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यो नास्तौ दुर्गतिमाप्नुयात् ॥ पद्म V. 15, 140-141.

1504 सर्वान् वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीता श्वचण्डालेभ्यः । आप. ध. सू. II 4. 9. 5; क्षुतां च पतितानां च श्वपचा पापरोहिणात् । वायसाना कुमीनां च शनकैर्निर्वपेद्भुवि ॥ मनु. III. 92.

men from each other, one Supreme Light pervades and illuminates the meanest of creatures and makes the whole world kin. This spirit of a householder to regard it as his duty to offer food to all needy persons and particularly to poor and deserving students and brāhmanas has prevailed almost to the present day, though during the last few years shortage of food, high prices and rationing have undermined it a great deal.

Then as to gifts to brāhmanas. In the first place, it must be remembered that all brāhmanas were not priests and are not priests in modern times. Similarly, all priests in all Indian temples and shrines are not brāhmanas. Temple priests are comparatively a later institution and in olden times they were looked down upon and are regarded as inferior brāhmanas even in modern times. Manu (III, 152) states that a *devalaka* (a brāhmana who performed for remuneration service before the image in a temple) was unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to officiate in a sacrifice to gods, if he continuously served for three years in that capacity. The ideal set before brāhmanas from very ancient times was of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of abandoning the active pursuit of riches, of devotion to the study of the Veda and śāstras, of cherishing a high culture and of handing down literature and cultural outlook. Smrtis like Yāj I, 213 recommend that even if a brāhmana be fit for receiving a religious gift he should refuse gifts and thereby he secures the same worlds that habitual donors secure. It was for preserving such high ideals among brāhmanas that Yāj I, 333 prescribes that a king should make gifts of cows, gold and land and should bestow on learned brāhmanas houses and requisites for marriage (maidens, expenses of marriages &c). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 856-858 where references are given to inscriptions containing donations to brāhmanas of houses and marriage expenses. In these days every body talks of the high culture and literary traditions of ancient India. But who cultivated the vast Vedic and other Sanskrit literature, preserved it and propagated it for several millenia? The answer would have to be that it was mostly due to some of the brāhmanas who stuck to the ancient ideal for thousands of years. If the R̥gveda can be put forward in these days as the most ancient of the literary monuments in any Aryan language, who preserved its more than ten thousand verses with unparalleled care by oral transmission without hardly any variant readings. The reply will again have to be that the brāhmanas did it by a

self-denying ordinance. The Brāhmanas had to study the Veda with auxiliary lores without¹⁵⁰⁵ an eye to any ulterior motive, but simply as a duty and to understand the meaning thereof, they were to teach the Veda and other lores without demanding beforehand a fee, they had to bring up their own families, perform sacrifices and make gifts themselves. The only substantial sources of income were officiating at sacrifices and religious rites and receiving gifts. These sources must always have been variable, fitful and precarious. The brāhmanas had no power to tax people as in the case of tithes in the West. Nor had they a regularly paid hierarchy of deacons, priests, bishops and archbishops as in the Anglican Church. Therefore, the brāhmanas are advised to approach the king or a rich person for their livelihood (vide Gautama IX 63 'Yogaksemārtham-īśvaram adhigacchet'). It should be noted that before Buddhism spread far and wide the sūtras and smrtis emphasized that religious gifts should be made only to a worthy brāhmana, learned and well-conducted. For example, Āpastamba¹⁵⁰⁶ prescribes 'one should invite for dinner in all religious acts brāhmanas that are pure, that have studied the Veda, and that one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place, on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy recipient.' To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S III, 8, VI, 30, Manu (III, 128, 132, IV, 31), Yaj. (I, 201), Daksā (III, 26 and 31). Not every brāhmana was in those ancient times a proper recipient for a gift, but he had to possess qualities of what is called 'pātra'. A few definitions of pātra may with advantage be cited here. The Anuśāsana-parva¹⁵⁰⁷ has a long passage emphasizing the qualities of a deserving brāhmana: 'gifts made to good brāhmanas that are free from anger, that are intent on dharma, are devoted to truth and self-

1505. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः पङ्कजो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्चेति । महाभाष्य (Kielhorn), vol. I p 1) quotes it as अज्ञान Vide H of Dh vol. II pp. 105-110 on the duties of brāhmanas and their sources of income in ancient times.

1506. ब्रुचीन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । देशतः कालतः शौचतः सन्पक्व गतिं गृहीद्वत इति दानानि प्रतिपादयति । आप. ध. सू. II 6 15 9-10 Compare मनु III, 98,

1507. Some of the verses of अनुशासन 22 33-41 may be cited here : अक्रोधना धर्मपराः सत्यानृत्या दमे रता । तादृशाः साधवो निमास्तेभ्यो दत्तं महाफलम् । साक्षात् चक्षुरो वेदानधीते यो द्विजर्षभः । पङ्कज्यः मनुचः । कर्मस्यस्तं पात्रमुपयो विदुः ॥ यज्ञाश्रुताभ्यां वृत्तेन शीलिनं च समन्वितः । तारयेत् कुलं सर्वलोकोऽपीह द्विजोत्तमः । "निशम्य" च गुणोपेतं ब्राह्मणं साधुसंमतम् । दूरादानाय सत्कृत्य सर्वतथापि पूजयेत् ॥ verses 33, 36, 38, 41, on पङ्कज्यः मनुचः the com. of नीलकण्ठ is 'अनुपदोक्तैः मधुमांसवर्जनमर्पादापालनशीलैः सह अभ्ययनयागदानैश्च, ताम्यक्षप्रातुं मनुच इत्यर्थः'

control yield great rewards; the sages regard that brāhmana as *pūtra* who studies the four Vedas with their *angas* (auxiliary lores like phonetics, grammar &c), who is active in doing six acts (*viz* abstaining from wine and meat, observing the bounds of morality, purity, study of the Veda, sacrifices, making gifts). Even a single eminent brāhmana endowed with intellect, Vedic learning, good conduct and character saves the whole family; one should bring from afar a brāhmana on hearing that he is possessed of good qualities and is approved by good men and should welcome him and honour him in all ways' Yāj. furnishes¹⁵⁰⁸ a brief but striking definition of a worthy brāhmana 'not by Vedic learning alone nor by *tapas* (austere life) alone worthiness arises; that person is declared to be *pūtra* (worthy recipient for a religious gift) where both these (i. e. Vedic learning and *tapas*) and good conduct exist' Manu provides that religious gifts given to a brāhmana who has not studied the Veda or who is avaricious or deceitful are fruitless and lead the donor to hell (IV. 192-194). The Bhagavadgītā also (17 22) condemns a gift given to an unworthy person as *tāmasa* (affected by *tamas*, arising from ignorance or delusion).

As Buddhism grew in popularity and secured also royal support, the brāhmanas had to tackle several tasks. They had to keep the number of brāhmanas at a high level, they had to find maintenance for those devoted to the deep study of the Veda and they had to make accommodation with prevalent Buddhist thoughts by assimilating as many of them as possible in their own writings. Every brāhmana could not possess the memory, the intelligence and the persistent endeavour for long years required for memorizing and mastering even his own Veda and its subsidiary Literature. If one hundred brāhmana families were patronized, hardly ten percent of them could have been masters of their own Veda, but there was always the possibility that those who were not themselves good Vedic scholars might have sons, some of whom might turn out to be profound students of the Veda. Therefore, the number of brāhmanas was to be increased and they had to be fed and not to be allowed to fritter away energy and time in working for their bread. It is mainly due to these factors that some of the Purāṇas contain incessant and frantic appeals for gifts to brāhmanas.

1508. न विद्यया केवलया तपसा वापि पात्रता । यत्र बुद्धिर्निभे चोभे तद्धि पात्र मकीर्तितम् ॥ याज्ञ. I. 200.

At the time when most of the Purāṇas were composed, the brāhmaṇas were hemmed in by great difficulties and hostile forces. From about the 3rd century B. C. to the 7th century A. D. Buddhism enjoyed royal patronage under such great kings as Aśoka, Kaniska and Harsa. Buddhism was not really a revolt against caste, but against the eacritical eyetem, against the Veda and its authority to show the way to salvation. Buddha did not found a new religion, but he was a great reformer of Hinduism. He laid eole stress on moral effort, ahimeā, satya &c. which had already been integrated into Hinduism and were part of it and which continue to this day to be part of Hinduism. Buddha in his first sermon in the deer-park near Banaras preached that one who renounced the world should shun two extremes¹⁵⁰⁹ viz. the pursuit of pleasures and the practice of useless austerities, that it is the course discovered by him that led to wisdom and *nirvāna*. He expounded the four noble Axioms or Truths (Āryasatyāni) viz. suffering (duḥkha), the cause of suffering¹⁵¹⁰ viz. *tanhā* i. e. trsnā (duḥkha-samudaya), the suppression of suffering (duḥkha-nirodha), and the way that leads to the suppression of suffering (duḥkha-nirodhagāmini patipada). This last is the Noble Eight-fold path (astāṅgiko^{1510a}

1509. For the two extremes to be shunned, vide Dhammacakka-ppavattana-sutta (inauguration of the kingdom of Righteousness) S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 146.

1510. It may be noted that in the Upaniṣads and महाभारत the giving up of तृष्णा or काम is emphasized. Vide यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः। अयं मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते॥ कठोप० VI. 14; या दुस्सयजा दुर्मतिभिर्या न जीर्यति जीर्यतः। येषां प्राणान्तिको रोगस्तां तृष्णां त्यजतः सुखम्॥ वनपर्व 2. 36, अशुशासन 7 21, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 68. 100, यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत्सुखम्। तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैत-क्कला नाहेति षोडशीम्। शान्ति. 174. 46, वायु 93. 101, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 68 103.

1510 a. Vide Dhammacakka-ppavattana-sutta in S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 147 for the eightfold path. The Pāli words are : सम्मा-दिट्ठि, सम्मा-संकपो, सम्मा वाचा, सम्मा कम्मन्तो, सम्मा आजीवी, सम्मा-वायानो, सम्मा-सत्ति (सम्पक्कं सुवृत्ति) सम्मा-समाधि. Vide also दीर्घनिकाय (Pāli Text Society) vol. I. p. 157, महावग्ग (Oldenberg) vol. I. p. 10 (I. 6. 18) and धम्म-चक्र-प्रवचनसुत्त para 4 p. 3 (ed. by Sister Vajirā, Sarnath) and for दुःख, दु.खसमुदय, दु.खनिरोध, दु.खनिरोधगामिनी पटिपदा, vide महावग्ग (I 6.19-22), *ibid* p. 10. These four are called आर्यसत्यानि which may mean 'the four Noble Truths' or 'the four Truths found by the Ārya' (Buddha). This bears a very close resemblance to the fourfold axioms in Yoga and Medicine set out in योगसूत्रभाष्य 'यथा चिकित्साशास्त्रं चतुर्ष्वहमेव-रोगो रोगहेतुरारोग्यं भैषज्यमिति, एवमिदमपि शास्त्रं चतुर्ष्वहमेव तद्यथा-संसारः संसारहेतुः, मोक्षः, मोक्षोपायः-इति। तत्र दु.खवहुलः संसारो हेयः। प्रधानपुरुषयोः संयोगो हेयहेतुः। संयोगस्यात्यान्तिकी निवृत्तिर्हानम्। हानोपायः सम्पददर्शनम्। योगभाष्य on योगसूत्र II. 15.

mārgah) viz. right views, right thoughts or aspirations, right speech, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection (or mindfulness), right meditation (i.e. briefly leading a virtuous life) These doctrines preached to all by the noble Buddha and his disciples were attractive as remarked by Rhys Davids,¹⁵¹¹ particularly to the śūdras whose social position was low in the Vedic times and also in the days of the smṛti. No one could study the Veda in the presence of a śūdra, a śūdra could not perform sacrifices and had to serve the three higher varṇas in very ancient times. Almost the same position was assigned to him by Manu (VIII. 413) viz. that he was created by God for serving the brāhmana, though it is doubtful whether this could be or was enforced. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 33-36 and pp 154-164 for the position and disabilities of śūdras from the Vedic times up to the days of the Smṛti. It should not, however, be supposed that all India had become Buddhist. Millions still remained Hindue. There was the danger and fear that with royal patronage and the attractive features of Buddha's teachings large masses might forsake their ancient faith.

The brāhmanas of the times when Buddhism was at its peak had to strive to keep the banner of the Vedic religion flying, to deprive Buddhism of its hold on the masses of the people and even on the intelligentsia and to make them stick to the old fold. Buddhism itself had changed a great deal in its ideals, doctrines, sometime before the beginning of the Christian era and for centuries thereafter. Buddha's original doctrines were aimed at individual effort and salvation of the individual by his own effort and self-culture. Early Buddhist texts deny the existence of anything like a soul¹⁵¹² and find no place for

¹⁵¹¹. Vide his eloquent Intro to S. B. E. vol. XI p. 142 'Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth so simple in its nature, so free from any superhuman agency, so independent of, so even antagonistic to the belief in a soul, the belief in God, the hope for a future life. Buddha put forth deliberately the doctrine of a salvation to be found here in this life in an inward change of heart to be brought about by perseverance in a mere system of self-culture and of self-control. That system is called the Noble Eight-fold Path'

¹⁵¹² Vide 'Questions of Milinda' (II. 3. 6) in S. B. E. vol. XXXV pp. 88-89 for a discussion of the doctrine that there is no soul and pp. 520, 71-77 for the Buddhist theory of *kaṃma* (karma) and for the theory that what is reborn is *nāma-rūpa* (name and form) and not the soul. The Saṃdarāṅgaṇḍa (B. I. ed 16 28-29) says 'दीपो यथा निर्वृतिमस्यते नैवागतिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम्। दिशो न काचिद्विदिश न काचित् स्नेहक्षयात्कलमेति शान्तिम्॥ एव कृती निर्वृतिमस्यते नैव काचित् क्लेशक्षयात्कलमेति शान्तिम्॥'.

the idea of God. Though Buddha spoke of *Nirvāna* he did not clearly define it nor does he specify the condition of the individual when he enters *nirvāna*. *Āśvaghoṣa* compares *nirvāna* to the extinction of a flame (*Saundarananda*, chap. XVI. 28-29). Because the doctrine of karma was deeply rooted in the popular mind at the time of Buddha, Buddhism took over that doctrine, which, to men who are not Buddhists, appears to be contradictory of the denial of the existence of a soul. The word 'Dhamma' is used in three senses in the Pāli 'Dhammapada' (which being mentioned in the questions of Milinda is earlier than the 2nd century B.C.) viz. (1) the truth or law preached by Buddha, (2) thing or form, (3) way or mode of life.

As stated above, the original Buddhism preached by the Buddha and his followers in the first century or two after his *parinirvāna* was more or less a strict ethical code for individuals who sought salvation from the misery of the world. The three central conceptions of very early Buddhism were the three refuges (or *raṭnas*) Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. Gradually a new doctrine was evolved.¹⁵¹³ It came to be thought that to care for one's own deliverance and spend all efforts thereon was rather selfish, that as the Buddha himself out of compassion for suffering humanity worked for forty-five years to lead men to salvation by his exhortations and sermons, so a Buddhist should prefer to put off his own deliverance, should work for the deliverance of his fellowmen out of compassion (*karuṇā*) for their miserable lot and in doing so should be ready to be born again and again, should not care for his own salvation and should not be afraid of *samsāra*. Those holding these latter views deified Buddha, taught that Buddhahood was attained by Siddhārtha after undergoing numerous births in doing service and rendering help to others and that this was a superior code of conduct (Mahāyāna, the Great Vehicle or Way) to the selfish code of salvation for an individual himself (which came to be called Hinayāna, the lesser Vehicle or Way). This extra-regarding gospel of Mahāyāna was very attractive and won great support in most countries of Asia.¹⁵¹⁴

1513. H. Kern in his 'Manual of Buddhism' (in the Grundriss p. 122 holds that Mahāyānism is much indebted to the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Compare 'लभन्ते ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमुपय.' 'सर्वभूतहिते रताः' V. 25 with the Mahāyāna view.

1514. The number of Books on Buddhism is legion. For Mahāyāna Buddhism, vide 'An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism' by W. M. McGovern (London, 1922), 'Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism' by Dr. M. N.

This doctrine of Bodhisattvas (meaning 'beings destined to be enlightened') is not consistent with the gospel of Buddha as preached by him in his first sermon at Banaras. There is a difference of ideals between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The original gospel relies on self-effort and moral regeneration and on the elimination of suffering and misery by the extinction of all passions and of hankerings or desires and of the desire of

(Continued from last page)

Dutt (1930), the 'Bodhisattva doctrine in Sanskrit Literature' by Dr Har Dayal (Kegan Paul, London 1932), 'The path of the Buddha' ed. by Prof. Kenneth W Morgan (New York, 1956) written by several scholars from different countries (for both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna).

A few books for those who want to know more of Buddhism in general and of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna are recommended here 'The central conception of Buddhism' (London, 1923), 'the conception of Nirvāna' (Leningrad, 1927), 'Buddhist Logic' vol. I (1958), all by Th. Stcherbatsky; 'Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha' by J G. Jennings (Oxford Un. Press, 1948), 'Creed of Buddha' by Edmond Holmes (5th ed.); 'Introduction to Tantrik Buddhism' by Dr Shashi Bhushan Das-Gupta (Cal. University, 1950), 'the Flame and the Light' by Hugh I. Faussett (London and New York, 1958), 'the Buddha and his Dhamma' by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1957) in which he refrains from considering Buddhist Texts except those in Pali; 'Comparative study of Buddhism and Christianity' by Prof. F. Masutani (Tokyo, 1957), The Mahāyāna-sūtrāṅkāra of Asaṅga (ed. by Prof S. Levi) summarises in two verses (I. 9-10) the points (five) on which the two schools are in conflict. It-sing's 'Records of the Buddhist religion' translated by Dr J. Takakusu (Oxford, 1896) surprisingly enough states (p. 15) 'These two systems are perfectly in accord with the noble doctrine. Both equally conform to truth and lead us to Nirvāna'. Buddha at least ignored (if he did not positively deny) God, he denied the individual soul and Eternity, he did not emphasize the most vital Upaniṣad teaching viz. 'anando brahmeti vyajānāt'. He imagined salvation as a state of absolute quiescence and therefore regarded ordinary life as misery and asserted that salvation may be attained even in this very life. He did not claim to be God, but a human being. There are various kinds of Mahāyāna doctrines and great diversity of definitions. It may generally be said that works professing to teach Mahāyāna practically forsake the ideal of a human Buddha, preach the worship of Buddha and future Buddhas, and assert that Nirvāna cannot be attained by the ancient method, that salvation cannot come in this very life but after centuries and aeons of the practice of virtue and helping others.

Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna are said by some to be branches of Mahāyāna, about the latter of which a good deal will be said in the next section. According to Bhikṣu Rāhula Śāṅkṛtyāyana, Vajrayāna (700-1200 A.D.) is a synonym of Mahāyāna (400-700 A. D.) and merely the ulterior development of it (vide p. 211 of the paper 'L' Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas' in J. A. vol. 225 (1934) pp. 209-230.

life¹⁵¹⁵ itself. Buddha's original teaching regarded it as a waste of time to ponder over such questions as 'Have I existed during the ages that are past or have I not? Shall I exist during the ages of the future? Do I after all exist or am I not?' The *Sabbāsava-sutta* (9-13) says that a wise man walking in the noble eightfold path understands what things ought to be considered and what things ought not to be considered. Vide S.B.E. vol. XI, pp. 298-300. Buddhism brought half of Asia under its influence not only by its promise of salvation to all by self-help, but more so by its teachings of profound tenderness, of active charity, of goodness and gentleness. Mahāyāna laid great stress on doing good to all and on bhakti. Both the original teaching of Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna teaching are attractive in their own way.

Buddhism insisted on the five *śīlas*¹⁵¹⁶ that were binding on all Buddhists viz. prohibition of injury to and destruction of life, of theft, of sexual impurity, of lying and of intoxicating liquors. Five more precepts (which together with the preceding five were called *Daśaśīksā-padas*) were added for Buddhist priests, viz. prohibition of eating at forbidden hours, of attending wordly amusements such as dancing, song, music and shows, of the use of unguents and ornaments, of the use of a large or ornamented couch and of the receiving of gold and silver. About the *śīlas* it is clear that they were adopted from the ancient Upanisadic and Dharmasūtra teachings. The *Chāndogya* narrates how Aśvapati, king of Kekaya, boasted before five great householders and theologians 'in my¹⁵¹⁷ kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without a fire-altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress'. The same Upanisad¹⁵¹⁸ quotes an ancient verse 'a man who steals gold, who drinks liquor, who dishonours his guru's bed, who kills a brāhmaṇa—these four fall and a fifth also that associates with any one of these four.' It will be shown

1515. That destruction of desires is *nirvāṇa* is stated in *Ratana-sutta* 14 and the simile mentioned is that of a lamp being extinguished (by lack of oil)

1516. Vide *सुद्धकपाठ 2, दीपनिकाय* (II 43 p. 63) for the five *śīlas* and Kern's 'Manual of Indian Buddhism' p 70.

1517. स ह मातः संजिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कद्र्यो न मयपो नानाहिताग्नि-
नोविद्वांस स्तेरी स्तेरिणी कुतः । छा. उप. V 11. 5.

1518. तदेव श्लोकः । स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य दुरागं पिबंश्च श्रोतस्त्वमावसन्नद्वाहा चैते पतन्ति
चत्वारः पञ्चनश्चाचरंस्तेरिति । छा. उप. V. 10. 9.

a little later how *ahimsā* was emphasized even in the Upanisads. Thus *ahimsa*, non-stealing, sexual purity, truthfulness had already been emphasized in the oldest Upanisads. That an ascetic¹⁵¹⁹ had to give up all property and beg for keeping body and soul together is made clear by Br. Up. III. 5. 1 and IV. 4. 22, Jābālopanisad 5, Gautama III. 10-13, Vasistha X. The other five precepts for priests such as not receiving gold or silver or giving up unguents, flowers, dancing, singing and music are laid down by Gautama¹⁵²⁰ II. 19 and III. 4, Vasistha X. 6 &c. for Vedic students and ascetics. Vide H. Kern (in 'Manual of Indian Buddhism, Grundriss p. 70) who remarks that the superior morality for monks is nothing else but the rule of life for the *śramaṇa* in the 4th *āśrama*, when he is a *yati* and all the details were taken from the Dharma-sūtras and Dharmasāstras.

Ahimsā—The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas lay great emphasis on *ahimsā* (not harming or giving pain to a living creature). The Upanisads too emphasized *ahimsā*. The Chāndogya¹⁵²¹ does so in several passages. In III. 17. 4 it says 'tapas, charity, straight-forwardness, *ahimsā*, speaking the truth—these are the fees of this (sacrifice without ceremonial)'. While describing how the person who has attained true knowledge of the Self does not return (to this *samsāra*), the Chāndogya says that 'he causes no pain to any creature except at tīrthas'. The Br. Up. (V. 2.) says how Prajāpati told the gods, the *asuras* and men that the sound 'da da da' produced by thundering

1519. एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाय भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति । बृह उप III. 5. 1 (after the brāhmanas have gained knowledge of this Self, they abstain from desire for sons, desire for wealth and desire for the worlds and wander about as beggars), अथ परित्राह विवर्णवासां छन्दोऽपरिग्रहं शुचिरङ्गोद्गी भैक्षणी ब्रह्मभूयाय भवतीति । जाबालोप 5 quoted by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 3 and III 4. 20.

1520 वर्जयेन्मधुमासगन्धमालयदिवास्वमाग्न्यखनदानोपापानच्छत्र-काम-क्रोधलोभमोहबाध-बाधनस्नानदन्तधावनहर्षवृत्त्यगीतपरिवादभयानि ॥ गौ II 19, छण्डोऽमोऽपरिग्रहः । वसिष्ठ X 6. For the other śūlas of priests, compare with गौतम II 19 the following from दीर्घनिकाय (vol I p 64 Sāmāñña-phala-sutta II. 45) 'विरतो विकालभोजना । नञ्च-गीत-धादित-विस्मृकदस्सना पटिविरतो होति । माला-गन्ध-विलेपन-धारण-मण्डप-विभूषण-स्थाणा पटिविरतो होति । उच्चासयन-महासयना पटिविरतो होति । जातरूप-रजतपटिगहणा पटिविरतो होति । आमक-भंस-पटिगहणा पटिविरतो होति ।'

1521. अथ यत्तपो दानमार्जवमहिंसा सत्यवचनमिति ता अस्य दक्षिणाः । छा. उप. III. 17. 4, आचार्यकुलद्वैदमधीत्य 'स्वाध्यायमधीयानो धार्मिकान्विदधदात्मानि सर्वेन्द्रियाणि संयतिष्ठाप्याहिंसन् सर्वधृतान्ययज्ञ तीर्थेभ्यः । न च पुनरावर्तते । छा उप VIII 15, तदेतत्त्रयं निश्चेदमं दानं दयामिति । बृह उप. V. 2.

clouds conveys to the gods the necessity of self-restraint (*dama*), to the asuras of compassion (*dayā*) and to men of charity (*dāna*). Gautama¹⁵²² specifies eight virtues of the soul, the first of which is compassion for all beings and states that he who has the forty *saṁskāras* performed on him but does not possess the eight virtues does not secure absorption into *brahma*. The *Ādiparva* provides 'ahimsā is the highest dharma for all beings; therefore a *brāhmaṇa* should never harm (or give pain to) any being'. The words 'ahimsā paramo dharmah' (ahimsā is the highest dharma) occur very frequently in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁵²³ (e. g. in *Dronaparva* 192. 38, *Śānti* 265. 6, 329. 18, *Anuśāsana* 115. 25, 116. 38, *Āśvamedhikaparva* 28. 16-18, 43. 21). *Śāntiparva* (296. 22-24) enumerates thirteen virtues common to all men, of which freedom from cruelty and ahimsā are the first two. *Vasistha* IV. 4, *Manu* X. 63, *Yāj.* I. 122 prescribe certain virtues as necessary in men of all *varṇas*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 10 notes 25-27.

A few examples of emphasis on ahimsā in the *Purāṇas* may be cited here. The *Vāmana-purāṇa*¹⁵²⁴ provides : *ahimsā*, truth-

1522. दया सर्वभूतेषु शान्तिरनन्यया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पणमसृहेति । यस्यैते चत्वारिंशत्तत्कारा न चाष्टवात्मगुणा न स ब्रह्मणः सायुज्यं सलोकता गच्छति । गो. घ. छ. VIII. 24-25. The *मत्स्य* (52. 8-11) sets out these very *ātmagunās* that Gautama mentions, vide also *सार्कण्डेय* 25. 32-33 for almost the same eight *gunas* including *ahimsā*.

1523. अहिंसा परमो धर्मः सर्वप्राणभृतां वर । तस्मात्प्राणभृतः सर्वाश्च हिंसाद् ब्रह्मणः क्वचित् ॥ आदिपर्व 11. 13-14, अहिंसा सर्वभूतेषु धर्मो ज्यायस्तर विदुः । द्रोण 192 38; अहिंसा सर्वभूतेष्वपि धर्मेभ्यो ज्यायसी मता । शान्ति 265. 6, न हिंस्यात्सर्वभूतानि नैत्रायणगतश्चरेत् । शान्ति 329 18; अहिंसा परमो धर्मस्तथाहिंसा परं तपः । अहिंसा परमं सत्यं यतो धर्मः प्रवर्तते ॥ अनुशासन 115. 25, अहिंसा परमो धर्मो हिंसा चाधर्मलक्षणा । आश्वमेधिक 43 21.

1524 अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्वनः शमः । अकार्पण्यं च शौचं च तपश्च रजनी-चर । इशाङ्को राक्षसश्रेष्ठ धर्मोऽसौ सार्ववर्णिकः ॥ वामन 14. 1-2, न वेदैर्न च दानैश्च न तपोभिर्न चाध्वैः । कथंचित् स्वर्गतिं याप्तिं पुत्रपः प्राणिहिंसकाः । अहिंसा परमो धर्मो ह्यहिंसैव परं तपः । अहिंसा परमं दानमित्याहुर्जनयः सदा । मशकात् सरीसृपात् ईशान्युकाद्यान्मानवस्तथा । आत्मौ-पन्येन पश्यन्ति नानवा ये दयालवः ॥ पद्म I. 31. 26-28, these verses are repeated in पद्म VI. 243. 69-71 (reads मशकान्मत्कुणान् and आत्मौपन्येन रक्षन्ति); तस्माच्च हिंसा-यज्ञं च प्रशंसन्ति महर्षयः । उज्ज्वलो मुलं फलं शाकलद्वयाच्च तपोधनाः । एतद्वचना विभक्तः स्वर्गलोके प्रतिष्ठितः । अद्रोहश्चाप्यलोभश्च वृत्तो भूतदया शमः ॥ ब्रह्मचर्यं तपः शौचमनुकौशलं (शः?) क्षमा धृतिः । सनातनस्य धर्मस्य मूलमेतद्भूतसदस्य ॥ मत्स्य 143. 30-32, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 31. 36-38 are the same as मत्स्य (except that it reads तस्माच्च यज्ञं दानं वा) 143. 30-32. The verses उज्ज्वलं फलं शाकलं मूलमेतत्सनातनव occur in आश्वमेधिकपर्व 91. 32-34. For the words सनातनधर्मं, vide the *Khanapur. plates* of *Mādhava-varman* in E. I. vol. 27 p. 312 at p. 317 (श्रुतिस्मृतिविविधित्सनातनधर्मकर्मचिरताय) edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi who assigns it to the 6th century A. D.

fulness, absence of stealing, charity, forbearance, self-control, quiescence of senses, absence of poor spirit or weakness, purity, *tapas*—this is the tenfold dharma applicable to all varnas. The Padma says : not by (the study of) the Vedas, nor by gifts nor by *tapas*, nor by sacrifices do men who kill creatures reach the goal of *heaven*; *ahimsā* is the highest dharma, the highest *tapas* and the highest charity—this is what the sages always say; men that are compassionate treat flies, reptiles, stinging insects, lice and the like and human beings as themselves. Matsya goes so far as to state; great sages do not commend sacrifice in which there is killing; by donating grains of corn gathered in a field, roots, fruits, vegetables, vessel for carrying water according to their ability, sages practising austerities became established in heaven; absence of hatred and greed, self-restraint, compassion towards all beings, control of senses, celibacy, *tapas*, tenderness, forbearance and firmness—this is the root of the ancient dharma, which is difficult to accomplish. The Brahmanda (II. 31. 35 'tasmād-ahimsā dharmasya dvāram-uktam maharṣibhiḥ') says that great sages have declared that *ahimsā* is the door of dharma. The Padma (V. 43. 38) says 'there is no *dharma* nor *tapas* equal to *ahimsā*'. It is interesting to note that the Matsya and Brahmanda regard *ahimsā* as 'sanātana dharma' and condemn animal sacrifices. The Kūrma¹⁵²⁵ provides 'ahimsā, truthfulness, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession of wealth—these are briefly declared *yamas* that produce purity of mind among men. The great sages declare that *ahimsā* consists in causing no pain to all beings at all times by thought, word or

1525. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहौ । यमाः संक्षेपतः प्रोक्ताश्चित्तशुद्धिप्रदा
 दृष्टान्तम् । कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सर्वभूतेषु सर्वदा । अकेशजननं प्रोक्ता खड्गिस्ता परमविधिः ॥
 अहिंसायाः परो धर्मो नास्त्यहिंसापरं सुखम् । विपिना या भवेद्धिस्ता त्वहिंसैव प्रकीर्तिता ॥ कूर्म
 II. 11. 13-15 The लिङ्गपुराण (chap 8 8-9) enumerates the eight *sādhana*s
 of योग of which यम is first and mentions five as in कूर्म Yamas (abstinences)
 are variously enumerated Kūrma appears to follow the योगसूत्र II. 30-31
 'अहिंसा-सत्य-अस्तेय-ब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः । शौच-सन्तोष-तप-स्वाध्याय-ईश्वर्यणि
 ध्यानानि नियमाः ॥'. Manu IV. 204 provides generally that one should always
 practise yamas and that one may not always practise the niyamas, but does
 not name them, Medhātithi explains that yamas are prohibitions (viz. not
 to injure life, not to steal, not to tell an untruth, not to have forbidden
 sexual intercourse and not to possess wealth that belongs to another or
 not to accept gifts), while niyamas consist of positive acts, such as one
 should always study the Veda (as in Manu IV 147) Yāj III 312-313
 enumerates ten *yamas* viz celibacy, compassion, forbearance, charity,
 absence of crooked conduct, *ahimsā*, non-stealing, sweetness, restraint of
 senses and ten *niyamas*. The वैखानस-स्मार्तसूत्र (IX 4) enumerates ten *yamas*.

deed. There is no dharma superior to ahimsā, no happiness higher than (the practice of) ahimsā; the 'injury (to life) that is caused according to (Vedic) precepts is declared to be ahimsā.' The Upanisads commended a qualified ahimsā, while the original Pali books like the *Samāñña-phala-sutta* forbid injury to all living beings. Most of the Purāṇas, in order to convince the masses that they did not lag behind the Buddhist preachings, generally insist upon unqualified ahimsā. Time brings about strange changes. Professing Buddhists in Ceylon, China, Japan and many other countries have no objection to partaking of fish and meat, while following the insistent advice of the Purāṇas, millions of Indian people (not only brāhmaṇas but also others like vaiśyas and śūdras if Vaisnavas) have been strict vegetarians for centuries, though Buddhism vanished from India centuries ago.

It may be noted, however, that some of the Purāṇas are against carrying the doctrine of ahimsā to extremes. The *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu* both say that there is no sin, great or small, in killing a person (e. g. a tyrant or a desperado), when many will live in happiness by his death.¹⁵²⁶

Pūrta—The Purāṇas lay the greatest emphasis on what is called *pūrtadharma*, works of public utility, charity, social service and the relief of the poor and distressed. The word *īṣṭapūrta* occurs in the *Rgveda* once¹⁵²⁷ 'May you be united in the highest heaven with your pitrs (ancestors), with Yama and with *īṣṭapūrta*' (merit acquired by sacrifices and works of public utility). The word *īṣṭa* occurs several times in *Rg.* (I. 162. 15, I. 164. 15, X. 11. 2, X. 82. 2), but the meaning is not certain except in *Rg.* X. 11. 2 where it appears to mean 'sacrifice'. *Pūrta* also occurs in *Rg.* VI. 16. 18 and VIII. 46. 21, but the meaning is not certain. '*īṣṭapūrta*' occurs in several Upanisads.

1526. यस्मिन्नु निहते भद्रे जीवन्ते बहवः सुखम् । तस्मिन् हते नास्ति शुभे यातकं चोप-
यातकम् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड II. 36. 188, वायु 69 162 (reads लभन्ते for जीवन्ते). The ब्रह्मपुराण
141.22 has the same idea in different words 'यस्मिन्निपातिते सौख्यं बहुनाद्युपजायते ।
ह्यनपस्तद्वर्धे माहुरवमेधशताधिकम् ॥'. The कल्पतरु (गृहस्थकाण्ड) p. 300 quotes the
verse from वायु (with slight variations viz. एवन्ते for जीवन्ते). The editor
was unable to trace it. The verse should be read as निहते भद्रे and not निहतेऽभद्रे
as it is printed on p. 300.

1527. संगच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेद्रापूर्तेन परमे व्योमम् । ऋ. X. 14. 8; इदं मन्त्रे
अदितिर्न धातु नो ज्ञाता नो ज्येष्ठः प्रथमो वि वोचति ॥ ऋ. X. 11. 2.

The Chāndogya states¹⁵²⁸ 'But they who, living in a village, practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility and alms-giving reach toward smoke &c.'. Similarly, the Pṛāṇa-upanishad asserts 'those, who practise the (mode of) sacrifices and works of public utility as activities to be engaged in, reach only the world of the Moon, and it is these that again return to this world'. The Mundaka says 'deluded people regarding sacrifices and works of public utility as the best do not know (recognize) any other higher good; having enjoyed (their reward) on the top of heaven, they again enter this world or even a lower one'.¹⁵²⁹ Manu speaks of 'ista' and 'pūrta' and recommends that one should always practise with a pleased heart sacrificial gifts and gifts of the pūrta kind according to one's ability on securing a deserving brāhmana. The Amarakośa defines 'ista' as sacrifices and 'pūrta' as works such as digging a well or tank. The Mārkaṇḍeya¹⁵³⁰ defines them as follows 'Maintaining the sacred fires, tapas, truthfulness, study of the Veda, hospitality and Vaiśvadeva—these are called ista; digging wells and tanks and building temples and distribution of food to those that need it—these are declared to be pūrta. The Agnipurāṇa has similar verses. The Padma (VI. 243, 10-14) cites the following as dharmakārya (religious works); temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva, tanks, wells, lotus ponds, forest of vata, pippala, mango, kakkola, jambu and nimba trees, flower garden, distribution of food from morning to sunset, water distribution outside towns &c. The Skanda¹⁵³¹ says: the term 'pūrta' is applied in the dharmaśāstras to the erection of temples, construction of tanks, ponds and wells, laying out parks. Padma (VI. 244, 34-35) says that those who build monasteries, cow stables, houses of rest on roads,

1528. अथ य इमे ग्राम इष्टापूर्ते दत्तमित्युपासते ते धूममभिसम्भवन्ति धूमाद्वात्रिम् &c छा उप V. 10 3; तथे ह वै तद्विष्टापूर्ते कुतमित्युपासते ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिजयन्ते। त एव पुनरावर्तन्ते। यत्र I 9; इष्टापूर्ते सन्पमाना वरिष्ठं नाप्यच्छेद्यो वेदयन्ते मयूहाः। नाकस्य पुष्टे ते छुहतेऽनुभूत्वेन लोकं हीनतरं चाविशन्ति ॥ सुष्टकोपः I 2 10.

1529. दानधर्मं निषेवेत नित्यमैष्टिकपौर्तिकम्। परितुष्टेन भावेन पात्रमासाय शक्तिः॥ मनु. IV. 227; विषयः क्रतुकर्मणं पूर्तं स्वातादिकर्मणि। अमरकोश

1530 अग्निहोत्रं तपः सत्य वेदाना चैव साधनम्। आतिष्ठयं वैश्वदेवं च इष्टमित्यभिधीयते ॥ वापीकूपसङ्ग्रहानि देवतायतनानि च। अलमदानमर्थिन्यः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥ मार्कण्डेय 16. 123-124; अग्नि 209. 2-3 (reads चातुपालन, च माहुरिष्टं च नाकद्वय, अक्षमदान-मरामाः पूर्तं धर्मे च छुहिकद्वय). The verse वापीकूप is q. by अपराकं pp 24, 290 as from महाभारत The above two are अविसंहिता 43-44 (Ānau.).

1531. सुरालयसरोवापीकूपारामादिकल्पना। एतदर्थं हि पूर्ताख्या धर्मशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता ॥ स्कन्ध X 2, 10

dwellings for ascetics, cottages for the poor and helpless, extensive house for Veda study, houses for brāhmanas, enter the world of Indra (i. e. heaven). Atri says¹⁵³² that Iṣṭa and Pūrta are dharma common to all *dvijas*; a *sūdra* is entitled to perform pūrta-dharmas but not *Valdika* rites (i. e. sacrifices). The *Anuśāsana-parva* (chap. 58) describes how parks should be laid out and tanks constructed with trees on their banks. But the *Varāhapurāṇa* and some *smrtis* went so far as to declare that a man secures only heaven by *īṣṭa*, but he secures mokṣa (final release from *samsāra*) by pūrta¹⁵³³.

Sometimes the Purāṇas express ideas that might strike us as rather modern, when they put forward social service and removal of suffering and distress as the highest dharma. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya*¹⁵³⁴ a king solemnly states 'men do not obtain that happiness in heaven or in the world of *Brahmā*, which springs from giving relief to distressed beings. Sacrifices, gifts, *tapas* do not conduce to the relief here and in the next world of that man whose heart is not set on relieving the distressed'. The *Viṣṇu* recommends 'a wise man should say (and do) that alone by thought, word and deed which would be for the benefit of creatures here and hereafter'. The *Skanda-purāṇa* (*Kāśikhanda*) avers 'adversities of those good men in whose heart doing good to others is awake (i. e. active) vanish and prosperity comes to them at every step. That purity is not secured by baths at holy places, that reward is not obtained by numerous gifts, that (result) is not obtained by severe austerities, that is obtained by doing good to others. After churning all extensive dicta the conclusion reached is this viz. there is no dharma higher than doing good to others and there is no sin greater than harming

1532. इष्टापूर्तौ द्विजातीनां सामान्यौ धर्मसाधनौ । अधिकारी भवेच्छुद्धः पूर्तौ धर्मे न वैदिके । अत्रि verse 46. On p. 24 अपराकौ quotes this from जालुकर्ण (reads धर्मी सामासिकौ मतौ). Vide अपराकौ p. 290 for quotations from चारुद in which the illustrations of Iṣṭa and Pūrta are given.

1533. इष्टापूर्तौ द्विजातीनां प्रथमं धर्मसाधनम् । इष्टेन लभते स्वर्गं पूर्तौ मोक्षं च विन्दति । बराह 172. 33, यमसूति 68, अत्रि-संहिता 145.

1534. न स्वर्गं ब्रह्मलोके वा तत्सुखं प्राप्यते नरैः । यद्वार्तजन्तुनिर्वाणदानोत्थमिति मे मतिः ॥ यज्ञदानतर्पासीदं परत्र च न क्षुत्ये । भवन्ति तस्य यस्यातपरित्राणे न मानसम् ॥ मार्कण्डेय 15. 57 and 62; प्राणिनामुपकाराय यथैवेह परत्र च । कर्मणा मनसा वाचा तदेव मतिमान् वदेद् ॥ विष्णु III. 12 '45; परोपकरणं तेषां जागर्ति हृदये सताम् । नश्यन्ति विपद्स्तस्य सम्यक्; स्युः पदे पदे ॥ तीर्थस्नानैर्न सा शुद्धिर्बहुदानैर्न तत्फलम् । तपोभिर्यज्ञैस्तप्याप्युपकृत्य यदाप्यते ॥ परनिर्मलस्य वाग्जालं निर्णीतमिवमेव हि । नोपकारात्परो धर्मो नापकारादयं परम् ॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6 4-5 and 7; जीवितं सफलं तस्य यः परार्थोद्यतः सदा । अग्निरापो रविः पृथ्वी धान्यानि विविधानि च । परार्थं वर्तनं तेषां सतां चापि विशेषतः ॥ ब्रह्म 125. 36-37.

others. The Brahma states 'the life of the man who always strives for the good of others is fruitful (blessed); fire, water, the Sun, the earth and various kinds of crops exist for the benefit of others, and particularly the good (exist for others' benefit)'.¹

It is surprising that the Bhāgavata avers what is in advance of modern socialistic doctrines 'men have ownership over only that much as would fill their belly; he who thinks as his own what is more than that is a thief and deserves punishment (as such).'¹⁵³⁵

Bhakti—The Purāṇas lay very great emphasis on bhakti (religion of loving faith in God). This is not the place to dilate on the history of the cult of *Bhakti* from the earliest times to modern days. For that purpose there are special treatises (some of which are noted below) that may be consulted. But a few words on bhakti in general may be said here before going into the question as to what the Purāṇas have to say thereon. Traces of the doctrine of *bhakti* may be discovered even in the Rgvedic hymns and mantras, some of which are full of loving faith in God, particularly in some of the hymns and verses addressed to Varuna and also to Indra. A few examples may be cited. 'All my thoughts¹⁵³⁶ (or hymns) praise Indra in unison, seeking light, longing for him, as wives embrace their husband, their fair young lover, they (thoughts) embrace him (Indra), the divine giver of gifts'; 'your friendship¹⁵³⁷ (with your devotee) is indestructible (everlasting); to him who desires a cow, you become a cow, to him who longs for a horse, may you be a horse;' 'O Indra, you are far better (or richer) than my father or my brother who does not feed me; (you) and my mother, O Vasu, are equal and protect (me) for (conferring) riches and favours'; 'You gave to Kaksīvat, who offered a hymn and Soma libation to you and who had grown old, Vrcayā, who was a young

1535 यावद् भ्रियेत जठरं तावत्स्वल्पं हि देहिनाम् । अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो वषट्-मर्हति ॥ भागवत VII. 14. 8

1536. अच्छा न हृन्द मलयः स्वर्दिदः सधीर्दीर्घिवा उदातीरन्पत । परिष्वजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिं नयै न शुग्ध्यं मयवानमृतये ॥ ऋ. X. 43. 1; compare Rg. I. 62. 11 for the simile.

1537 दृणाशं सख्यं तर गौरसि गम्यते । अश्वो अश्वायते भव ॥ ऋ. VI. 45. 26, वषां वृन्दासि मे पितृवत भ्रातृरभ्युजत । माता च मे छदयथः सता वसो वसुधनाय राधसे ॥ ऋ. VIII. 1. 6; असी य एदि वीरको युद्ध युद्धं विचाकशात् । इमं जन्मसुतं पित्र धानापन्नं करम्भिणमप्रपन्न-सुप्तिनम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 91. 2; मेनाभवी ब्रूयणश्वस्य सुकृतो विश्वेता ते सवनेषु मवाद्या ॥ ऋ. I. 51. 13.

woman; you became the wife of Vṛṣanaśva; all these (favours) of yours deserve to be loudly proclaimed during the offerings of soma libations'; 'you who, shining brilliantly, come to each house assuming the form of a small man, (O Indra!) drink this Soma juice (produced) by being crushed with my teeth and mixed with fried grains, gruel, cake and laud'. Compare Rg. III. 43. 4, X. 42. 11, X. 112. 10 (in all of which Indra is called 'sakhā' friend) and I. 104. 9, VII. 32. 26 (in both Indra is said to be like a father). It will be clear from these passages that the Vedic sages had reached the stage of *sakhya-bhakti*, that the sages believed that Indra was like a mother, that he assumed the form of a wife for the sake of a devotee, that Indra partook *soma* juice from a devotee who, in the absence of the proper implements for crushing soma stalks, extracted soma juice from soma stalks crushed with the devotee's own teeth. These stories in the far-off ages of the Rgveda remind us of the stories in the works of the medieval ages about Rāma having accepted *badara* fruit from a Śābarī (Bhil woman) devotee who first tasted them with her teeth to see whether they were sweet or sour and the story of the God Viṭhobā of Pandharpur, having assumed the form of a *mahār* (an untouchable) and paid up to the Moslem king of Bijapur the money equivalent to the price of corn which, Dāmāji (a great devotee), who was in charge of the royal granary, allowed people distressed by famine to take away. Some mantras addressed to Varuna show the same kind of *sakhya-bhakti*. Vasistha^{1537a} prays 'O Varuna! what is that great offence (committed by me) on account of which you desire to harm me, your friend and bard; declare that to me, O invincible and self-willed God, so that (after propitiating you) I shall be free from sin and may be able quickly to approach you with adoration'; 'where are those friendships of ours (of you and me) which we safely enjoyed in former times, O self-willed Varuna?; I (then) went to your big dwelling house that has a thousand doors; whatever offence we mortals commit against the divine hosts, O Varuna, whatever laws of yours we may have violated in our ignorance (or heedlessness), do not, O God, harm us on account of that sin'. It is remarkable that in the Rgveda there is a verse in which

1537 a. किमाग आस वरुण ज्येष्ठ यत्कृतारं त्रिधांससि सखायम् । य तन्मे वोचो ब्रूढम
स्वधावोऽत्र त्वानेना नमस्ता तुर इयाम् ॥ अ. VII. 86. 4, क त्वानि नौ सख्या बभूवुः सत्त्वाने
यद्वक्तं गुरा चित् । ब्रूढन्तं मानं वरुण स्वधावः सहस्रद्वारं जगमा युष्टं ते ॥ अ. VII. 88. 5;
यत्किंचिदं वरुण देव्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याध्वरामसि । अचिन्तो यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मा-
देनसो देव रीरिषः ॥ अ. VII. 89. 5.

there is an apotheosis¹⁵³⁸ of 'namas' (*namaskāra*, adoration or homage); 'Adoration itself is mighty, I offer service with adoration; adoration upholds the heaven and the earth; adoration to the gods, adoration rules these gods, whatever sin is committed (by me) I worship it away with adoration'.

Though the word 'bhakti' does not occur in the principal ancient Upanisads, the doctrine of the bhakti schools that it is God's grace alone that saves the devotees is found in the Kāṭha and Mundaka Upanisads, viz. 'this Supreme Soul is not to be attained by expositions (of a teacher) nor by intelligence, nor by much learning; He is to be attained by him alone whom the Supreme Soul favours, to him this Supreme Soul discloses His form.'¹⁵³⁹ This emphasizes the doctrine that God's Grace alone brings salvation to the devotees. The Śvetāśvatāropanisad employs the word *bhakti* in the same sense in which it is used in the Gītā and¹⁶⁴⁰ other works on bhakti. 'These matters declared (here) reveal themselves to that high-souled person who has the highest faith in God and the same faith in his *guru* as in God'. The same Upanisad emphasizes a doctrine of the bhakti school in 'I, desirous of mokṣa (liberation from saṃsāra), surrender myself as my refuge to that God who in former times created (established) Brahmā, who transmitted to him (Brahmā) the Vedas, and who illuminates the intellect of the individual soul'.

The word 'prapadye' in the Śvetāśvatāra serves as the basis of the doctrine of 'prapatti' in the Vaiṣṇavite system such as that of Rāmānuja.

But among the original sources of the Bhakti cult are the Nārāyaṇīya section (chapters 335-351 of Citraśāla ed. = cr. ed. 322-339) of the Śāntiparva and the Bhagavadgītā. For the

1538. नम इदुद्य नम आ विवासे नमो दाधार पृथिवीसुत द्याय । नमो देवेभ्यो नम ईशं एषां कृत चिन्तेनो नमसा विवासे ॥ ऋ. VI. 51. 8

1539. नापमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न सेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन । यमेवैव ब्रूयते तेन लभ्यस्तत्त्वैव आत्मा विब्रूयते तर्ह्ये स्वाय । कठोप० 2. 22, सुण्डक III. 2. 3.

1540. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ । तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥ श्वेताश्व. VI. 23, यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदाश्च महिणीति तस्मै । तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धि-प्रकाशं सुसुखं ईक्षणमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ श्वेताश्व. VI. 18. This last verse is relied upon by स्वप्नेश्वर in his bhāṣya on शाण्डिल्य-भक्तिसूत्र I 1 1. Barth in his 'Religions of India' translated by J. Wood (3rd ed 1891) sets out the grounds on which western scholars (particularly Weber) held that the religion of loving faith in Kṛṣṇa was due to Christian influence and then states that he is not satisfied with this theory (pp. 219-223)

antiquity of Kṛṣṇa worship (vide pp. 129-131 above). Megasthenes states that Heracles (Harikṛṣṇa?) was worshipped by Soursenoi (Śaurasenā) on the banks of Jobares (Yamunā) and had two cities Methora (Mathurā) and Cleisbora (Kṛṣṇapura?). In the Nārāyaṇīya it is stated (in chap. 335. 17-24) that king Uparicara Vasu was a devotee (bhakta) of Nārāyaṇa, that he worshipped the Lord of Gods according to the *sāttvata* rules that were proclaimed by the Sun, that he (Vasu) consecrated his kingdom, wealth, wife and horses to God, thinking that they all belonged to the Bhagavat (the Adorable One) and performed sacrificial rites according to the *Sāttvata* rules.

In the Śāntiparva, Sātvata and Pāñcarātra are identified¹⁵⁴¹ and it is said that the seven sages called 'citrāsikhāṇḍin' (lit. whose top-knots on the head were bright or wonderful) viz. Marici, Atri, Angras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasistha, proclaimed the (Pāñcarātra) śāstra and God Nārāyaṇa told them that the śāstra would be authoritative in the world and that king Vasu would learn the śāstra from Brhaspati to whom it would come by degrees from the seven sages. Chapter 336 of Śānti declares that to the north of the Milky Sea there was territory called Śvetadvīpa, where dwelt devotees of Nārāyaṇa who were called¹⁵⁴² 'Ekāntin' and Pāñcarātra is called 'Ekānta-dharma'. A peculiar doctrine of the Pāñcarātra school is that of the four *vyūhas* (*mūrtis* or forms) viz. that the Supreme Person is Vāsudeva, the individual soul is Śāṅkarsana, Pradyuma is mind and springs from Śāṅkarsana and Aniruddha is *ahaṅkāra* and originates from Pradyumna.¹⁵⁴³ It is this doctrine of the four forms of Vāsudeva, each springing from the preceding, that is refuted according to Śāṅkara in the Brahmasūtra II. 2. 42-45. The Śānti 348. 8 expressly refers to the Gīṭā as already declared

1541. काम्यनैमित्तिका राजन् यज्ञियाः परमक्रियाः । सर्वाः सात्वतमास्थाय विधिं चक्रे समाहितः । पाञ्चरात्रविदो मुख्यस्तस्य गेहे महात्मनः । प्रायणं भगवत्पूजं धुञ्जते वायभोजनम् ॥ शान्ति 335 24-25

1542 एकान्तिनस्ते पुरुषाः श्वेतद्वीपनिवासिनः । शान्ति 336. 29, vide also शान्ति 348. 62 for एकान्तिनः पुरुषाः; एकान्तिनस्ते पुरुषा गच्छन्ति परमं पदम् । नूनमेकान्तधर्मोऽयं श्रेष्ठो नारायणमियः ॥ शान्ति 348. 3-4.

1543. यो वासुदेवो भगवान् क्षेत्रज्ञो निर्गुणात्मकः । ज्ञेयः स एव राजेन्द्र जीवः सङ्कर्षणः प्रभुः ॥ सङ्कर्षणाच्च प्रद्युम्नो मनोभूतः स उच्यते । प्रद्युम्नाद्योऽनिरुद्धस्तु सोऽहङ्कारः स ईश्वरः ॥ शान्ति 339. 40-41.

to Arjuna. In ¹⁵⁴⁴ chap. 349. 64 it is said that Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedas and Pāśupata are five lores that differ in their views and were promulgated by Kapila (Sāṅkhya), Hiranyagarbha (Yoga), Apāntaratamas (the Veda), Śiva (Pāśupata), the Bhāgavat Himself (promulgator of Pāñcarātra). The Viṣṇudharmottara ¹⁵⁴⁵ remarks 'for seeking Brahma (the One Reality in the Universe) there are five Siddhāntas (systems) viz. Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, ¹⁵⁴⁶ Vedas and Pāśupata'. Relying on Śānti-parva 339. 68 several writers particularly those of the Rāmānuja school assert that the whole of the Pāñcarātra system has Vedic

1544. साख्यं योगं पाश्चात्तं वेदां पाशुपतं तथा । ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि मानामतानि वै ॥ ज्ञान्ति 349. 64; but later on it is said साख्यस्य वक्ता कपिलः परमर्षिः स उच्यते । " उक्तवानिदमव्यग्रो ज्ञानं पाशुपतं शिवः । पाश्चात्तस्य कृत्स्नस्य वेत्ता तु भगवान् स्वयम् । सर्वेषु च दृष्टश्रेष्ठ ज्ञानेष्वेतेषु हृदयते ॥ ज्ञान्ति 349 65-68 q. by परिभाषामन्त्रा p. 21 (which reads वक्ता तु भगवान् स्वयम्) These verses are borrowed almost verbatim by the योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII. 5-6 and the same work reads 'साख्यं योगं "तथा । अतिप्रमाणान्येतानि वेदुर्भिर्न विचालयेत् ।' XII. 4 (q. by अपरार्क on p. 11), which means that the five systems are beyond the ordinary means of knowledge and they should not be disturbed by mere ratiocination.

1545. साख्यं योगं पश्चात्तं शैव पाशुपतं तथा । कृतान्तपञ्चर्षे विद्धि ब्रह्मणः परिमार्गणे ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरसु I. 74. 34 q. by हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 25 and परिभाषामन्त्रा p. 22

1546. Why the cult of Vāsudeva was called Pāñcarātra has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere in the English histories of Indian Philosophy so far as I know. The name leads to the inference that the cult has something to do with five matters. But why is the word *rātra* or *kūta* used? That is the difficulty. In Śānti 336. 46 (or ed. 323. 42) Pāñcarātra is referred to as 'Pañcakāla' (तेरिष्ट पञ्चकालज्ञेयैरिरेकान्वितभिर्नरे.) Several guesses have been put forward, some of which are. (1) on five nights Nārāyaṇa taught Ananta, Garuda, Viśvakṣena, Brahmā and Rudra; (2) The Parama-sambhitā (31. 19) states that God imparted this doctrine in five nights to four sages, Sanatsumāra, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanātana, (3) this cult blackened (*rātra* is dark) five teachings, viz. साख्यं, योगं, पाशुपतं, बौद्धं and आर्हतं, (4) this (pāñcarātra) teaches five aspects परं, चतुष्टयं, विभय (i. e. अवतारं), अन्तर्धानं, अर्चा (images); (5) it dwells upon five duties of Vaiṣṇavas viz. tāpa (branding on the arm and other limbs), pundra (upright lines made on the forehead with some colouring substance), nāma (names of Vāsudeva), mantra (like 'Om namo Nārāyaṇāya'), yāga (worship of images of Vāsudeva). The Ālvar literature mentions fivefold nature viz. Para and the others. Vido K. C. Varadachari's paper on 'Some contributions of Ālvars to the philosophy of bhakti' in Silver Jubilee vol. of BORI p. 621. The Paramasambhitā (I. 39-40 G. O. S. ed.) states that the five great Elements, the five Tanmātras, Ahankāra, Buddhi and *avyākṛta*, (five categories or Tattvas of the Sāṅkhya) are the night (as it were) of the Puruṣa and therefore this śāstra (which propounds how to be free from the meshes of these five) is called Pāñcarātra

authority, while others like Aparārka p. 13 and Paribhāṣaprakāśa (p. 23) do not accept it as thoroughly Vedic but only partially.

In the Vedāntasūtra¹⁵⁴⁷ there are four sūtras dealing with the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system. The great Ācāryas are not agreed upon their interpretation, Śāṅkara saying that all the four sūtras refute some tenets of the Bhāgavatas, Rāmānuja saying that the first two sūtras (out of four) contain refutation of the Bhāgavata doctrine and the other two do not. Śāṅkarācārya makes it clear that the doctrines of the Bhāgavatas that the Supreme God Vāsudeva is the Highest Truth, that He assumes four forms, that the worship of Vāsudeva consists in continuous single-minded contemplation of Vāsudeva are not the targets for attack, that what is refuted is the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas that the individual soul called Sankarsana by them springs from Vāsudeva, that Pradyumna (mind) arises from Sankarsana and that Aniruddha (ahamkāra) arises from Pradyumna. It appears from Śāṅkara's remarks¹⁵⁴⁸ on II. 2. 45 that in his day Śāṇḍilya was supposed to have promulgated the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra śāstra, because he did not find the

1547. The four sūtras in the Vedāntasūtra (II. 2. 42-45) are: उत्स्य-सम्भवात्, न च कर्तुः करणम्, विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधाच्च. Though Rāmānuja enlarges upon the Pāñcarātra doctrine in his comments on the last two sūtras out of these four and quotes three passages that may be called Pāñcarātra, he does not avow either in his Śrībhāṣya or in his Vedārtha-saṅgraha that he is a Sātvata or Pāñcarātra

1548. वेदविप्रतिषेधश्च भवति । चतुर्षु वेदेषु परं श्रेयोऽलम्ब्या शाण्डिल्य इदं शास्त्रमाधि-गतवानित्यादिबेदनिन्दादर्शनात् । शाङ्करभाष्ये on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 2. 45. शाङ्कराचार्य begins 'तत्र भागवता मन्यन्ते' (on ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 2. 42) and under II. 2. 44 he re-marks 'न च पञ्चरात्रसिद्धान्तिभिर्वासुदेवादिष्वेकस्मिन् सर्वेषु वा ज्ञानैश्वर्यादितारतम्यकृतः कश्चिन्नेदमित्युपगम्यते ।'. It may further be noted that in the Śāntiparva पाञ्चरात्र is called सात्वतधर्म (chap. 348 34 and 84). बाण in his हर्षचरित (8th उच्छ्वास), while describing the persons professing various religions and philosophical doctrines gathered near the great ācārya Divākara-mitra, separately men-tions Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas 'सिद्धपञ्चायासु निषण्णैः...भागवतैर्गणैः केऽ-लुञ्चनैः कापिलैर्जैनलोकायातकैः...पौराणिकैः साप्ततन्त्रैः शैवैः शाक्तैः पाञ्चरात्रिकैरन्यैश्चात्र स्वान् स्वान् सिद्धान्ताञ्च शृण्वन्निः &c.'. What Bāṇa probably means is that भागवत stands for the general cult of bhakti (in the Gītā) and पाञ्चरात्र for one school among भागवततन्त्र, that had as its characteristic the doctrine of four vyūhas. This is like ब्राह्मणश्रमणन्याय. The वृद्धहारीतस्मृति (11. 181-192) states that Śāṇḍilya composed a work for performing the worship of Viṣṇu by a non-Vedic procedure, that Viṣṇu cursed him to remain in hell but relented when Śāṇḍilya threw himself on his mercy and reduced the period of hell-residence.

highest bliss in all the four Vedas. In the Dronaparva (29. 26-29) there is another and different reference to the four mūrtis of the Supreme for the benefit of the worlds viz one performs tapas (asuterities) on the earth, the 2nd has an eye on the world's good and evil deeds; the third comes to the world in a human form and does such acts as men perform; the 4th slumbers for a thousand years and when it arises from slumber confers the highest boons on those who deserve them.

It may be noted that even in the Mahābhārata Nārada's name is connected with Pāñcarātra. It is said 'this very secret doctrine, connected with the four Vedas, having the benefit of Sāṅkhya and Yoga and spoken of as Pāñcarātra, was (originally) uttered by the lips of Nārāyaṇa and was again communicated by Nārada.'¹⁵⁴⁹

Other great sources of the cult of bhakti are the Bhagavad-gītā, which is expressly mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya section (348. 8 = cr. ed. 336. 8), the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. The Gītā contains the words *bhakti* and *bhakta* several dozens of times. It may be stated here that the so-called Nārada-bhaktisūtras, Nārada-pāñcarātra, the Śāṇḍilya-bhakti-sūtra and the several extant Pāñcarātra-saṁhitās so far published are all later than the Gītā.¹⁵⁵⁰ The Agnīpurāṇa gives the names of 25 works on Pāñcarātra quoted in the note below.¹⁵⁵¹ The Maheśvara-

1549. इदं महोपनिषदं चतुर्वेदसमन्वितम् । सांख्ययोगकृतं तेन पञ्चरात्रादुद्दिष्टम् । नारायणहस्ताद्रीतं नारदोऽप्रावयत्युजः । शान्ति 339 111-112 (= cr. ed. 326. 100-101) The words इदं 'शब्दितम्' are q. by रामानुज in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 2. 45 (42 in रामानुजभाष्य B. S. S.).

1550 The reasons for this statement are not relevant to this work, but by way of example, attention may be drawn to some Śāṇḍilya-sūtras 'तदेव कर्मज्ञानियोगिन्य आधिक्यशब्दात्, प्रश्नानिरूपणान्पानाधिक्यसिद्धे' (I. 2. 22-23 in Jivanand's ed. = I. 2. 15-16 in भक्तिचन्द्रिका), which clearly refer to Gītā VI. 46-47 and XII. 1 and 6-7 respectively. There is one sūtra where the Gītā is expressly mentioned viz सैकान्तभावो गीतार्थप्रपञ्चिज्ञानात् (II 2. 83 in Jivanand's ed = II 2. 28 in भक्तिचन्द्रिका) स्वतेश्वर comments on this सा परा-भक्तिर्वैकान्तभावो नायम्. । उक्तः । गीतार्थेन प्रत्यभिज्ञाश्रवणात् । यथा नारायणीय एव 'सदोप-निषदो' 'ऋषिणापि वा' (शान्ति 348. 5-6) इति प्रश्ने प्रत्युत्तरम् । 'समुपेदेन्यनैकेषु' भगवता स्वयम्. । (शान्ति 348. 8) । तस्मादेकान्विता परा भक्तिरिति ।

1551. विष्णवादीनां प्रतिष्ठादि वक्ष्ये ब्रह्मन् सृष्ट्वन् मे । शोकानि पञ्चरात्राणि सप्तरात्राणि वै नया ॥ स्वस्तानि सुनिर्मलैके पञ्चविंशतिसंख्यया । इयशीर्षे तन्त्रनाथं तन्त्र त्रैलोक्यमोदनम् ॥ "स्वायम्भुवं कापिलं च तार्क्ष्यं नारायणीयकम् ॥ आत्रेयं नारसिंहाख्यमानन्ददाख्यं तथापणम् ॥ बौधायनं तथाष्टाङ्गं विश्वोक्तं तस्य सारतः ॥ अग्निपु 39 1-5. Does नारायणीय in the verse above refer to the नारायणीय section of the महाभारत ?

tantra names 25 Pañcarātra tantras promulgated by Visnu, which are condemned therein as having no truth (26. 16' ff.).

There is an extensive Literature on the Bhakti cult. Only a few of the important works in Sanskrit, their translations and works in English are noted here. Barth, Hopkins, Keith, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and others have propounded different theories as to what Kṛṣṇa represented, how he was identified with Viṣṇu who appears to be another name of the Sun in the Ṛgveda and came to be regarded as the highest God in Brāhmaṇa times (as in Ait Br. 'Agnir-vai devānām avamaḥ, Viṣṇuḥ paramaḥ) and came to be identified with sacrifice (Yajño vai Viṣṇuḥ). When Kṛṣṇa, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas was identified with the Supreme Spirit, the full-fledged doctrine of Avatāras appeared as in the Gītā. The important works on *bhakti* are: The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva (chapters 322-351 in the Citraśālā edition and chap. 322-339 of the critical edition); the Bhagavadgītā; several Purāṇas, the most important being Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata;¹⁵⁵² the Bhaktisūtra of Śaṇḍilya with the *bhāṣya* of Svapneśvara (ed. by Jivananda, Calcutta 1876) and translation of both these (in B. I. series) by E. B. Cowell

1552 It is remarkable that the Bhāgavata, which is practically the most important or sole authority for all great medieval Vaiṣṇava teachers like Vallabha and Caitanya and their disciples, is not quoted anywhere by Rāmānuja (who was born in śake 1049 i e 1127 A. D.) in his *bhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras, when he quotes over a hundred verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa in the same. In fact, in the Vedārthasaṅgraha Rāmānuja states that in the same way as the section (anuvāka) on Nārāyaṇa among all śruti texts serves to expound the special aspect of highest Brahma so the Viṣṇupurāṇa also defines a special aspect of the highest Brahma and that all other Purāṇas should be so interpreted as not to be in conflict with it ' यथा सर्वास्तु श्रुतिषु केवलपरब्रह्मस्वरूपविशेषदर्शनायैव प्रवृत्तो नारायणोद्वाकस्तथैवं केणैव च पुराणं...परब्रह्मस्वरूपविशेषनिर्णयायैव प्रवृत्तम् । अन्यानि सर्वाणि पुराणान्येतद्विरोधेन नेयानि । वेदार्थसंग्रह para 110-111 pp 141-142 (D. C. ed. 1956). रामानुज mentions (in भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II 2 41 and 45) पौष्करसंहिता, सात्वतसंहिता and परमसंहिता among the पञ्चरात्रसंहिताs, but does nowhere affirm that he is a follower of the पञ्चरात्र doctrine. There are numerous commentaries on the Bhāgavata and commentaries on commentaries (Das Gupta in vol 4 pp. 1-2 lists over 40 commentaries on the Bhāgavata). It is unnecessary in this work to refer to the numerous commentaries of the disciples and followers of Madhva and other great Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. The position of Vallabhācārya (1479-1531 A. D.) appears to be that the Bhāgavata is the supreme authority in case of doubt ' वेदा. श्रीकृष्णवाक्यानि व्याससूत्राणि चैव हि । समाधिभाषा व्यासस्य प्रमाणं तत्रतुल्यम् । उत्तरं पूर्वसन्देश्वरकं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ तत्त्वदीपनिबन्ध (Ahmedabad, 1926), vide also Prof. G. H. Bhatt in I. H. Q. vol. IX, 300-306 Vallabhācārya's is called युद्धिमार्ग (meaning कृष्णाद्युग्रम्) and he holds that even *bhakti* is difficult to accomplish in the Kali age.

(1878); Śāṇḍilya's *samhitā* (Bhaktikhanda) in the Sarasvatibhavan Series, edited by Anantasastri Phadke, (1935); Nārada-bhaktisūtra with English Translation by Nandlal Sinha (Pāṇini office, Allahabad, 1911); the Nārada-pāñcarātra (containing the Jñānamṛtasāra section) in eleven chapters (ed. for B. I. Series by C. M. Banerji, Calcutta, 1865) and English translation of it by Swami Viṇṇānānanda (Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1921); Sir R. G. Bhadarkar's 'Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c' (1913, in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research); 'Das-Gupta's History of Indian Philosophy' vol. IV. (1949), wherein he deals with the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the doctrines of Madhva, Vallabha, Caitanya and their followers; Grierson's paper 'Gleanings from Bhaktamālā of Nābhadasa', in J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 607-644; 'History of Śrīvaisnavas', by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (Madras, 1923), 'the Gospel of Nārada' by Duncan Greenless (Adyar, 1951); Nārada-bhakti-sūtras (text, translation and notes) ed. by Swami Tyāgīśānanda (Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, 1943) in five *adhyaṃyās* and 84 sūtras; the Ahirbudhnya-samhitā in two volumes (Adyar, 1916); Dr. F. Otto Schrader's Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya-samhitā (Adyar, 1916); Jayākhyā-samhitā with English and Sanskrit Introductions (G. O. S. 1931); the Parama samhitā (G. O. S. 1946) with English Translation by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar; the Brhadbrahmasamhitā (of Nārada-pāñcarātra) in the Ānandāśrama series, 1912); Bhakticandrikā (commentary on Śāṇḍilya's Bhaktisūtras) by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (Sarasvatibhavan series, 1921, 1938); Bhakti-prakāśa of Mitrāmīśra (Chowkhamba Series, 1934); Bhakti-nirnaya of Anantadeva (ed by Pandit Anantasastri Phadke, Banaras, 1937). There is a good deal of Bhakti literature in South India, such as the hymns of the Ālwārs, but no reference is made here to it for several reasons.

Before proceeding with the treatment of *bhakti* in the Purāṇas the words 'bhakti' and 'Bhāgavata' must be briefly defined and explained. Śāṇḍilya defines^{1552a} 'bhakti' as 'sā

1552a. अथातो भक्तिर्ज्ञासा । सा पराहुरकिरीचरे । ज्ञापित्व्य I. 1 1-2; स्वेश्वर comments: आराधयविषयकस्यैव सा । इह तु परमेश्वरविषयकान्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेष एव भक्तिः । The verse relied on is: या श्रीतिरिविकाना निषयेभ्यनपायिनी । त्वामदुस्मरतः सा मे हृदयान्मापसर्पतु ॥ विष्णुपुरा I. 20. 19. स्वेश्वर also quotes गीता 'मच्चित्ता मद्रुत-याणा बोधयन्तः परस्परम् । कथयन्तश्च मां निरपं तुष्यन्ति च रमन्ति च ॥ तेषां सततयुक्तानां भजतां श्रीतिपूर्वकम् । ददामि बुद्धियोगं त येन माह्वययान्ति ते ॥ X. 9-10. On अहुरक्ति he remarks 'भगवन्महिमादिज्ञानादहो पश्चात् जायमानादहुरक्तिरित्युक्तम्' । स्वेश्वर refers

(Continued on next page)

parānuraaktirīśvare'. This may be interpreted in two ways 'the highest form of bhakti is affection fixed on God' or 'bhakti is the highest affection fixed on God'. Svapneśvara, the author of a bhāṣya on Śāṇḍilya, prefers the first and Nārada-bhakti-sūtra, Tilak and others favour the second. Svapneśvara explains that in general 'bhakti' means 'affection fixed on a being that is to be won over or worshipped', but that in this śāstra it means 'a particular state of the mind having the Supreme Lord as its object' and quotes a verse from the Viṣṇupurāṇa uttered by the great devotee Prahlāda 'May that fixed (or unwavering) love, which the ignorant (or unreflecting) people feel for worldly objects, never depart from my heart, ever remembering you'. The Gītā employs the word 'prīti' (affection) and conveys that the word 'bhakti' is derived from the root 'bhaj' to resort to. 'Those whose minds are on me, whose lives are offered to me, who instruct each other, who speak of me, are always contented and happy. On these who are continuously devoted to me and serve me with affection, I bestow that knowledge by which they reach me'. Svapneśvara explains that the word 'anurakti' (with prefix 'anu') is employed to convey that the affection for God arises *after* the devotee secures knowledge of the greatness and other attributes of the Bhagavat (Adorable One). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa the word 'anurāga' is used for 'bhakti', where, after describing the ascent of Rāma and his brothers to heaven, it says that the people of the capital of Kosala who had deep affection for those incarnate parts of the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), having their minds fixed on them, reached the position of residence in the same world with them. Śāṇḍilya further¹⁵⁵³ says that there is the teaching that there is immortality for him who abides in Him. In the Chāndogya Up. it is said 'He who abides in brahman reaches immortality'. The idea is that immortality being the promise of abiding in God, there will be no indifference in the effort to know God or in the effort to

(Continued from last page)

to विष्णुपुराण IV. 4. 103 'येषु भगवद्भोग्यवद्भिराणिः कोसलनगरजानपदास्तेषु तन्मन-सस्तत्सालोक्यतामेवायुः'. The भागवत holds that the highest bhakti must be disinterested and uninterrupted; अद्वैतव्यवहारिता या भक्तिः युक्त्योत्तमा। भागवत III. 29. 12. The next verse mentions the four stages of beatitude 'सालोक्यतादि-सामीप्यसायुज्यैकत्वमप्युत' (एकत्व is 5th, final goal).

1553. तत्संस्थस्यायुतत्वोपदेशात्। शाण्डिल्य I 1.30, स्वप्नेश्वर explains, 'तस्मिन्कीश्वरे सत्या भक्तिर्भक्त्यै स तयोक्तः'. The छान्दोग्य declares 'ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽयुतत्वमेति' (II 23.1) and the same meaning is conveyed by ब्रह्मसूत्र I. 1. 7 'तस्मिन्कीश्वरे'.

cultivate highest affection for God. It may be noticed that the sūtras of Nārada appear to be a mere paraphrase of Śāṇḍilya's aphorisms ¹⁵⁵⁴ Śāṇḍilya further (sūtra 7) provides that bhakti, like knowledge, is not an action because it does not follow an effort of the will and that (sūtra 9) it is different from *jñāna*, as the Gītā refers to self-surrender being attained by one having knowledge after many births (Gītā VII. 19).

Our ancestors had a great *penchant* for classifications, divisions and sub-divisions. Bhakti is divided into *laukikī* (of the common people), *Vaidikī* (laid down by the Veda) and *ādhyātmikī* (philosophical), as in Padma V. 15. 164; or *mānasi* (mental), *vācīkī* (verbal) and *kāyīkī* (done with the body, such as fasts, vratas &c) in Padma V. 15. 165-168; into Sāttvikī, Rājasi and Tāmasī (as in Bhāgavata III. 29. 7-10 and Padma VI. 126. 4-11), into best, middling and inferior as in Brahmanda III. ¹⁵⁵⁵ 34. 38-41).

Prapatti (self-surrender) is distinguished from bhakti in works of the Rāmānuja and of other Vaisnava schools. It consists of five points ¹⁵⁵⁶ viz. resolution to yield (to God's will), the abandoning of opposition, faith that God will protect (the devotee), praying to God to save the devotee, and a feeling of helplessness shown by casting one's soul on Him. Bhakti has as synonyms the words 'dhyāna', 'upāsana' &c. and is subsidiary to *prapatti*. The Gītā explicitly makes no such distinction. In Gītā II. 7 Arjuna speaks of himself as 'prapanna' (who has approached or surrendered himself for salvation). The final advice at the end of the Gītā enjoins what is called *prapatti* in later works 'On me fix your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice

1554. अथातो भक्तिं व्याख्यास्यामः । सा तस्मिन्परमेतरूपा । अमृतस्वरूपा च । नारद-भक्तिसूत्र 1-3

1555. The ब्रह्माण्ड mentions नारद, शुक, अम्बरीष, रत्निदेव, मारुति, बलि, बिभीषण, गृह्णद, गोपीस and उद्धव as exemplars of highest भक्ति, वसिष्ठ and मनु as practising मध्यमा and ordinary men as practising *kanisthā* (inferior) भक्ति. The नारदभक्तिसूत्र 83 mentions many of these as भक्त्याचार्याः : 'इत्येवं वदन्ति । जनजलपनिर्भया एकमता. कुमारव्यासशुक्रशाण्डिल्यगर्गविष्णुकोटिहृदय-शेष-उद्धव-आरुणिबलिहृदमद्विभीषणादयो भक्त्याचार्याः ॥ कुमार stands for नारद, son of ब्रह्मा

1556 ध्यानशब्दवाच्या भक्तिर्विद्याभेदाद्बहुविधा । "प्रपत्तिर्नाम-आनुकूल्यस्य सकल्य-प्राप्तिकूल्यस्य वर्जनम् । रक्षिष्यतीति विश्वासो गीतृत्ववर्णं तथा । आत्मनिक्षेपकार्पण्यम्-इत्याद्यङ्ग-पञ्चकयुक्ता । यतीन्द्रमतदीपिका p. 64. This work remarks that this प्रपत्ति must be learnt from the lips of a guru and therefore it does not expound it. Some read आत्मनिक्षेपः कार्पण्यं and thus raise the āhgas of प्रपत्ति to six

to me, offer adoration to me; you will certainly reach me; I declare to you truly, you are dear to me. Giving up all (*dharma*s) duties, come to me as your (only) refuge; I shall release you from all sins; do not grieve'.¹⁵⁵⁷ Vide also Gītā VII. 14, 15 and XV. 4 for other instances of the use of the root 'pra-pad'. The theory propounded in the Gītā and other works on bhakti was that bhakti led on to 'prasāda' (favour or grace) of God which enables the devotee to attain mokṣa.¹⁵⁵⁸ The Gītā (18. 56, 58, 62) - says 'a man, though always performing all actions, but solely depending on me, obtains an imperishable and eternal place through my favour; if you fix your mind on me, you will get over all difficulties through my favour; go to Him as the refuge with all your heart, O Arjuna, through His grace you will attain the highest peace and an everlasting abode.' In the Viṣṇupurāṇa Prahlaḍa¹⁵⁵⁹ is told by the Adorable One 'as your mind is firmly and devotedly fixed on me you will by my favour attain the highest bliss'. The idea of God's grace occurs both in the Katha and Śvetāśvatara Upanisads: ¹⁵⁶⁰ 'The Self, smaller than the small and greater than the great, is hidden in the heart of the creatures, a man who is free from willing anything and free from grief sees the greatness of the Self through the favour of the Creator'.

There is a great difference between the Gītā and the Nārāyaṇīya section. In the former, though the Supreme Soul is called Vāsudeva,¹⁵⁶¹ the doctrine of the four vyūhas, that is very

1557. ममना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मा नमस्कुरु । मामेवैष्यसि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने
विशोऽसि मे ॥ सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज । अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा
ह्युच ॥ गीता 18 65-66. धर्मान् here refers to the duties of varṇas (brāhmana, kṣatriya &c) and of āśramas (such as those of householder or ascetic &c.) or धर्मान् may refer to actions enjoined by the Veda and smṛtis. This last exhortation is practically repeated from the end of the 9th chapter 'ममना
...नमस्कुरु । मामेवैष्यसि युक्त्वैवमात्मानं मत्परायणः ॥' 9. 34.

1558. भक्तियोगसिन्ध्यां प्रसन्न ईश्वर एव मोक्षं ददाति । अतस्तयोरेव मोक्षोपायत्वम् ।
यतीन्द्रमतदीपिका p 64.

1559. यथा ते निश्चलं चेतो मयि भक्तिसमन्वितम् । तथा त्वं मत्प्रसादेन निर्वाणं
परमाप्स्यसि ॥ त्रिण्यसु I 20. 28.

1560. अणोरणीयाभ्रमहतो महीयानात्मास्य जन्तोर्निहितो गृहायाम् । तमक्रतुः पश्यति
वीतशोको घातुः प्रसादात्समहिमानमात्मनः । कठोप० II. 20, श्वेताश्व० III. 20 (reads आत्मा
गृहायां निहितोऽस्य जन्तोः, अक्रतुः, समहिमानमीशम्).

1561. बहूनां जन्मानन्तरे ज्ञानवान्मां प्रपद्यते । बाह्यदेव-सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥
गीता VII 19, बृष्णीना बाह्यदेवोऽस्मि । गीता X. 37.

characteristic of the Nārāyaṇīya section, is totally absent and further even the names of Sankarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha do not occur in the Gītā. In my opinion the Gītā is the older of the two, as it propounds the general doctrine of bhakti, while the Pāñcarātra doctrine in the Nārāyaṇīya is only one of the several bhakti schools. Moreover, the Nārāyaṇīya section represents that Gītā had already been proclaimed and that the knowledge brought from Śvetadvīpa by Nārada is the same as that declared in the Harigītā (chap. 346. 10-11, 348. 53-54). Śānti (348. 55-57) mentions that there was only one vyūha or there were two, three or four and that the Ekāntins attached great importance to ahimsā. Besides, the worship of Vāsudeva is older than Pāṇini, since¹⁵⁶² Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word Vāsudevaka as meaning 'one whose object of worship is Vāsudeva'. Vide Dr Bhandarkar's 'Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c.' paragraphs 2-10 (pp. 3-19 of vol IV of the collected works) for the antiquity of Vāsudeva worship. The general view of most medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra about Pāñcarātra is represented by the Pārīāta quoted in the K. R. that the Pāñcarātra¹⁵⁶³ and Pāsupata śāstras are authoritative only so far as they are not opposed to the Vedas. This was the view of the Sūtasamhitā also, on which a commentary was composed by the famous Mādhavācārya.

In some Purāṇas the word Vāsudeva is not derived¹⁵⁶⁴ from Vasudeva (as the son of Vasudeva) but from the root 'vas' to dwell. 'Vāsudeva is so called because all beings dwell in the Highest Self and Vāsudeva dwells in beings as the soul of all'. Compare Gītā 9. 29 'I am alike to all beings; none is odious to me nor dear, but those who worship me with faith dwell in me and I too dwell in them'.

1562 भक्ति. । "वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्या उद् । पा. IV, 3 95 and 98 (वासुदेवः भक्तिः सेव्यः यस्य स वासुदेवकः).

1563. पञ्चरात्रप्राप्त्यादीन्यपि शास्त्राणि वेदाविरुद्धानि प्रमाणमेवेति पारिजातः । कृत्य-रत्नाकर p. 37, तथा च योऽंशो मार्गाणां वेदेन न विरुध्यते । सोऽंशः प्रमाणमित्युक्तं केपाचिदाधि-कारिणाम् । अत्यन्तगलितानां तु भाषिणा वेदमार्गः । सूतसंहिता IV, 4, 16-18

1564 सर्वाणि तत्र श्रुतानि वसन्ति परमात्मनि । श्रुतेषु च स सर्वात्मा वासुदेवस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ विष्णुषु VI 5 80, ब्रह्मषु 233 68 (reads निवसन्ति परमात्मनि). There is another verse 'श्रुतेषु वसते योन्तर्वसत्यत्र च तानि यत् । धाता विधाता जगता वासुदेवस्ततः प्रसू. ॥ विष्णुषु VI. 5 82, ब्रह्मषु 233 70 (but it says that this verse contains what Prajāpati declared to great sages). विष्णुषु (I. 2, 12-13) states 'सर्वत्रासौ समस्त च वसत्यत्रेति वै यतः । ततः स वासुदेवेति विद्वद्भिः परिपठ्यते ॥'

The word *bhagavat* calls for a brief notice. It was generally applied to Vāsudeva. The *Visnupurāṇa* says 'The word *bhaga* is applied to the six qualities collectively viz. fulness of sway, manliness (or energy), glory, auspiciousness, knowledge and indifference to worldly objects. This noble word *bhagavān* applies to Vāsudeva who is the Highest Brahma and to no one else'.¹⁵⁶⁵ The *Visnupurāṇa*¹⁵⁶⁶ further states that the word 'bhagavat' may be applied secondarily to others on the ground of possessing special qualities "that person may be called 'bhagavān', who knows about the creation and dissolution (of the world), about the origin and final destiny of beings, and knows what is *vidyā* and *avidyā* (nescience). Knowledge, strength, power, sway, manliness, splendour—all these in their entirety, excluding the three *gunas* (and their effects) that are to be avoided, are expressed by the word *bhagavat*". *Bhāgavata* is one who worships 'Bhagavat' (i. e. Vāsudeva). This is an ancient word. It occurs in the Besnagar column inscription (of the 2nd century B. C.) of Heliodora, a Greek of Takṣaśīlā and ambassador of Antalkīta, who calls himself a *bhāgavata* (a devotee of Vāsudeva); vide above p. 516 n. 742 and 'Indo-Greeks' by Prof. A. K. Narain (1957), where at end he gives the full Besnagara Ins. of nine lines and its reading (Plate VI). It appears that 'bhagavat' was rarely applied to Śiva also. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* speaks¹⁵⁶⁷ of Śiva as 'bhagavān'. Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on Pāṇini V. 2. 76 speaks of Śivabhāgavata.¹⁵⁶⁸ In the Ghosūndī stone

1565 ऐश्वर्यस्य सनयस्य वीर्यस्य यज्ञसः श्रियः। ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीरणा ॥ एवमेव महाच्छब्दो मेधेय भगवानिति। परमब्रह्मभूतस्य वासुदेवस्य नाम्नयः ॥ विष्णुपु० VI. 5. 74 and 76 The बुद्धवारीतस्मृति VI. 164-165 has ऐश्वर्यं च तथा वीर्यं तेजः शक्तिरनुत्तमा। ज्ञानं बलं यदेतेषां षण्णां भग इतीरितः। एभिर्गुणैः प्रवृणो यः स एव भगवान् हरिः। शङ्कराचार्य in भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 2. 44 remarks about the व्यूह 'ईश्वरा एवैते सर्वे ज्ञानैश्वर्यशक्तिबलवीर्यतेजोभिरेश्वरैर्मरिन्विता अयुपगम्यन्ते' शङ्कराचार्य probably follows the विष्णुपुराण VI 5. 78-79.

1566 उत्पत्तिं मलयं चैव भूतानामागतिं गतिम्। वेत्ति विद्यामविद्या च स वाच्यो भगवानिति ॥ ज्ञानशक्तिबलैश्वर्यवीर्यतेजोऽस्य होत। भगवच्छब्दवाच्यानि विना हेतुर्गुणादिभिः ॥ विष्णुपु० VI. 5. 78-79, ब्रह्मपु० 233 66-68.

1567 सर्वव्यापी स भगवान् तस्मात्सर्वगतः शिवः। श्वेताश्व० III 11.

1568. अयःशूलवण्डाजिनान्यां ठकूठजौ। पा. V. 2. 76; महाभाष्य 'किं चोऽयःशूलेनान्विच्छति स आयःशूलिकः। किं चातः। शिवभागवते प्राप्नोति। एवं तर्ह्युत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः। अयःशूलमिवायःशूलम्। यो मृदुनोपायेनान्तेष्टयानर्थान् रभतेनान्विच्छति स उच्यते आयःशूलिकः'। शिवभागवत is to be explained as शिवो भगवान् भक्तिरस्य शिवभागवतः i. e. a devotee that carried with him a trident, which is a weapon of Śiva.

Inscription¹⁵⁶⁹ in Sanskrit (near Nagari in the Chitorgadh District of Rajputana) there is a reference to both Sankarsana and Vāsudeva as *bhagavat* and it calls them Sarveśvara (about 200 B. C.), while the Besnagara inscription speaks of Vāsudeva alone and Heliodora calls himself *bhāgavata*. In some early records such as the Pikira grant of Simhavarman (E. I. vol VII. p. 161) and in Gupta Inscription No. 4 (at p 27) Simhavarman and Candragupta (II) son of Samudragupta are called '*paramabhāgavata*'. Akṛūra is styled *mahābhāgavata* in Brahmapurāṇa 190 20, Padma VI. 280 27 defines a *Mahābhāgavata* as noted below.¹⁵⁷⁰

Three *mārgas* (paths) are spoken of in ancient works viz. *karmamārga*, *bhaktimārga* and *jñānamārga*. It is necessary to say here something about the path of *bhakti* and that of *jñāna*. Both these paths are deemed to lead to the same goal, viz. *mokṣa*. The mode of approach in the two is, however, different. In the path of knowledge (or *avyaktorūpāsanā*) it is not bare book knowledge of *brahman* as the Supreme Soul and as *nirguna* that will lead to *mokṣa*, for that purpose what is required is the *brāhmī-sthiti* (state of identifying oneself with *brahma*) mentioned in Gītā II. 72. This condition can be secured only by great efforts and long practice as described in Gītā II. 55 and the following verses. In the path of knowledge whatever actions the person concerned may do are *brahmārpana*, as described in Gītā IV. 18-24. In the path of *bhakti* the *bhakta* resigns himself to God's grace and whatever he does he consigns to the God worshipped by him such as Yāsudeva (*saguna* and *vyakta*). Arjuna asks the Lord a question in Gītā XII. 1 'of the worshippers who thus constantly devoted meditate on you and those who (meditate) on the Unperceived and Indestructible, which

- 1569. Vide E. I. XVI pp. 25-27 and I A vol. 61 pp 203-205 for the Ghosundi Stone Inscription, where Sankarsana and Vāsudeva are both styled 'Bhagavat' and 'Sarveśvara'.

- 1570 तां पाद्विपञ्चसंस्कारी नवेज्याकर्मकारकम् । अर्थपञ्चकविद् विमो महाभागवतं स्मृतम् ॥ वेदं VI. 280 27. For तां पाद्वि, vide note 1546 above. The nine modes of worship are स्मरणं &c quoted in note 1571. The five heads under which the doctrines of the रासवाक्य school are discussed are . (1) जीव, (2) ईश्वर, (3) उपाय (way to God), (4) फल or युक्त्यर्थ (the goals of human life), (5) विरोधिनः (obstructions or obstacles to the attainment of God). - There is a work called अर्थपञ्चक by नारायण, in which each of the above five heads is shown to have five sub-divisions. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's paper in Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886, Aryan section, pp. 101-110 for a summary of the work called अर्थपञ्चक.

best know devotion'. The reply given in XII. 2-7 is 'those who, being constantly devoted and possessed of the highest devotion, worship me with a mind fixed on me are regarded by me as the most devoted. But those who, restraining the group of the senses, and with a mind equable to all, meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived (Principle), which is all-pervading, inconceivable, unconcerned, immoveable, and constant, they, devoted to the good of all beings, certainly attain to me. In the case of those whose minds are attached to the unperceived (Principle or Spirit) the trouble is much greater, since the unperceived goal is attained by embodied beings with difficulty. In the case of those, however, who dedicating all their actions to me and regarding me as their highest goal worship me, meditating on me with a devotion towards none beside me and whose minds are placed on me, I, without delay, become their deliverer from the ocean of *samsāra* and death'. In chapter 9 the path of bhakti is spoken of in these terms 'it is the chief among vidyās (lores), chief among mysteries; it is the best means of sanctification; it can be directly apprehended, it is in accordance with dharma, imperishable and *easy to practise*'. According to the Gītā, therefore, the path of bhakti is easier than the path of knowledge.

The Bhāgavata says that *bhakti* is ninefold¹⁵⁷¹ viz. hearing about Viṣṇu, repeating his name, remembering him, worshipping the feet (of the image of Viṣṇu), offering pūjā, bowing (or homage), treating oneself as the slave of Viṣṇu, treating Him as a friend and surrendering one's soul to Him. According¹⁵⁷² to Nārada-bhakti-sūtra it is elevenfold (as noted below). It is

1571. अवर्णं कीर्तनं विष्णोः स्मरणं पादसेवनम् । अर्चनं वन्दनं दास्यं सख्यमात्म-
निवेदनम् ॥ इति सुसार्थिता विष्णोर् भक्तिश्चेन्नवलक्षणम् । क्रियते भगवत्पद्धा तन्मन्येऽधीतद्युत्तमम् ॥
भागवत VII 3 23-24 प्रह्लाद says this to his father. स्मृतिवीर्योः कथादेव्यात्
प्रायश्चित्तभावात् । शाण्डिल्य 74, स्मरणकीर्तनकथानमस्कारादीनामात्मभक्तौ निवेशः । स्वमेश्वर-
महापातकिन्वा त्वात् । शाण्डिल्य 82, पतनहेतुपापपरातां च पुनरार्तिभक्तावेवाधिकारः प्रायश्चित्त-
वत् तत्प्रायश्चित्तस्य सर्वापेक्षायाम्प्राहितत्वात् । तदपगमे तु सुतरामधिकारसिद्धिः । The भक्ति-
प्रकाश (part of वीरभक्तिसूत्र) in pp 30-128 explains these nine at great length.
Even the तान्त्रिक writers took over these nine modes of bhakti e. g. the
सङ्ख्यामल (27. 103-104) provides 'मननं कीर्तनं ध्यानं स्मरणं पादसेवनम् । अर्चनं...
निवेदनम् ॥ एतद्भक्तिप्रसादेन जीवन्मुक्तस्तु साधकः ॥

1572. गुणमाहात्म्यासक्ति-रूपासक्ति-पूजासक्ति-स्मरणासक्ति-दास्यासक्ति-सख्यासक्ति-
वात्सल्यासक्ति-कान्तासक्ति-आत्मनिवेदनासक्ति-तन्मयतासक्ति-परमविरहासक्तिरूपा एकधा
अपि एकादशधा भवति । नारदभक्तिसूत्र 83. The बुद्धहरतीतरमुक्तिः 81-83 gives slightly
differing nine aspects of bhakti.

not to be supposed that all these nine methods have to be practised at the same time. A devotee practising any one of these, viz. remembering or reciting His name, may thereby become a true bhakta, and may win God's favour and secure liberation (Śāṇḍilyasūtra 73). The Gītā (VII. 16-17) states 'four classes of men, who are (all) fortunate, worship me viz. one who is in distress, the seeker after knowledge, one who seeks some desired object (or seeks wealth), one who is possessed of knowledge; of these he who is possessed of knowledge, who is always devoted and who worships One (Being) only is distinguished (above others), for to the man of knowledge I am extremely dear and he is dear to me'. Śāṇḍilya provides that the four aspects (out of nine) viz. remembering God, reciting His name, narrating stories about Him and bowing to Him (His image), find their place in the bhakti of those who are distressed, for these are said to be the means of expiation of sins, as the Viṣṇupurāṇa says (II. 6. 39) that remembering Kṛṣṇa is superior to all prāyaścittas. Śāṇḍilya further says that those guilty of mortal (grave) sins are only entitled to the bhakti of the distressed; but when their sins have been wiped off they would be entitled to the other forms of bhakti.

Gītā does not expressly enumerate all these nine modes of bhakti, but most of them can be gathered from various passages of the Gītā such as IX. 14, 26, 27 and from passages in other Purāṇas. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa¹⁵⁷³ says 'whatever be the expiatory rites, consisting of austerities, deeds of charity &c., to remember Kṛṣṇa is superior to them all' and 'that repetition of His name with bhakti is the best solvent of all sins, as fire is of metals'. In the Bhāgavata¹⁵⁷⁴ it is said 'whatever the devotee does by his body, speech, mind, organs of sense, by his intellect or by his soul or by the force of temperament that he follows—all that he should offer to Nārāyaṇa who is highest'. This is entirely in line with Gītā IX. 27 and may be called 'dāśya-bhakti', while Arjuna's bhakti is 'sakhya-bhakti', as Lord Kṛṣṇa himself speaks of him as 'my devotee and a friend' (Gītā

1573. प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तप कर्मात्मकानि वै । यानि तेषामशेषाणां कृष्णाद्भुक्त्वा परम् ॥ विष्णुपु० II. 6. 39 = पद्म VI 72. 13, यत्नामकीर्तनं भक्त्या विलायनमनुत्तमम् । मैत्रेयाशेषपापानां धातुनामिव पावकः ॥ विष्णुपु० q. by स्वमे-वर on शाण्डिल्यभक्तिद्वय 74.

1574. कायेन वाचा मनसेन्द्रियैर्वा बुद्ध्यात्मना वाऽनुत्तमभावाद् । करोति यद्यस्तकलं परस्मै नारायणायैति समर्पयेत्तत् ॥ भाग. XI. 2 36.

IV. 3). It appears that the Gītā regards the performance¹⁵⁷⁵ of the duties of his station in life by a *bhākta* as worship (*arcana* or *pūjā*) of God 'worshipping by the performance of one's duties (without an eye to the fruit or rewards of them) God from whom the world springs and by whom all this world is permeated, a man obtains perfection (and not only by offering flowers or by reciting the name of God).

This central doctrine of the Gītā of what is called 'niskāma-karma' was accepted by the Purāṇas. The Viṣṇu II, 3.25 adopts it. The Agnīpurāṇa in chapter 381 gives a summary of the Gītā in 58 verses which are mostly made up of passages from the Gītā. It winds up the summary with the verse quoted in note 1575 and emphasizes *bhakti* in the last verse.¹⁵⁷⁶ The Garuda-purāṇa summarises the Gītā in 28 verses (I. 237-238). The Padma (in VI. 171-188) contains the *māhātmya* of each of the 18 chapters of the Gītā interspersed with legends about the fruit of reading each Gītā chapter (1005 verses in all). A few further examples may be cited. The Kūrma says¹⁵⁷⁷ 'therefore even a man not possessed of (high) wisdom should perform all his duties (or actions) abandoning with all efforts the fruit (or reward) of actions, he obtains (high) abode after some time'; 'actions done after offering them to me do not tend to bind down the doer but tend to *mukti* (liberation)'. The Mārkaṇḍeya also refers to 'niskāma-karma'. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa provides 'a man performing (the rites) prescribed by the Veda but without attachment (not caring for the reward) and surrendering them to God secures freedom from the bondage of *karma* and the declaration of the reward (in the Veda) is only meant for stimulating effort.'

The doctrine of *adhyātma* in the Upanisads (such as in Īśā 16, Tai. Up. III. 4 and 8, Br. Up. II. 4. 14, IV. 3. 30-31, IV. 5. 15) was for the wise. They offer very little to the ordinary man

1575 यतः प्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञाना येन सर्वमिदं ततम् । स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥ गीता 18. 46

1576. अतः प्रवृत्तिः... भ्यर्च्य विष्णु सिद्धिं च विन्दति । कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सर्वावस्थासु सर्वदा । ब्रह्मादिस्तम्भपर्यन्तं जगद्विष्णुं च वेत्ति यः । सिद्धिमामोति भगवन्भक्तो भागवतो ध्रुवम् ॥ अग्निपु. 381. 56-58 कर्मण्यसङ्गलिपततत्फलानि संन्यस्य विष्णौ परमात्मभुते । अवाप्य तां कर्ममहीमनन्ते तस्मिंश्चर्य ये त्वमला भवन्ति । विष्णुपु. II 3. 25

1577 तस्मात्सर्वभयत्नेन त्यक्त्वा कर्माश्रितं फलम् । अविद्वानपि कुर्वीत कर्माभितो विचारदम् ॥ कूर्म I 3. 21; 'मय्यर्पितानि कर्माणि न बन्धाय विमुक्तये ।' कूर्म II 7 28, न च बन्धाय तत्कर्म भवत्यनभिसन्धितम् । मार्क. 92 15, वेदोक्तमेव कुर्वाणो निःसङ्गोऽपि तनीश्वरे । नैष्कर्म्याद्धते सिद्धिं रोचनार्थां फलश्रुतिः ॥ भागवत XL 3 46.

about God or the ultimate destiny of man or the way to God and did not solve the common man's problems. The *Gītā* took up the problems of the common man, it shows to the lowliest of the lowly that there is hope for him, that the One and the True Being can enter into his life, if he consecrates all the daily duties and actions of his station in life to God and that salvation will come to every one if one has loving faith in God and surrenders himself entirely to his Grace. The *Gītā* proclaims (IX. 30-32) 'If even a man that has been very badly conducted worships me without worshipping any one else he should be regarded as a good man, since he has resolved upon the right course; he quickly becomes a righteous soul and reaches everlasting peace: O Arjuna! you may affirm that my devotee is never ruined. By taking refuge with me even those that are born in despised castes, also women, vaiśyas and śūdras reach the highest goal'. The *Śāṇḍilya-bhakti-sūtra* provides¹⁵⁷⁸ that all down to persons of the despised castes are entitled (to follow the path of bhakti) as they are capable of learning bhakti at second hand just as they can learn the common rules (of ahimsā, truthfulness &c.). The *Purāṇas* speak in the same strain as the *Gītā* and are sometimes even more explicit and emphatic. The *Brahma-purāṇa* paraphrases *Gītā* IX. 32 and proceeds 'my devotee even if he be a *cāṇḍāla* attains the desired beatitude, if he be endowed with the right faith; what need be said about others?' The *Padma*¹⁵⁷⁹ states 'A Pulkasa or even a śvāpaka and other persons belonging to Mleccha tribes become eminent and worthy of being honoured, if they are solely devoted to the worship of the feet of Hari'; 'Even a śvāpaka is a Vaisnava if on his lips there is the name of Hari, in whose heart there is Viṣṇu and in whose stomach goes food offered to Viṣṇu' The *Bhāgavata* contains¹⁵⁸⁰

1578. आनिच्छयोन्यधिक्रियते पारम्पर्यात् सान्नाययत् । शाण्डिल्यसूत्र 78.

1579. पुलकसः श्वपचो वापि ये चान्ये स्लेच्छजातयः । तेऽपि वन्द्या महाभागा हरिपदैक सेवकाः ॥ पद्म I 5. 10 येषां मुखे हरेर्नामं हृदि निष्णुः सनातनः । उदरे विष्णुर्देवैर्ष स श्वपाकोऽपि वैष्णवः ॥ पद्म IV. 10 66

1580. किरातद्वृणान्प्रपुलिन्दपुलकसा आभीरकङ्का यवनाः खसादयः । येऽन्ये च पापा यदुपाश्रयाश्रया हृष्यन्ति तस्मै प्रभविष्णवे नमः ॥ भागवत II. 4 18, त्रि-वामिन्द्र pronounced a curse on his 50 elder sons, who did not consent to accepting Śunahśepa adopted as a son by Viśvāmitra as their eldest brother. that their progeny would be Andhras, be reduced to the status of the lowest class and they would be Śābaras &c. and mostly *dasyus* as follows - 'तानक्षुष्याजद्वारान्ताः प्रजा भक्षीदेति । त एतेऽभ्याः पुण्याः क्षत्राः पुलिन्दा मूर्तिरा द्रव्यदन्त्या पशवो भवन्ति वै-वामित्रा दस्युता सुषिष्टाः । ऐ वा. VII 18 (chap. 33, 6) In E. I. VIII p 88 there is an inscription of the 9th year of king Īśvarasena, an Ābhīra, son of Śivadatta, an ābhīra, in the Nasik caves (No. 15 plate VII).

the following remarkable statement: 'Homage to that Supreme Lord, by resorting to whom as refuge Kirātas¹⁵⁸¹ (mountain-dwellers like Bhils), the Hūnas, Andhras, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Ābhīras, Kankas, Yavanas, Khasas and the like and other degraded men are purified.' These sentiments were not mere platitudes, but had been very largely acted upon. Even in the medieval ages in India we have women saints like Mirābai and Āndāl (in South India), untouchables as saints like Nanda, Cokhāmēlā (in Mahārāstra), Rai Das (a *chāmār* disciple of Rāmānanda), sinners like Ajāmila honoured as saints. Saints like Kabir¹⁵⁸² (a Moslem weaver) and Tukārām had probably not much book learning, but their hymns are recited by Hindus including orthodox brāhmanas.

The invasions and gradual conquest of India by Moslem invaders from the Northwest threw down a challenge to Hindus from 11th century A.D. onwards. It was met in various ways. The first was the composition of comprehensive digests of smrtis of which the earliest extant one is the Kītyakalpataṛu of *Lakṣmīdhara* (about 1110-1130 A.D.) in the North and Hemādri in the Deccan (third quarter of 13th century). The second and the most important way was on the spiritual front. From the 13th to the 17th century there was a great revival of spirituality on an unprecedented scale which produced saints and mystics in all parts of India such as Jñānēśvara, Nāmadeva, Rāmānanda, Kabir,¹⁵⁸² Caitanya,

1581. Pulkasas and Śvapākas were degraded and untouchable castes Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 88-89 for Pulkasa and p. 97 for Śvapāka (lit. who subsists on dog-meat). Pulkasa occurs in Vāj. S. 30, 17. Kirātas are assigned to caves in Vāj. S. 30, 16. The Ābhīras are described as dasyus and mleccas in Mausala-parva 7. 46-63, they are said to have attacked Arjuna in Pañcanada when he was taking women with him after Kṛṣṇa's passing away and to have carried away Vṛṣṇī women (Mausala 8. 16-17) Vide also the same account in Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 38 12-28 Matsya 273 18 speaks of ten Ābhīra kings. The Khasa tribe had the custom of a brother marrying his deceased brother's widow. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 861 n. 1671.

1582. Vide G. H. Westcott on 'Kabir and Kabir-panth' (Cawnpore, 1907) and 'Kabir and his followers' by F. E. Keay (1931). Kabir's teaching was an amalgam of both Hindu and Moslem ideas. He preached a doctrine of theism that did not tolerate polytheism, incarnations and idols. Kabir is said to have been a disciple of Rāmānanda (who lived about 1400-1470 A. D.), an ascetic who preached at Benares that God should be worshiped under the name of Rāma. Kabir held to the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration. He believed in the unity of God, but makes use of many names such as Rāma, Khndā, Allāh, Śakti in speaking of Him.

Dadu (in Rajasthan), Nānak, Vallabhācārya, Ekanātha, Tukārām, Rāmadāsa (and many others of lesser fame) who all agreed on fundamentals viz. unity of God, the need of self-purification, condemnation of the pride of caste and of formalities of worship, and surrender to the Deity for salvation. The third was the creation of such independent kingdoms as that of Vijayanagara (1330-1565 A. D.), of Mahārāstra (under Shivaji and the Peshwas) and of the Sikhs in Punjab. This last cannot be dealt with way in this work. The doctrine of bhakti had a great appeal to all sections of the Hindu community and its propagation by the Purāṇas went a long way in weaning away Hindus from Buddhism. Not only so, Mahāyāna Buddhism took over the doctrine of bhakti and works like the 'Questions of Milinda' and the Saddharmapundarika¹⁵⁸³ contain passages which agree closely with the Gītā. The Gītā exhibits a wonderful spirit of tolerance and accommodation, not found in the scriptures of other religions which were founded by great prophets. It says¹⁵⁸⁴ 'even those, who are devotees of other deities and worship them with faith, (indirectly) worship me only but with a non-śāstric (or irregular) procedure.' The Bhāgavata-purāṇa elaborates the same idea; 'O Adorable One! others worship you alone in the form of Śiva while following the path promulgated by Śiva and propounded in different ways by several ācāryas, all worship you who are Lord and who comprehend in yourself all gods; those also who are devotees of other deities and appear to have different ideas do in the end reach you, just as all rivers rising in mountains and flooded by rains enter the ocean from all sides'. The Śāntiparva¹⁵⁸⁵ also contains a similar idea 'Those who worship Brahmā, Śiva or other deities and whose conduct (or practice) is intelligent will (ultimately) come to me, who am the Highest'. This doctrine has its germs in the Rgveda¹⁵⁸⁶

1583. Vide H. Kern's Introduction to the translation of the Saddharmapundarika in SBE. vol. 21, pp. XXVI-XXVIII and XXIX n. 2, XXXI n. 1, XXXI n. 2

1584. येऽप्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यजन्ते ब्रह्मयान्तिता । तेऽपि मामेव शोन्ते यजन्यभिधि-
पूर्वकम् ॥ गीता IX 23; त्वानेवान्ये क्षिप्रोक्तेन मार्गेण शिररूपिणम् । पदाचार्यनिभिर्देन भगवन्त-
सुपासते ॥ सर्व एव यजन्ति त्वा सर्वदेवमयेऽब्रह्म । येऽप्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यद्यप्यन्यधियाः प्रभो ॥
यथाद्रिप्रभवा नद्यः पर्जन्यापूरिता प्रभो । विशन्ति सर्वतः सिन्धुं तद्वत्ता गतयोऽन्ततः ॥ भागवत
X. 40. 8-10.

1585. ब्रह्माणं क्षितिकण्ठं च याश्चान्या देवता स्मृताः । यदुद्धचर्याः सेरन्ती नामिदेष्यन्ति
यत्परम् ॥ ज्ञान्ति 341 36.

1586. एकं सद्भिना यदुद्धा यदन्यद्भिं यम मातरिस्थानमाहुः ॥ ऋ I. 164. 46.

itself where it is said 'the One Reality the sages speak of under various names; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan (wind-god)'. This work cannot afford, for reasons of space, to go into the several bhakti schools such as those of Rāmānuja, Madhva (who postulated five eternal *bhedas*), Caitanya and Vallabha (that gave rise to an erotic-mystical brand of bhakti) and others.

In their zeal for the spread of the cult of bhakti the Purāṇas are sometimes guilty of gross exaggeration. The Brahma-purāṇa¹⁵⁸⁷ says 'men even after having committed many sins under the influence of error (or delusion), do not go to Hell, if they worship Hari who removes all sins; those men also who always remember Janārdana, though they may be guilty of roguery, reach, after they die, the happy world of Viṣṇu. Even a man who is habituated to flying into extreme rage, if he recites the name of Hari, has his faults destroyed and attains *mukta* (liberation) as the king of Cedi country did'. The Vāmana-purāṇa¹⁵⁸⁸ observes " what has that person got to do with many *mantras* (i. e. he has no use for those), who is a bhakta of Viṣṇu ? The mantra ' namo Nārāyaṇāya ' is able to accomplish all objects. Success is for those who have bhakti for Viṣṇu ; how can there be failure for them in whose heart is enthroned Janārdana dark like a blue lotus ? " The Vāmana and Padma Purāṇas say that a man secures the same results by repeating the names of Viṣṇu that he would secure by visiting all the tīrthas (sacred places) and holy shrines¹⁵⁸⁹ in the world.

Many Purāṇas, particularly the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, are replete with the eulogies, the theory and practice of *bhakti*

1587. कृत्वापि बहुशः पापं नरा मोहसमन्विताः । न यान्ति नरकं नत्वा सर्वपापहरं हरिम् ॥ शब्देनापि नरा नित्यं ये स्मरन्ति जनार्दनम् । तेपि यान्ति तद्धं त्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम् ॥ अत्यन्तक्रोधसक्तोऽपि कदाचित्कीर्तयेद्धरिम् । सोऽपि दोषक्षयाच्छक्तिं लभेद्धेदिपतिर्यथा ॥ ब्रह्म 216. 87-89. चेदिपति appears to refer to शिशुपाल, whose story occurs in सर्गाध्याय chapters 43-45 He was the sister's son of Kṛṣṇa who had promised to forgive 100 *aparādhas* of his and at last killed him at the Rājāsūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. The story of शिशुपाल also occurs in विष्णुपुराणे IV 15 1-17 and it is said that शिशुपाल always took the name of Kṛṣṇa and always thought of him though as an enemy, and therefore he ultimately reached the Lord ' अयं हि भगवान् कीर्तितश्च संस्तुतश्च द्वेपादवन्देनापि अखिलसुरासुरादिदुर्लभं फलं प्रयच्छति किञ्चन सम्प्रभक्तिमवामपीति । 17.

1588. किं तस्य बहुभिर्नमैर्भक्तिर्यस्य जनार्दने । नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थसाधकः ॥ विष्णुर्येषां जयस्तेषां कृतस्तेषां परजयः । येषामिन्द्रीन्द्रदामो हृदयस्थो जनार्दनः ॥ वासन 94. 58-59 For the first verse, vide also नरसिंहपुराणे 63. 6

1589. वृथिभ्यां यानि तीर्थानि पुण्याचार्यतनानि च । तानि सर्वाण्यवामोति विष्णोर्नामाहु-कीर्तनात् ॥ वासन 94. 63, पञ्च VI 245 85.

and illustrative stories about it. For reasons of space it is not possible to go into this matter at any length. A few noteworthy points alone will be touched. A few verses eulogising the Bhāgavatapurāṇa may be cited as samples of extreme exaggeration. 'Thousands¹⁵⁹⁰ of Āśvamedhas and hundreds of Vājapeya sacrifices are not equal to even the 16th part of the story narrated by Śuka; he who always recites a half or a quarter verse of the Bhāgavata secures the merit of Rājasūya and Āśvamedha; he who listens to the words of the śāstra of Śuka (i.e. Bhāgavata) at the time of death, Govinda being pleased with him confers on him Vairakuntha; this is a good expiation for all sinners viz. uttering the name of Viṣṇu, since (at that time) their mind has Viṣṇu as the only object of thought'.¹⁵⁹¹ Another point is the story of Ajāmila in the Bhāgavata (VI. 1. 20 ff and VI. 2), Padma (I. 31. 109 and VI. 87. 7) and other Purāṇas. Ajāmila¹⁵⁹² (who abandoned his brāhmana wife and kept a mistress) was a moral wreck addicted to gambling and thieving. When on his death-bed at the age of 80 he loudly called upon his youngest son named Nārāyaṇa (out of ten sons born of the mistress) with affection and recited that name and thought of that alone, he became free from his sins and attained a high position difficult to attain'. Such stories have given rise to the common belief that the last thought at one's death leads to a new birth appropriate to that thought (*ante mātṛ sū gath*). The Upanisads contain the germ of the idea of the last thought; vide. Chān. Up. III. 14. 1, VIII. 2. 10, Br. Up. IV. 4. 5. In the 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol 35 pp. 123-124) this idea of the importance of the last thought is taken up. It may be that a single heart-felt invocation of the name of God, a single act of faith after

1590 अ-वनेधसद्भाणि वाजपेयज्ञातानि च । शुरुशास्त्रकथायाश्च कला नार्हन्ति पोट-
कीम् ॥ श्लोकार्धं श्लोकपाद वा पठेज्जागृत च य । नित्यं पुण्यमगमोति राजसूया-वनेधयो. ॥
अन्तकाले तु येनैव श्रूयते शुरुशास्त्रवाक् । मोत्या तत्सर्वं वैकुण्ठ गोविन्दोपि प्रयच्छति ॥ पत्र VI.
191, 32, 39, 41

1591 The Padmapurāṇa (VI. 189-194, 518 verses) contains a lengthy eulogy of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and of listening to its recitation for seven days (*saptāha*) &c

1592. कान्यकुब्जे द्विज ऋषिर्द्वि दार्सीपतिरजामिल । नाम्ना नष्टसदाचारो दास्या-सत्तर्ग-
द्वपितः ॥ घन्यक्षमैतरीश्वर्यगहिता वृत्तिमाश्रित । भागवत VI. 1. 21-22, त्रियमाणो हरेर्नाम
गृणन् पुत्रोपचारितम् । अजामिलोप्यगाद्धाम किं पुन. अद्धया गृणन् ॥ भागवत VI. 2. 49;
सर्वेदामप्यधयतामिदमेव सुनिष्कृतम् । नामस्यादरण्यं विष्णोर्पतत्ताद्विषया मतिः ॥ भागवत VI. 2
10, त्रियमाण. सुतस्नेहात्सोच्य नारायणेति च । तद्भयाननामग्रहणात्पद लेभे सुदुर्लभम् ॥ पत्र
IV. 87. 7; त्रिभुव्यं पुत्रमध्याप्यदजामिलोपि नारायणेति त्रियमाण प्रयाय युक्तिम् ॥ पत्र
I 31. 109,

repentance and complete surrender to God's will, cancels the result of a whole life of crime and sin. This is the moral of Ajāmila's story, but it is liable to be grossly misapprehended and might create a complacent belief that a man may commit as many sins in his life as possible, but if he remembers God at his death and repeats His name then, all sins of his are cleared away and wiped out. This is a rather dangerous doctrine. The Gītā (VIII. 5-7) puts the matter in a clear light. 'That person, who remembers me at the time of death and passes from the world leaving the body, attains my essence, there is no doubt about that. Whatever form a man remembers when he leaves the body, to that he goes, because he was always engrossed in that form. Therefore remember me at all times and engage in battle; there is no doubt that having fixed your mind and intellect on me you will attain to me'. This passage of the Gītā suggests that a person will remember the name of God at the time of his death only if he had been so doing all his life, while engaged in actively performing all his duties and not caring for the rewards thereof and that it is extremely rare or almost impossible for a man to remember God at the last moment when throughout his life he had been ungodly and a great sinner. The above idea is again emphasized in verses 10-13 of chap. VIII (of the Gītā) and in chap. XIII. 3 (yo yac-chraddhaḥ sa eva saḥ)

In spite of the doctrine that God is one¹⁵⁹³ and the doctrine that whatever form of the deity one may worship, the worship reaches the Supreme Being, Vaisnavas and Śaivas have been wrangling and abusing one another. For example, the Varāha-

1593. The proposition that God is only one, that He is worshipped under various perceptible forms for concentrating the mind on Him, worship or contemplation of a formless object being difficult, are doctrines taught in the Purāṇas in spite of the fact that they preach worship of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Devī and others. Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 714-715 and pp. 118-119 above. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 65. 32 states. साकारे बद्धलक्षस्तु शून्यं कालोति चिन्तितम् । अन्यथा तु सुकष्टं स्यात्त्रिरालम्बस्य चिन्तनम् ॥; vide also विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III 108, 23 ff, particularly the verse आदौ कृत्वा महाभागे साकारे लक्ष्यवन्धनम् । ततः समर्थो भवति शून्ये ध्याने नरोत्तम ॥ 26 Indian theologians and philosophers deliberately spared lower forms of worship with the thought that it was better to begin at a lower rung of the ladder to the highest goal than not to have a footing at all. A well-known verse is : अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवी दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम् । शतमास्त्वप्यहङ्गीना योगिनां हृदये हरिः ॥ नृसिंहपुराण 62. 5 q. by अपरार्क on p. 140.

purāṇa makes Rudra declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu (chap. 1594 70. 14 Nārāyaṇah paro devah), denounce Śaiva-siddhāntas that are outside the pale of the Vedas and put forward the outstanding view 'that such non-Vedic views were promulgated by Śiva himself at the request of Viṣṇu in order to delude people'. Some Purāṇas started by saying that the Bauddhas and Jainas¹⁵⁹⁵ were asuras and enemies of gods that were purposely deluded by god. For example, the Matsya (24. 43-49) says that the sons of Rāji deprived Indra of his kingdom and share in sacrifices, that Brhaspati, at Indra's request, deluded the sons of Rāji by composing a treatise of Jina-dharma which was opposed to the Veda and then Indra killed them. Vāyu 96. 230-32, Matsya 47. 11-12, Bhāgavata I. 3 24 appear to suggest that Viṣṇu himself deluded the people. The Agni (16. 1-4) also says with reference to the Bauddhas that Viṣṇu deluded them. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa¹⁵⁹⁶ (III 17-18) narrates that when the gods were

1594 त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो मोहशास्त्राणि कारय । अल्पायासं दर्शयित्वा मोहपाशु महेश्वर (२१) ॥ वराह 70 36, this verse and several more are quoted from वराह by अपराक p 1052. ये वेदमार्गनिर्मुक्तास्तेषां मोहार्थमेव च । नयसिद्धान्तसंज्ञामिर्भया शास्त्रं तु दर्शयाम् ॥ वराह 70. 41, त्वं हि रुद्र महाबाहो मोहनार्थे सुरादिषाम् । पाशखण्डाचरणं धर्मं कुरुष्व च महामते ॥ तामसानि पुराणानि कथयान् च तान् प्रति । मोहानि च शास्त्राणि कुरुष्व च महामते ॥ पद्म VI. 263. 24-25, तथा पाशुपतं शास्त्रं त्वमेव कुरु मुव्रत । कङ्कालशैवपापण्ड-महाशैवादिभेदतः । अवलक्ष्य मतं सम्यग्वेदबार्ह्यं द्विजाधमाः । भस्मास्थिधारिणः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ पद्म VI. 263. 32-33 कङ्कालशैवस्य are the कापालिकसः. Compare similar passages in Kūrma I 12 261-62, Devibhāgavata VII. 39 26-31 (अग्न्यानि-यानि शास्त्राणि लोकोस्मिन् विविधानि च ॥ श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धानि तामसान्येव सर्वशः । वामकापालकं चैव कौलकं भैरवागमं ॥ द्विवेन मोहनार्थाय प्रणीतो नान्यहेतुकः । शैवाश्च वैष्णवाश्चैव सौराः शाक्तास्तथैव च । गाणपत्या आगमाश्च प्रणीता शङ्करेण तु ॥ तत्र वेदाविरुद्धोऽंशोऽप्युक्त एव कश्चित् कश्चित् । वैदिकैस्तदग्रहे दोषो न भवत्येव कश्चित् ॥).

1595. दिग्वाससामय धर्मो धर्मोऽयं बहुवाससाम् । इत्यनेकान्तवादं च मायामोहेन नैकधा । तेन दर्शयता देव्या. स्वधर्मं त्याजिता द्विज ॥ विष्णुपुरा III. 18. 11-12. This is an obvious reference to the Jain doctrine of सप्तभङ्गीनय

1596 स्वल्पेनैव हि कालेन मायामोहेन तेऽसुराः । मोहितास्तत्पुत्राः सर्वा व्रयीमार्गाभिता काथाम् ॥ केचिद्विनिन्द्या वेदानां देवानामपरे द्विज । यज्ञकर्मकलापस्य तथाग्ये च द्विजग्ननाम् ॥ नैतद्यत्किंसह वाक्यं हिंसा धर्माय चेष्ट्यते । हवीष्यनलदग्धानि फलापेत्यर्भकोदितम् । यज्ञ-रनैर्कौर्देवत्वमवाप्येन्द्रेण भुज्यते । शम्यादि यदि चेत्स्नात तद्वरं पञ्चशुक् पशुः । निवृत्तस्य पशोऽप्येजे स्वर्गयातिर्यदीष्यते । स्वपिता यजमानेन किञ्चुत्समाजं हन्यते । तुषये जायते पुंसो शुक्रमन्येन चेत्ततः । कुर्याच्छ्राद्धं अमायाजं न बहेयुः प्रवासिनः ॥ विष्णुपुरा III 18. 24-29. Vide a similar narrative about Māyāmoha or Mahāmoha and his being naked, shaved, carrying peacock feathers &c in पद्म V. 3. 346-390 (this last refers to 24 तीर्थकरसः). In the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह (ed by M. M. Vasudevashastri Abhyankar, 1924) under चार्वाकदर्शन certain verses are quoted from बृहस्पति which closely resemble the above, e. g. पशुश्चेज्जिह्वं स्वर्गं ज्योतिष्टोमे गमिष्यति । स्वपिता यजमानेन तत्र कस्माज् हिंस्यते ॥ p. 13. Vide पद्म V. 13. 370-371 for almost the same verses as in विष्णुपुराण

defeated by the asuras (who also practised tapas and studied the Veda) they approached Viṣṇu and prayed to him to help them and to destroy the asuras and that then Viṣṇu produced from his body Māyā-moha (lit. who causes delusion by wiles) and made him over to the gods. Māyāmoha, who was naked, had shaved his head and held a bunch of peacock feathers in his hand, went to the asuras that were practising tapas on the banks of the Narmadā (III. 18. 1-2) and told them that if they followed his words they would secure *mukti*, led them away from the path of the Veda, taught them formulas of sceptical reasoning and weaned them away from their dharma. Then he approached other asuras and taught them that sacrificing animals was sinful, taught them nirvāṇa and the doctrines of *vyñānavāda*. Some of the passages are very striking 'In a short time the asuras were deluded by Māyāmoha and abandoned all concern with the path depending on the three Vedas. Some condemned the Vedas, some condemned the gods, while others condemned the body of sacrificial rites and brāhmanas. (They thought or said) The statement that killing an animal (in sacrifices) is desirable for the sake of Dharma (for accumulating merit) does not stand to reason; to say that offerings burnt by fire would conduce to reward (in the next world) is childish talk; (if it be said that) Indra attained the position of God by means of many sacrifices and enjoys the fuel-sticks of the śamī tree, then an animal (that subsists on leaves) is superior to Indra (who enjoys hard and thorny śamī *samīdhs*) If it is desired (by the Veda) that the animal killed in a sacrifice attains heaven, then why does not the sacrificer kill his own father in a sacrifice (and send him to heaven)? If one (the son) performs śrāddha (with the thought) that what is eaten by one (brāhmana diner at śrāddha) tends to give satisfaction to another (i. e. the deceased father of the offerer of śrāddha), then travellers would not carry food (on their backs) which causes weariness to them.' These are the arguments used by atheists (*cārvākas*). It is remarkable that even *tāntrik* works like the *Kulārnavatantra* make Śiva say that he declared certain śāstras purely for deluding certain bad people who did not know the Kaula dharma.¹⁵⁹⁷

From condemning the Jāinas and Bauddhas some Purāṇas, entirely unmindful of what the Gītā declared (in note 1584),

1597. आमिता हि मया देवि परमः शास्त्रकोटिपु । कुलधर्मं न जानन्ति ब्रूया शास्त्राभि-
मानिनः ॥ पशुशास्त्राणि सर्वाणि मयैव कथितानि हि । सूर्यन्तरं तु गत्वैव मोहनाय दुरात्मनाम् ॥
कुलार्णवतन्त्र II. 96-97 (ed by Arthur Avalon).

proceeded so far as to say¹⁵⁹⁸ that a brāhmana who is not a Vaisnava is a heretic, that Visnu himself assuming the form of Buddha proclaimed a false śāstra, and that all śāstras such as the Pāsupata, Vaiśeṣika of Kanāda, Nyāya of Gautama, Sāṅkhya of Kapila, Cārvāka of Brhaspati are *tāmasa*; that the *māyāvāda* (of Śankara) is a false śāstra and is disguised Bauddha (doctrine) and the extensive śāstra (Pūrvamīmāṃsā) of Jaimini is condemned, since it made gods as of no use (in his system). The words of the Padma-purāṇa are, 'Listen O Goddess, while I declare to you in order the *tāmasa* śāstras, by merely remembering which even wise men become sinners. First of all I promulgated Śaiva śāstras such as the Pāsupata system; then the following were declared by brāhmanas that were possessed (or engrossed) by my *śakti* (power), viz Kanāda proclaimed the great Vaiśeṣika system, the Nyāya and Sāṅkhya systems were declared respectively by Gautama and Kapila. the much despised Cārvāka doctrine was declared by Brhaspati, while Visnu, assuming the form of Buddha, promulgated, for bringing about the destruction of *daityas*, the false doctrine of Bauddhas that go about naked or dressed in blue garments, I myself, O goddess, assuming the form of a brāhmana declared in the Kali age the false śāstras of the doctrine of Māyā which is *bauddha* in disguise. The brāhmana Jaimini composed the great system of Pūrvamīmāṃsā, which is unmeaning on account of its atheistic discourse'. Vijñāna-bhikṣu in his Sāṅkhya-pravacanabhāṣya (who flourished about 1550 A. D.) quotes eleven verses from the Padma VI, 263 and holds the peculiar view that no śāstra that is *uśtika* (admits a soul) is unauthoritative nor is there any contradiction, each śāstra being of full force and true in its own sphere. The original Sāṅkhya sūtra, on which he comments, tries to establish the impossible thesis that the teachings of the Sāṅkhya are not in real or irreconcilable contradiction with the doctrine of all-pervading oneness of *brahma* or with the doctrine that *brahma* is bliss (*ānanda*) or the system of theism (i. e. a personal God). Sectarian exclusiveness and bigotry went so far that the Brahmanda¹⁵⁹⁹ contains a dialogue between sage Agastya and

1598 अवैष्णवस्तु यो विप्रः स पापघ्नः प्रकीर्तितः । पद्म VI. 262 27. The *Ṛg-ḥarī*तस्मृति also requires the zealous Vaisnava not to pay homage to or worship another god nor to enter the temple of another god 'नान्य देव नमस्कृत्या-नान्य देवं प्रयुजयेत् । नान्यमसाद् भुञ्जीत नान्यदायतनं विज्ञेत् ॥ 8 85-86.

1599. शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि तामसानि यथाक्रमम् । येषां स्मरणमात्रेण पातित्य ज्ञानिना-मपि ॥ प्रथमं हि मया चोक्तं जैवं पाशुपतादिकम् । मरुद्वन्यापेक्षितैर्विभैः प्रोक्तानि च ततः शृणु ॥

(Continued on next page)

Rāma in which it is said that the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa (who is acknowledged by all to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu) are so potent that the merit secured by repeating thrice the 1008 names of Viṣṇu is secured by repeating only once one of the 108 names (of Kṛṣṇa).¹⁶⁰⁰

The Viṣṇu and Padma do not stand alone in this strange story of Viṣṇu himself or through Rudra teaching false doctrines for deluding the ungodly or those that dissented from or reviled the Vedas. There were other Purāṇas that sing the same tune; for example, the Kūṛma-purāṇa indulges in a *rendetta* against many śāstras and systems in several places. A few passages are set out here. (Dēvi says) 'the various¹⁶⁰¹ śāstras that are found in this world and are opposed to the Vedas and smṛtis are based on *tamas* (ignorance), viz Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala (a class of Tantra works), Vāma (left-hand practices of a class of Tantras), Ārhata (Jain doctrines), these and others are meant for deluding (persons); I produced these śāstras in another birth for deluding people'; 'therefore in order to protect (people) against those who were beyond the pale of the Vedas and for the destruction of sinners we shall, O Śiva, compose śāstras for deluding them; Rudra being thus advised by Mādhava (Viṣṇu) composed śāstras that delude and Viṣṇu also urged on by Rudra did the same,

(Continued from last page)

कपादेन तु समीकं शास्त्रं वैशेषिकं महत् । गौतमेन तथा स्यायं साख्यं तु कपिलेन वै ॥ धिपणेन तथा प्रोक्तं चार्वाकमतिगर्हितम् । द्वैत्यानां नाशनायार्थं विष्णुना ब्रह्मरूपिणा । बौद्धशास्त्रमसत्योक्तं नगनीलपटादिकम् । मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं मच्छकं बौद्धमुच्यते । मयैव कथितं देवि कलौ ब्राह्मण-रूपिणा । "द्विजग्मना जौमिनिना पूर्वं चेदमपार्थक्यम् । निरीश्वरेण वादेन कृतं शास्त्रं महत्तरम् ॥ पत्र VI. 263 67-71 and 75-76, quoted by विज्ञानमिश्र in सांख्यमवचनभाष्य pp. 6-7 (B I. edition)

1600. कृष्ण देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि नाम्नामटोत्तरं शतम् । सहस्रनाम्नां पुण्यानां विराड्वक्ष्या तु यत्फलम् । एवावृत्त्या तु कुण्डलस्य नामैकं तत्प्रयच्छति । तस्मात्पुण्यतरं चैतत् स्तोत्रं पातक-नाशनम् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड III 36 18-20. Verses 21-41 set out the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa. The one thousand and eight names of Viṣṇu are set out in Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva 149 14-120 and the Garuḍa-purāṇa (I. 15 1-160) contains names of विष्णु, but often different from those in अष्टाशसन

1601. यानि शास्त्राणि दृश्यन्ते लोकेऽस्मिन्निविधानि तु । श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धानि निष्ठा तेषां हि तामसी ॥ कापालं भैरवं चैव यामलं वाममाहृतम् । एवंविधानि चान्यानि मोहनाथानि तानि तु ॥ मया सृष्टानि शास्त्राणि मोहायैषां भवान्तरे ॥ कूर्मे I 12 261-263, vide also कूर्म I. 16 17-19 and 24-26 where कापाल, नाकुल, वाम, भैरव, पञ्चरात्र and पाशुपत are mentioned as produced for the same purpose. The ताराभक्तिहृदयार्णव (6th तरङ्ग) p 272 quotes the कूर्मपुराण passage and remarks that those passages are meant only for praising the Veda and are not to be understood as conveying that *Tāntrik āgamas* are unauthoritative.

(they produced the śāstrae) called Kāpāla, Nakula,¹⁶⁰² Vāma, Bhairava (early and later), Pāñcarātra, Pāsupata and thousands of others; Śāṅkara came down to the earth, wearing garlands of skull-bones and covered with ashes from a cemetery and wearing profuse matted hair, trying to delude this world and engaged in begging for the benefit of these'; 'One should¹⁶⁰³ not honour even by words *Pañcarātra* and *Pāsupata* people that are heretics, following prohibited avocations and those who follow left-hand *śākta* practices; when Buddhist mendicants, Nirgranthas, those who study the Pāñcarātra doctrines, Kīpālikas, Pāsupatas and other similar heretics, being bad and deluded, eat the śrāddha food (meant for a deceased person) that śrāddha would be of no use in this world and the next.' For details of some of the heretical sects, vide 'Heretical sects in the Purāṇas' by Śrī Radhakrishna Choudhary in ABORI vol 37 (1956) pp. 234-257.

The Gītā (in chapter 16) speaks of two classes of people, viz. those born to godlike endowments and those born with demonic qualities and describes the latter in verses 7-20. Some of the verses probably indicate that the reference is to atheists and the like; for verse 8 states 'they say that the world is devoid of truth

1602. Nākula stands for what is Lakulīśa-pāsupata-darśana in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha. The Liṅgapurāṇa (24 124-133) dilates upon Lakulī. The Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 23 221-224) mentions in a prophetic vein Nakulī (Lakulī) as the founder of a Śaiva sect and Kāyārohana (modern Karavan in Dabhoi Taluk of former Baroda Stato) as its sacred place (siddha-ksetra). The Mathurā Ins. of Candragupta II dated in Gupta era 61 (380 A. D.) in E. I. vol. XXI pp 1 ff shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāsupata sect, flourished about the first century A. D. Vide Dr R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṇavism, Śaivism' &c. p 166 (in collected works) and the paper 'Antiquities in Kārvan with reference to Lakulīśa worship' in Journal of Bom. Uni. vol 18 part 4 pp. 43-67 by Mr. M R. Majumdar and Pāsupata-sūtra of Nakulīśa in T. S. S. E. I. vol XXI pp. 1-9, JBBRAS vol. XXII pp 151-167 (both by D. R. Bhandarkar), IHQ. vol. 19 (1943) pp. 270-271 for the origin and history of the Lakulīśa sect.

1603. पापविघ्नो निरुद्धान्मानाचारास्तथैव च । पञ्चरात्रान् पाशुपतान् वाय्वाग्निनापि नाचरेत् ॥ कूर्म II. 16. 15, बुद्धआरकनिर्ग्रन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः । कापालिका. पाशुपता. पापव्या ये च तद्विद्वाः ॥ यस्यादनन्ति धर्माभ्यन्ते दुरात्मानस्तु तामसा । न तस्य तद्विद्वा इत्येव चेद फलमदम् ॥ कूर्म II. 21. 32-33 The verso जोद्धआरक ...तद्विद्वाः is q by ६. on आद्र p 365 from कूर्मपुराण and on p. 476 ६ quotes both the verses from कूर्म and reads बुद्धआरक. The निर्ग्रन्थ were naked Jaina monks (vide SBE. vol 21 p 263 and E I vol 20 p 59) where a Jain teacher is called Nigrantha Śramaṇācārya in Gupta year 159 i e. (478-79 A. D.). The words are : 'पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक-निग्रन्थ-श्रमणाचार्य-एतेन विद्वद्भिः पमक्षिष्यामिष्ठितिवारं.'

(i. e. contains nothing that one can believe), devoid of any fixed principle (such as virtue and vice), devoid of a Ruler, and is produced by union brought about by lust and nothing else '. After describing their thoughts and aspirations the Gītā winds up ' these perform sacrifices which are so in name only with hypocrisy and against the prescribed procedure; they hate me in their own bodies and in those of others; these impure and cruel enemies I continually throw down in demoniac wombs; coming into demoniac wombs and being deluded, in each birth they go to vilest states without ever coming to me '. This is entirely different from what the Padma and other Purāṇas say about Pāsupatas, Pāñcarātras and about non-Vaiṣṇavas.

Both the Bhāgavata and the Padma say that ¹⁶⁰⁴ (the cult of) bhakti first arose in Dravida country, it progressed or prospered in the Karnāṭaka, it was found in only a few places in Mahārāstra and declined in the Gurjara country; it was, on account of the terrible Kaliyuga, broken up by heresies and remained weak for a long time, but having reached Vrndāvana (near Mathurā) it got a fresh start and assumed fine form. In book XI. the Bhāgavata again reverts to this assertion that in Kali people are solely devoted to Nārāyaṇa only in a few places but to the greatest extent in the Dravida country where flow the rivers Tāmaparnī, Krtamālā, Kāveri and Mahānadi flowing to the west and states that those who drink the waters of these rivers are generally devotees of Vāsudeva.

Most great moral and spiritual upheavals have a tendency to reach a very low level in course of time. That appears to have happened in the case of bhāgavatas. The Atri-smṛti has a verse containing a sarcastic reference to bhāgavatas ¹⁶⁰⁵ : ' Those who are devoid of Vedio studies learn śāstras (such as grammar, vedānta, logic &c.), those who are wanting in śāstric lore become readers of Purāṇas for others; those who cannot be readers of Purāṇas become tillers; but those who are broken down even

1604 उत्पन्ना ऋषिदे सार्धं वृद्धिं कर्णादिके गता । कश्चित् कचिन्महाराष्ट्रे शुर्जरे जीर्णतं गता ॥ तत्र घोरकलेयं गता पात्रपुष्टे । खण्डिताङ्गका । दुर्बलाहं चिरं जाता पुत्राभ्यां सह मन्दताम् ॥ वृन्दावनं धुनः प्राप्य नवीनेव सुरुपिणी । भागवत I 1 48-50, पत्र VI. 189: 54-56. The पत्र VI. 189 speaks of the भागवत as the highest among Purāṇas: ' कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति नारायणपरायणाः ॥ कश्चित् कचिन्महाराज ऋषिदेयु च भूरिशः । ताम्रपर्णी नदी यत्र कुतमाला पयस्विनी । कावेरी च महाशुण्या प्रतीची च महानदी । ये विवन्ति जलं तासां मनुजा मनुजेश्वर । प्रायो भक्ता भगवति बाहुदेवेऽमलाशया ॥ भागवत XI 5. 38-40

1605. वेदैर्विहीनाश्च पठन्ति शास्त्रं शास्त्रेण हीनाश्च पुराणपाठाः । पुराणहीना कृपिणो भवन्ति भद्रास्ततो भागवता भवन्ति ॥ अत्रिसंहिता verse 384

there, become bhāgavatas'. Atri appears to say that bhāgavatas are idlers, who do not study Veda or śāstra or who cannot even read Purāṇas to others for their livelihood or do not engage in agriculture and who pretend to be worshippers (or *bhaktas*) of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and fatten on what is given by others that are deluded into thinking that they have forsaken everything for the sake of their love of God. They become what are called 'buwās' in Marāṭhi and other modern Indian languages

Another striking development of the bhakti cult is the Erotic Mysticism (*madhurā bhakti*) associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa and of Rādhā in that form of Vaisnavism established by Caitanya and Vallabhācārya. For the Vaisnava movement inspired by Caitanya, vide Dr. S. K. De's work on 'the Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal' (Calcutta 1942) and the author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) about Ujvala-nīlamanī of Rūpa-gosvāmīn pp. 298-302. In the bhakti cult established by Vallabhācārya great importance is attached to the *guru*, who is one of the descendants of Vallabhācārya and to whom almost divine honours are paid. A wonderful development of bhakti towards Rāma, regarded in the Rāmāyana and in popular tradition as a paragon of restraint and all manly virtues, culminated in an erotic mysticism about Rāma and Sītā also. The devotees of this mystic cult have to consider themselves as brides of Rāma or the female friends of Sītā, they are supposed to seek Lord Rāma's favour through Sītā, who graciously intercedes with the Lord for the devotees. Among the followers of Vallabhācārya the guru tells the devotees to look upon him (the guru) as Kṛṣṇa and upon himself or herself as Rādhikā.

For want of space further details about these bhakti cults have to be passed over

Supreme importance is attached to Vedic mantras and also Paurāṇika mantras. They will have to be dealt with at some length in the sections on Tantras and on Pūrvamīmāṃsā. But some treatment of mantras, particularly vedic, may be given here as well. The word *mantra* occurs about twenty-five times in the Rgveda. Only once does the word *mantrakṛt* occur in the Rgveda¹⁶⁰⁶ (IX 114. 2) 'O sage Kaśyapa! offer obeisance

1606 ऋषे मन्त्रकृता स्तोत्रे कश्यपोद्धर्षयन् गिरः । सोम नमस्य राजान यो जज्ञे वीरधा पतिरिन्द्रायैन्दो परिच्रव । ऋ IX 114 2, हस्ते दधानो हृष्णा निश्चान्यमे देवान्धादुवा निषीदन् । विदन्तीमत्र नरो धियथा हृदा यत्तद्वान् मन्त्रो अशंसन् ॥ ऋ I. 67. 2. सायण

to king Soma Lord of plants with the chants of the composers (or authors) of mantras, thereby sending forth your own voice &c' Mr. Kapali Sastry is inaccurate when he states (on p. 67 of the translation of his 'Rgbhāṣya-bhūmika in English) 'we see frequent mention made in the Rik Samhitā of the rishi as the author of the mantra' and he cites only Rg. IX 114. 2 and I. 67. 2. The latter contains no word like mantrakrt. Rg. I. 67. 2 (addressed to Agni) runs 'holding in his hand all powers (or riches), sitting in a cave (i. e. concealed) he placed the gods in fright, heroes (men or gods) that place (offer) prayers know him (Agni) to be here when they recite mantras formed in the heart' There is no direct reference to rsis here (but to naraḥ) and what is emphasized is that mantras already extant as the heart's outpourings enable the reciters of the mantras to find him (Agni) There is nothing to show that the mantras referred to in the verse are meant to be *improptu*, the idea is rather that mantras that already existed and conveyed heartfelt devotion have to be employed to find Agni The very next verse makes the position clear when it says, 'like the unborn (Sun) he (Agni) supports the wide earth and fixes in its place the sky on account of the mantras that turn out true'. This clarifies two things, viz. that when this mantra (I 67. 3) was recited there already existed a host of mantras¹⁶⁰⁷ and secondly, that the mantras that existed long before were deemed to have helped in supporting the earth and the sky. The ancient mantras were supposed to bring Indra to attend thrice in the day for a short time to the sacrifices of devotees when invoked with mantras addressed to him (Rg. III. 53 8), similarly, mantras when recited by wise men bring Yama to receive offerings (Rg X 14. 4); Rg. X 88 14 states 'we raise our voices with mantras towards Vaiśvānara Agni, who is wise and who shines brilliantly all days' The word mantra¹⁶⁰⁸ is

(Continued from last page)

explains 'अग्नी हविर्भिः सह पलगयिते सति सर्वे देवा अभैषु रित्यर्थः ।', अजो न कां दाधार पृथिवीं तस्यैव ध्या मन्त्रैर्भिः सत्यः । ऋ I 67. 3.

1607. रूपं रूपं मयवा बोधयति मायाः कृष्णानस्तन्त्रं परि स्वाय । त्रिर्यद्विदः परि सुहृत्-मगात् त्रैर्मन्त्रैरुदृष्टपा ऋतावा ॥ ऋ. III 53. 8, आ त्वा मन्त्रा. कविशस्ता बहन्त्वेना राजन् हविषा मादयस्व । ऋ. X 14 4, वैश्वानरं विश्वहा दीदिवांसं मन्त्रैराग्निं कविमच्छा वदामः ॥ ऋ X 88 14

1608. म नूनं ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्मन्त्रं वदत्सुवयम् । यस्मिन्मन्त्रो वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा देवा ओकासि चक्रिरे ॥ तमिहोचेना विद्येषु शम्भुवं मन्त्रं देवा अनेहसम् । ऋ I. 40. 5-6; मन्त्र-मन्त्रं सुधितं सुपेशस दधात यज्ञियेष्वा । पूर्वश्चन प्रसितयस्तिरान्ति तं य इन्द्रं कर्मणा शुवत् ॥ ऋ VII. 32 13, सनानं मन्त्रमभि मन्त्रये वः सनानेन वो हविषा जुहोमि ॥ ऋ X. 191. 3.

also employed in the singular several times. A few striking passages are set out here 'Indeed, God Brahmanaspati (Lord of Prayer) proclaims the mantra fit for recitation (by the mouth of the hotr), in which the gods Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman make their abode, O Gods!', 'We utter that very mantra (in which Indra and other gods are praised together) in our sacrifices, the mantra being one that produces bliss and being free from all blemishes (or is incomparable), 'Do place among the Gods a mantra that is not short, that is well-arranged and that is well ornamented; ancient fetters do not reach him who is in (the good grace of) Indra by the sacrifice (or praise); 'I address the same mantra for you (all) and offer for you (all) one offering (into fire)'. From these passages it appears that when these verses were recited there was a body of already existing mantras; which were supposed to be inspired by the Lord of prayers (or speech) and from which the choice of a long and well-formed one was to be made. Apart from the above passages the word mantra occurs in Rg I 31.13, I 74.1, I 147.4, I 152.2, II.35.2, VI.50.14, VII.7.6, X.50.4 and 6, X.106.11, in only one of which (Rg. II.35.2), apart from Rg I 67.2 already quoted, the words 'hrda ā eutastam mantram' (mantra well cherished from the heart) are used and in another verse more simply the word 'ataksan' (in VII 7.6 *mantram ye vāram naryā ataksan*) alone is used. In two passages (Rg. X.95.1 and X.191.3 first half) the word 'mantra' appears to mean 'consultations, holding counsel together'. In Rg I 20.4, Rbhus are called 'satyamantrāḥ' and are said to have made their parents young. There are controversies about what the Rbhus stand for and it is difficult to say what is meant by 'satyamantrāḥ' in relation to Rbhus. Rg. VII 76.4. is a¹⁶⁰⁹ somewhat enigmatic verse. It means 'they (Angirases) alone, (our) ancient pitrs, learned (or wise) and following the right path, enjoyed companionship among gods and they found out the Light (the Sun) concealed (by Svarbhānu, eclipse); they, whose mantras were true, brought forth Usas'. In some passages where other words like *stoma* or *brahma* are used, there is

1609. त इहेवाना सधमाद आसन्नुतावान- कवय पुन्यांसः। यद्वा ज्योति पितरोऽन्व-
विन्दन्त्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुपासन् ॥ Rg VII 76.4. Angirases are spoken of as
Pitrs in Rg X 14.6 (अङ्गिरसो नः पितरो नयन्वा) and in Rg V.40.9 Atrrs are
said to have found out the Sun afflicted with darkness by Svarbhānu, an
Āsura and no one else was able to do so (य वै सूर्यं स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविष्यदासुरः।
अत्रयस्तमस्यविन्दन् नहान्ये अक्षयन्नुवन् ॥) This last is a reference to a total eclipse
of the Sun, on the occurrence of which the Atrrs probably assured frightened
people that the sun would shine forth in a short time

mention of the *stoma* or *brahma* being made and polished by the devotee (e. g. X. 39. 14 'etam vām stomam-Aśvināvakar-mātakṣāma bhr̥gavo na ratham') Vide Rg. I 62. 13 for 'navyam ataksad brahma', Rg. V. 29. 15 (Indra brahma kriyamānā jūṣasva śavistha yā te navyā akarma), brahmakṛtaḥ (composers of prayers or praises) are mentioned in Rg. VII 32. 2 and X. 50. 7. Other words like *gir* (several hundred times), *dhīti* (about 100 times), *brahma* (over a hundred times) *matī* (about 100 times), *manīṣā* (over 60 times), *vacas* and *vacasyā* (over 100 times), *stoma* (about 200 times), *sukīrti* (five times), *sūkta* (four times) are employed in the sense of 'thought, word or thought out hymn or verse of praise' and in several cases the sages of the Rgveda state that it is a new verse or hymn of praise that they employ. Vide 'navyasībhir-gīrbhiḥ' and 'giram bhare navyasīm jāyamanām' in Rg V. 42. 13, in Rg VI 49. 1, VII 53. 2; 'Pratavyasīm navyasīm dhītimagnaye' in Rg. I. 143. 1; 'vaiśvānarāya matir-navyasī śuciḥ soma iva pavate' (Rg. VI 8. 1) and 'iyam te navyasī matir agne adhāyasmadā' (Rg VIII. 74. 7); 'iyam te agne navyasī manīṣā' Rg. X. 4. 6; 'tā valgū¹⁶¹⁰ Dasrā puruṣākatamā prātnā navyasā vacasā vivāse' (Rg VI. 62. 5); 'navyasī sukīrtiḥ' in Rg. I 60. 3, 'sa prātnavat navyase viśvavāra sūktīāya pathah kṛnuhī' in Rg IX. 91. 5; 'nū navyase navīyase sūktīāya sādhyā pathah' in Rg. IX 9. 8. It is a remarkable fact that when words like 'sukīrtiḥ' and 'sūkta' that occur only four or five times in the whole of the Rgveda are qualified by the word 'new or fresh', the word 'mantra' occurring so many times does not even once bear the adjective 'new'. This emphasizes the conclusion stated above that in the times of many of the extant Rgvedic verses mantras were a large group already existing, from which prayers were drawn as occasion required, though now and then new verses were added to those already existing. It may here be stated that in some places the Rgveda looks upon prayers (*dhīti*) as divine and as on the same level with *Asvins*, *Usas*, and the *Śun* (VIII. 35. 2) and that ancient prayers were inherited from ancestors (III. 39. 2 'seyamasme sanajā pītryā dhīh').

Several hymns and verses of the Rgveda are purely philosophical, cosmological, mystic and speculative as I. 164. 4, 6, 29,

¹⁶¹⁰ Here the contrast is great. The *Aśvins* are *prātnā* (ancient) but the *rsi* (in VI 62. 5) says that he worships the ancient *Dasras* (*Aśvins*) with a new prayer. This *rsi* at least does not convey that the *Aśvins* were seen by him.

32, 39, 42; X. 71, X. 90 (Purusasūkta), X. 121 (Hiranyagarbha), X. 129, X. 81-82 (Viśvakarman), X. 72, X. 125 (Vāk), X. 154 (state after death), X. 190 (creation).

About the meaning and purpose of Vedic mantras there are great controversies. This much may be said here that according to the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system the whole Veda is concerned with sacrifices, that Veda is divided into two classes, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, that Vidhis (hortatory passages) are the most important part of the Veda, that a very large number of Vedic passages are mere arthavādas (that contain either praises of vidhis or are to be explained metaphorically or merely repeat what already exists or are of a legendary character) and that mantras only serve the purpose of bringing to the mind of the sacrificer or priests what is to be done in a sacrifice and that the words used in the mantras ordinarily bear the same meaning as that in popular Sanskrit.

Long before Yāska (several centuries before Christ) there were several schools of Vedic interpretation such as the Aitihāsikas (who acc to Nir. II 16 said that Vitrā was an Asura son of Tvastr, while acc to the Nairuktas Vitrā means only 'cloud' and the Veda contains metaphorical descriptions of battles, that the twins that Saranyu is said in Rg. X. 17. 2 to have given up are according to the Nairuktas Indra and the Mādhyamikā-vāk, while according to the Aitihāsikas they are Yama and Yami, as stated in Nir. XII. 10), the school of Naidānas is mentioned about 'syāla' and 'sāma' in Nir. VI 19, the school of ancient yājñikas in Nir. V. 11 Rg. I. 164. 32 (ya im cakāra) is differently explained by the Parivrājakas (ascetic school) and the Nairuktas (etymologists). The Nirukta also mentions the names of seventeen individual predecessors (from whom it differs often and who differ among themselves) such as Āgrāyana, Audumbarāyana, Kautsa, Gārgya, Gālava, Śakātāyana, Śākapūni. There are several mantras of which two different meanings are given in the Nirukta as in Nir. V. 11 on Rg. VIII. 77. 4. In Rg. I. 164 there are several verses with two meanings or more e. g. verse 21 (yatrā suparnā &c.) has two meanings (acc to Nir. III 13) one relating to the devatā Sūrya (*adhvanata*) and the other spiritual (*adhyātma*); similarly, verse 32 of the same hymn has two meanings in the Nirukta (II. 8), the verse 39 (eco aksare parama vyoman) is explained in four ways by Sāyana, verse 41 (gaurī-mimāya) is explained by Sāyana in two ways, both being different from Yāska's explanation (in Nir.

XI. 40); verse 45 (catvāri vāk parimitā padāni) is explained in six ways (more or less different from each other) by Sāyana; it is also explained in the Mahābhāṣya (p. 7 of M. M. Abhyankara-śāstri's ed.). The verse 'catvāri śrngā' (Rg. IV. 58. 3) has been the subject of varying explanations from very early times. Nir. (XIII. 7) explains it as referring to Yajña. The Mahābhāṣya (p. 6 of the Mahābhāṣya *ibid.*) also does the same. Sāyana explains it as referring to Agni (identified with yajña) and Sūrya. This verse is a riddle. Śabara¹⁶¹¹ in his bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 2. 38. ('abhidhāne arthavādaḥ') explains it but Kumārila differs from him. Sāyana and others explain it (e. g. the word 'tridhā') with reference to Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa, but when this verse was first proclaimed there must have been no Brāhmanas and Kalpasūtras. In several cases the Nirukta gives the adhidaivata (physical) and adhyātma (metaphysical or spiritual) or adhiyajña and adhyātma as in Nir. X. 26 (on Rg. X. 82. 2 'Viśvakarmā vimanā'), Nir. XI. 4 (on Rg. X. 85. 3, adhiyajña and adhidaivata meanings), Nir. XII. 37 (on Vaj. S. 34. 55 'sapta rsayah', both adhidaivata and adhyātma), Nir. XII. 38 (on Atharva X 8. 9 'Tiryag-bilaś-camasa &c.') both adhidaivata and adhyātma). In Rg. (I. 164) verses 11-13 and 48 contain a very imaginative and poetic description of the year, the seasons, months and total days and nights.

In recent years Śrī Aurobindo in 'Hymns to the mystic Fire' (translated in the esoteric sense, 1946) and his ardent and devout disciple Sri T. V. Kapali Sastry (in 'Rgghāṣya-bhūmikā in Sanskrit and its English translation, Pondicherry 1952) have started a theory about the Rgveda mantras which must be briefly stated and examined. Śrī Aurobindo first intended to publish an edition of the Rgveda with a word by word construction and an English translation. But he gave up that idea on account of other pre-occupations and rests content in the above book with the text and translation of about 230 verses in all from the 1st, 2nd and 6th *maṇḍalas* of the Rgveda and a foreword of 48 pages in which he propounds his theory. While

1611. शबर (on पू. मी. सू. I. 2, 38) explains: 'चतस्रो होत्राः शृङ्गाणीवास्त्य । त्रयोऽस्य पादा इति सवनाभिप्रायम् । द्वे शीरे इति पत्नीयजनानी । सप्तहस्ता इति चण्डा-
स्पभिमेत्य । त्रिधा बद्ध इति त्रिभिर्वैदेयैः ।'. The तन्त्रवार्तिक on this says 'चत्वारि
शृङ्गेति रूपकद्वारेण यागस्तुतिः कर्मकाले उत्साह करोति । .. चत्वारि शृङ्गा इति दिवसयामाना
यदणम् । त्रयोऽस्य पादा इति शीतोष्णवर्षाकालाः । द्वे शीरे इत्ययनाभिप्रायम् । सप्तहस्ता इत्य-
श्वस्तुतिः । त्रिधा बद्ध इति सवनाभिप्रायेण ।'. It would be noticed that the तन्त्रवार्तिक
differs from शबर on almost every clause.

this was being written by the present writer, Śrī Aurobindo's large work of 634 pages 'on the Veda' published in 1956 reached his hands. Over 60 hymns are dealt with in this big book and 283 pages are devoted to the elaboration of his theory first outlined in the brief work of Śrī Aurobindo mentioned above and reiterated with greater emphasis. On page 9 of the work of 1956 he states "the ritual system recognized by Sāyana may stand, the naturalistic sense discovered by European scholarship may, in its general conceptions be accepted, *but behind there is always the true and still hidden secret of the veda*—the secret words which were spoken for the purified in soul and the awakened in knowledge'. In this work also he sticks to the meaning of *rta* as truth and on p 84 translates '*rtam*' as "Truth-consciousness", when in his first work he translated '*rta-cit*' as Truth-consciousness'. Instead of comparing the several hundred passages where the word *rta* occurs in the Rgveda he sticks to his own rendering which is unacceptable to most scholars and makes a very perfunctory attempt at finding the correct meaning. One should like to have some clear examples of the distinction between Light and Consciousness in modern times and also in the Veda. So far as the present writer knows, in the language of ancient symbolism Consciousness is identified with Light. In the recently published book he deals with less than $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the total hymns (1017 or 1028) of the Rgveda. Readers are asked to subscribe to his views although he condescends to translate in the first work less than $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the total number of verses in the Rgveda and hardly ever enters into a discussion about the meaning of words like *rta*. Śrī Aurobindo (Foreword p. III.) concedes that Sāyana does not reject the spiritual authority of the Veda and that Sāyana does not deny that there is a higher truth contained in the *ṛks*. He further says (IX) that we must take seriously the hint of Yāska (Śrī Aurobindo does not quote the Nirukta but probably he has in mind Nir. I, 20 '*sāksātkṛtadharmānaṁ rsayo babhūvuh*'). Then he proceeds to state (XVII) that many whole hymns of the Veda bear on their face a mystic meaning and that the *ṛsis* (p. XIX) for the sake of secrecy resorted to double meanings, a device easily manageable in the Sanskrit language. This is a hypothesis which cannot at all be accepted and is no more than mere conjecture. The Vedic mantras were composed thousands of years ago, when all persons among whom the sages moved must have spoken the same language, though generally not so polished and poetical as that of the mantras and they were not addressed to men like the moderns whose

every day thoughts, surroundings and languages are entirely different. Both the Master and the disciple (Mr. Kapali Sastry) cause confusion (or, may be, are themselves confused) by supposing that the difficulties of the modern students of mantras did exist even at or near the time of the mantras. The most sublime thought of the R̥gveda is that there is only one Spirit behind the various gods, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan, that originally there was only that One, there was no day and night, no death and immortality. Śrī Aurobindo himself describes (p. XXXII) R̥g. I. 164. 46 and X. 129. 2 as 'the summit of the vedic teaching.' This view of the one Entity is also illustrated in R̥g. VIII. 58. 2 'one and the same Agni is kindled in many places, the one Sun enters the whole world and becomes many; the one Dawn illumines all this (physical) world, One became all this (assumes various forms)'. No secrecy was observed about this fundamental truth and it was proclaimed in mantras that can be understood even by an ordinary man of to-day who knows a little Sanskrit. Because we of these recent centuries cannot understand some mantras, that does not mean that the ancient seers were guilty of a subterfuge and purposely composed mantras with two meanings. They might have indulged in the pastime of two meanings (express and metaphorical) in a few cases as poetic devices.¹⁶¹² It is no fault of the sages, if we cannot understand their meaning, just as a blind man, who does not see a wooden post and comes to grief by dashing against it, should not blame the post, but should blame himself; we are to blame ourselves and should not foist upon the ancient sages a stratagem created by our own imagination or lack of knowledge (Nir. I. 16).¹⁶¹³

1612 The Master (Śrī Aurobindo) and the pupil are at variance about the poetic character of the Mantras. Śrī Aurobindo (p. XXXIV) after saying that his translation is a literary and not a strictly literal one speaks of the hymns as 'great poetry', magnificent in their colouring and images, noble and beautiful in rhythm. Now let us hear the disciple. On p. 65 Mr. Kapali Sastry states 'the hymnal poetry is unusual, different from other poetry, even from the most superb specimen' and then he chides the readers and men like the present author and impliedly his own Master 'it is not permissible (why?) to class Vedic hymns with poetry of a literary and aesthetic kind'. On p. 31 Mr. Sastry asserts that 'mantras have two meanings, the inner which is psychological or spiritual and the true meaning and a gross or external meaning for common men' and he adds that the use of words with double meanings was *deliberate* but was *effortless and natural*.

1613. यथो एतद्विस्तारार्थं भवन्तीति । नैष स्थाणोरपराधो यदेनमन्यो न पश्यति पुत्रपाराधः स भवति । निवृत्त I. 16.

Śrī Aurobindo admits (p. XXXIII) that there are some key words in the R̥gveda such as *rta*, *kratu*, *śravas*, *ketu* and that elaborate work would have to be done to fix the meanings of such words. But he does not undertake a study of the key words (each of which except 'ketu' occurs hundreds of times in the R̥gveda) by comparison of R̥gvedic passages and considering the light shed on these words by the other Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. He mentions the occurrence of the word *rta* in I. 164. 47 and IV. 21. 3 (*sadanūt-rtasya*) and '*rtasya pathyā*' in R̥g. III. 12. 7 and jumps to the conclusion that the last two words mean 'the path of truth' and remarks that 'we have to find the path of Truth' (Foreword p. XXX). In the H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 2-5 it has been shown that *rta* in the R̥gveda has three meanings, viz. (1) the regular and general order in the cosmos; (2) the correct and ordered way of the cult of the gods, (3) 'moral conduct of man.' In the R̥gveda *rta* is not the same as 'satya', but the two are differentiated. In R̥g. V. 51. 2 the *Viśve-devas*¹⁶¹⁴ are described as *rtadhīṭayah* (whose thoughts are fixed on *rta*) and '*satyadharmānah*' (whose ordinances are true or fixed) and the sage prays to them to come to his sacrifice and to drink (*ājya* and soma) by the tongue of Agni. In R̥g. X. 190. 1 both *rta* and *satya* are said to have arisen from rigorous or refulgent *tapas* (of the Creator). In the R̥gveda *rta* involved a very wide conception as stated above and 'satya' had a restricted meaning viz. truth or static order. In R̥g. IX. 113. 4 Soma is described as one who proclaims *rta*, *satya* and *śraddhā* (faith). Therefore, Śrī Aurobindo is quite inaccurate when he translates *rta* by the word 'Truth' and draws important conclusions from his inaccurate renderings. Similarly, Śrī Aurobindo does not give a correct rendering when he translates (Foreword p. XXX) the word '*rtacit*' as truth-conscious (whatever that may mean acc. to Śrī Aurobindo). Mr. Kapali Sastry (p. 46) goes a step further than his great master by stating that in the mantras true knowledge is termed '*rtacit*' Truth-consciousness (with a capital C). It appears that both Master and disciple are misled by the meaning of 'cit' in such an attribute as '*sat-cit-inanda*', applied to *brahma*. They appear to take '*rta-cit*' as meaning two distinct things '*rta*' and '*cit*'. The word '*rtacit*' occurs

1614. ऋतधीतय आ गत सत्यधर्मिणो अधिरयः । अग्ने पिबत जिह्वा ॥ ऋ V. 51. 2; ऋत च सत्य चाम्भीक्षाचपसोऽव्यजायत । ततो राष्ट्रजायत ततः सद्यदो अर्णयः ॥ ऋ. X. 190. 1; ऋत वदन्तद्युस्र सत्य वदन्तस्यर्कमेतन् । अर्द्धां वदन् सोम राजन् धात्रा सोम परिष्टुत इन्द्रायेन्द्रो परि स्रन् ॥ ऋ IX. 113. 4.

five times in the Rg., in ¹⁶¹⁵ I. 145.5, IV. 3.4, V. 3.9 ('rtacit is here an epithet of Agni), in VII 85.4 (it is an adjective of hotr) and in IV. 16. 10 it qualifies the word *nārī* (in the context, Śaśī, the wife of Indra). The present author wonders whether Śrī Aurobindo and his disciple cared to go into the meaning of 'rtacit' in the several verses where it occurs. They pay no attention to the word 'rnacit' that occurs in Rg. II. 23. 17 as an attribute of Brahmanaspati.¹⁶¹⁶

The space at the author's disposal does not allow him to show up the other unwarranted propositions and conclusions of Śrī Aurobindo and Mr. Kapali Sastry. The author will set out the final conclusion of Śrī Aurobindo (Foreword p. XXIX) "what then is the secret meaning, the esoteric sense which emerges by this way of understanding the Veda? The thought around which all is centred is the seeking after Truth, Light, Immortality. There is a truth deeper and higher than the truth of outward existence, a Light greater and higher than the light of human understanding which comes by revelation and inspiration, an immortality towards which the soul has to rise. We have to find our way to that, to get into touch with this Truth and Immortality." This is a grand peroration, but all this is built on shaky and meagre foundations, such as the wrong meanings attached to the words *rta* and *rtacit*. Mr. Kapali Sastry (on p. 46) practically reproduces this grand summing up of his *guru*.

Mr. Kapali Sastry launches (on pp. 22-26) a bitter diatribe against Sāyana but ultimately he has to admit (pp. 27-28) that Sāyana is not merely useful, but indispensable to the students of the Veda. On p. 23 he translates a sūtra from Jaimini's work 'the purpose of the Veda being ritualistic, words which do not have that significance are useless' and remarks that this clearly lays down that the only purpose of the Vedas is that of ritual, those that do not pertain to that (ritualistic action) are worthless. The author doubts whether Mr. Kapali Sastry has carefully read the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras* or has at least

1615. व्यवचीद्वदुना नर्येग्योसिर्विद्वं ऋतचिद्धि सत्यः ॥ ऋ I. 145 5. It will be noticed that here *ऋतचित्* and *सत्य* are both epithets of Agni. They must be given some separate meanings, स सुक्रतुर्ऋतचिद्धस्तु होता य आदित्य शवसा वां नमस्तार! ऋ VII. 85. 4 (O sons of Aditi! May that Hotr priest, who makes obeisance to you with strength (in a loud voice), be a man of good deeds (or will) and knowing *rta*, moral conduct (or cosmic law). *सत्यः* in I. 145 5 would have to be rendered as truthful or pure. The word *चित्* may be derived from root *चि* to gather or from *चित्* to know.

1616. स ऋणचिद्वणया नृणां सतिर्दुहो हन्ता मह ऋतस्य धर्तरी ॥ ऋ II. 23. 17.

correctly stated the position; what he quotes is the Pūrvaṇpakṣa view (prima facie view). Jaimini's position is contained in the 7th sūtra¹⁶¹⁷ 'as those passages (that do not directly concern themselves with ritualistic actions) form one syntactically connected whole with the passages prescribing *vidhis* they are to be considered as commendatory of the *vidhis*'. Mr Sastry is not satisfied with saying (on p. 8) 'the sages Madhucchandas and others are seers of the mantra, the Gods were present to the vision of these seers of old', but he adds 'this seer of the beyond is also the hearer of the truth, therefore that the post-seers are truth-hearers *kavayah satyaśrutah*, is famous in the Veda' (p. 64). The present writer wonders whether Mr. Sastry carefully read the original passages where the words '*kavayah satyaśrutah*' occur in the Veda. The words *kaviḥ* and *kavayah* occur several hundred times in the R̥gveda, but '*satyaśrutah*' occurs only thrice in R̥g. V. 57. 8, V. 58. 8 and VI. 49. 6; R̥g. V. 57. 8 and V. 58. 8 are identical. In R̥g. V. 57. 8 and ^{1617a} V. 58. 8 it is the wind-gods (Maruts) that are addressed as *kavayah* (wise) and *satyaśrutah* (well-known as conferring true rewards) and *not sages*. VI. 49. 6 (first half of which is addressed to Parjanya and Vāta-wind god) runs 'O establishers of the world' (O Maruts!) that are wise and well-known as conferring true rewards, make the world turn towards the man by whose lauds you are praised' (this half seems to be addressed to the band of Maruts). Further comment is superfluous.¹⁶¹⁸

1617 आन्तायस्य कियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतवर्धानं तस्मादन्तित्युच्यते । विधिना वेकवाक्यत्वात्तुत्यर्थेन विधीना स्युः ॥ प्र. मी. सू. I. 2. 1 and 7.

1617a. ह्ये नरो मरुतो मूलता नस्तुवीमघासो अमुता व्रतज्ञाः । सत्यश्रुतः कवयो युवाजो बृहद्भिर्यो बृहदुक्षमाणा ॥ क. V 57. 8 and V. 58. 8. पर्जन्यवाता वृषभा पृथिव्या. पुरीषाणि जिवन्तमप्यानि । सत्यश्रुतः कवयो यस्य गीर्भिर्जगतः स्थातर्जगदा कृशुध्वम् ॥ क. VI. 49. 6.

All words including सत्यश्रुतः कवय in the latter half of V. 57. 8 are epithets applied to Maruts in the first half. सत्यश्रुतः कवय. in the latter half of VI. 49. 6 are vocatives as the पदपाठ shows and are addressed to Maruts as in V. 57. 8 and V. 58. 8. The words सत्यश्रुतः कवय. do not refer at all to Vedic poets in any of the three cases.

1618 The present author is aware that thousands of people look upon Śrī Aurobindo as a yogin, a prophet and as a World Teacher. But the search for truth is higher than all prophets and yogins put together. Śrī Aurobindo and his disciples claim that he has received a new revelation about the Veda beyond the ken of all scholars of antiquity and modern times and they have very severely handled Yāska, Jaimini, Sāyana and other commentators. The devotees and admirers of Śrī Aurobindo must allow the same freedom to the critics of Śrī Aurobindo's Vedic lucubrations for showing how and why they are wrong and are requested not to take umbrage at what the present writer has said about his theories but only to reply to the author's brief criticisms on their merits or demerits.

The Mīmāṃsakas made a sweeping generalisation that the whole Veda is meant for sacrifice. They went rather too far but they had substantial grounds for doing so. On pp. 980-982 of the H. of Dh. vol. II. it has been shown how even the R̥gveda discloses that a complicated system of sacrifices with three *savanas*, numerous priests, three fires, existed in those far-off days and sacrifices like Atirātra (R̥g. VII. 103. 7) and Trikadrūka (R̥g. I 32. 3, II. 11. 17, VIII. 13, 18, VIII. 92. 21, X. 14. 16) were being performed. The Mīmāṃsakas had a long tradition behind them. But the case of Śrī Aurobindo's theories is entirely different. On flimsy grounds and mistaken meanings he builds up an imposing structure of an exoteric and also an esoteric meaning of vedic mantras, propounds that the sages wanted secrecy for their doctrines and all that they were concerned with was Truth, Light and Consciousness. It has been already shown that there are several philosophical and speculative hymns in the R̥gveda. But there is no motive of secrecy therein. If it is only Truth, Light and Consciousness with which the vedic sages were concerned ten thousand verses would not have been necessary. One should like to know what secret or higher or deeper esoteric Truth or Light or Consciousness to be kept concealed from common men is contained in hymns such as R̥g. VII. 55 (sleeping charm), VII. 103 (mandūkā-stuti), X. 34 (gambler's song), X. 119 (exhilaration of power of Soma on Indra), X. 166 (invoking destruction of enemies), X. 190 (brief creation hymn), X. 191 (for concord and co-operation). Many more such hymns may be cited, where the theory of secrecy and Truth, Light and Consciousness would entirely fail. Besides, what is the secret (or spiritual or esoteric) element in such passages as those quoted above viz. I. 164. 46, X. 129. 2, VIII. 58. 2, which clearly express the most profound Truth. If the Mīmāṃsakas made a too wide generalization, Śrī Aurobindo makes a far wider generalization with very little basis.

The mantras of the R̥gveda have a meaning and are not unmeaning letters as often in Tāntrik works. There is a discussion in Nirukta I. 15-16 where it is said that in the absence of the Nirukta the apprehension of the meaning of the words used in mantras would not follow and the view of Kautsa is cited that the Nirukta is useless for understanding the meaning of mantras, since the mantras themselves have no sense (or are useless or purposeless). Yāska^{1618a} replies that mantras do possess

1618a अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते। ...तदिदं विद्यात्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्तव्यं स्वार्थसाधकं च। ...अर्थवन्तः शब्दसामान्यात्। ...यथो एतद् ब्राह्मणेन रूपसम्पन्ना
(Continued on next page)

a meaning since they employ the very same words that are used in ordinary Sanskrit, and then quotes a passage of the Ait. Br. (I. 5). Śābara on Jai. I. 2, 41 states that where one cannot get at the meaning one has to come to some meaning on a consideration of other Vedic passages and on the basis of roots following Nirukta and Grammar.

One of the important topics dwelt upon at length in the Purāṇas is that of *avatāras*. This emphasis on the conception of *avatāras* has greatly influenced the forms of religious worship, *vratas* and festivals. The subject of *avatāras* has been dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 717-724. It has been shown there that the beginnings of the doctrine of *avatāras* and of some of the well-known *avatāras* may be traced to the Vedic Literature viz. to the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (story of Manu and the fish in I. 8. 1. 1-6), story of Kūrma (tortoise) in Śatapatha VII. 5. 1. 5, of Varāha (Boar) in Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 2. 11, Vāmana (Dwarf) in Śat. Br. I. 2. 5. 1 ff., Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, in Chāṇ. Up. III. 17. 6 and that the number of *avatāras* and the names also varied. But the treatment was not exhaustive and hence some details are added here from the Purāṇas and from general considerations.

Avatāra (from root *tr.* with 'ava') means 'descending' or 'descent' and the word is applied to gods, assuming the form of a human being or even of an animal and continuing to live in that form till the purpose for which that form was assumed was carried out. Reincarnation is one of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But there is a vast difference between that doctrine and the Hindu theory. Re-incarnation in Christianity is single and unique, while in the Hindu theory as adumbrated in the Gītā (IV. 5-8) and the Purāṇas there have been many incarnations of the Deity and there may be many more in future. It is a comforting belief for ordinary men to hold that when the affairs of the world are in a mess God comes down to the earth to set matters right. And this belief is held not only by the Hindus and Buddhists but by many peoples (including some in the rich and educated West) far apart from each other. Most Hindus, however, do not believe that great

(Continued from last page)

विधीयन्त इति, उदितान्नादः स भवति । एतदे यज्ञस्य समुद्धं यद्रूपमद्वयं यत्कर्म क्रियमाण-
मृगभिवदति । निरुक्त I. 15-16 : अविशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थः । जै. I. 2 32, अविशिष्टस्तु लोके
प्रयुज्यमानानां वेदे च पदानामर्थः । स यथैव लोके विवक्षितस्तथैव पदेऽपि भवितुमर्हति ।
...अर्थप्रत्यायनार्थेन यज्ञे मन्त्रोच्चारणम् । शबरः भाष्य.

men, saints or prophets like Śankarācārya, Nānak, Shivaji or Mahātmā Gandhi are born again as avatāras in times of crisis. The Buddhists made Buddha in their Mahāyāna teachings go through many avatāras as *bodhisattva* before he attained Buddhahood. In modern times many persons pose or are made to pose as avatāras by their admirers or followers. Recently, Mr. J. G. Bennett (Hodder and Stoughton, 1958) has published a book called 'Subud' (Sushila, Buddha, Dharma) in which he suggests his firm belief that one Pak Subuh who hails from Indonesia is an *avatar*, the messenger from above for whom mankind is waiting. The Indian theory of avatāras is connected with the theory about yugas and manvantaras. When the world is in serious trouble, people believe that deliverance will come by the grace of God and they are often justified in their belief by the appearance of godly men who appear with some noble mission and masterly idea suited to the particular time and place when they appear.

In medieval and modern times the avatāras of Visnu have been regarded as ten, viz. Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nrsinḥa or Narasimha (Man-lion), Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin. The Varāha-purāṇa mentions these ten in that order.¹⁶¹⁹ In an inscription on the lintel above the figure of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa in the Varāha-Perumal¹⁶²⁰ temple, this Paurāṇik verse except the first six letters (which cannot be read) is seen inscribed. The *locus classicus* about the descent of God in different forms is in the Bhagavad-gītā¹⁶²¹ viz. 'Whenever piety or righteousness (*dharma*)

1619 मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नरसिंहोऽथ वानरः । रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश ॥ वराह 4. 2, मत्स्य 285. 6-7 (reads कल्कीति च क्रमात्) The मत्स्य verse is quoted by अपराक्ष p. 338.

1620 Vide Memoir No. 26 of the Archaeological Survey of India by H. Krishna Sastri on two statues of Pallava kings and five Pallava Inscriptions in a rock-cut temple at Mahābalipuram (p. 5), which the writer ascribes to the latter half of 7th century A. D. The preserved engraving reads "हस्य नारसिंहश्च वानरः । रामो रामश्च (श्च) रामश्च (श्च?) बुद्धः (:) कल्की च ते दश ॥" The same page notes that at Sirpur in the Central Provinces is a shrine of about 8th century A. D. in which are found side by side the images of Rāma and Buddha in his usual meditative attitude.

1621. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य...स्तुजाम्यहम् । परिव्राणाय साधूनां ...धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे ॥ गीता 4. 7-8, compare हरिवंश I. 41. 17 'यदा यदा ...भारत । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय तदा सम्भवति मनु. ॥', जज्ञे युनः पुनर्विष्णुर्वज्रो च शिशिले मनु. । कर्तुं धर्मस्य वस्थानमधर्मस्य च नाशनम् ॥ बाहु 98 69, मत्स्य 47 235 (reads धर्मं प्रशिशिले and असुराणां प्रणाशनम्); ब्रह्मीः संसरमाणो वै योगीवर्तानि सत्तम । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय धर्मसंस्थापनाय (Continued on next page)

declines and impiety grows up, I create myself. Age after age I am born for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers and the establishment of piety'. The same idea occurs in some of the *parvas* of the Mahābhārata, as in Vanaparva 272. 71 and Āśvamedhika-parva 54. 13. None of the ten avatāras, except those of Kṛṣṇa and probably Rāma, ('Rāmah śāstrabhṛtām-aham', Gītā X. 31) are, however, mentioned by name in the Bhagavad-gītā. The number and names of the avatāras are not uniform in the Mahābhārata. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva (chap. 339. verses 77-102) only six avatāras and their exploits are expressly mentioned, viz. Varāha (bringing up the earth submerged in the ocean), Narasimha (killing demon Hiranyakaśipu), Vāmana (vanquishing Bali and making him dwell in Pātāla), Bhārgava Rāma (extirpating ksatriyas), Rāma, son of Daśaratha (killing Rāvana), Kṛṣṇa (killing or vanquishing Kamsa, Narakāśura, Bāna, Kālayavana, Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla). Then the same chapter ¹⁶²² mentions ten avatāras as follows: Hamsa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma Dāśarathi, Śatvata, Kalki. Here Buddha is omitted and Kṛṣṇa is called Śatvata and Hamsa is added. In the Harivamśa ¹⁶²³ it is said that the past avatāras have been thousands and in future also they would be thousands. Śāntiparva says the same thing. The Harivamśa (I. 41. 27 ff) names only the following and their exploits, viz. Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Dattātreyā, Jāmadagnya (Paraśurama), Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Vedavyāsa. But as Keśava is said to be the 9th (I. 41. 6) it is to be understood that Matsya and Kūrma were counted, though not expressly named and Kalki Visnuyāsa is mentioned as a

(Continued from last page)

च । आन्धमेधिक 54 13, असत्ता निग्रहार्थं धर्मस्तरक्षणाय च । अवतीर्णो महत्प्राणामजायत यदुत्सये ॥ स एव भगवान् विष्णुः कृष्णेति परिकीर्त्यते । वनपर्व 272. 71-72. ब्रह्मपुरा (180 26-27 and 181. 2-4) has almost the same words as गीता देवीभागवत (VII. 39) 22-23 is यदा यदा... भवति भूधर । अमृतं तदा वेदान् विभर्त्यहम् ॥

1622. हंसः कूर्मश्च मत्स्यश्च शार्ङ्गमर्वाह द्विजोत्तम । पराशो नरसिंहश्च वामनो राम एव च ॥ रामो दाशरथिश्चैव सात्वत. कल्किरेव च ॥ शान्ति 339. 103-104. In आदि 218 12 वासुदेव is called सात्वत

1623. शार्ङ्गमर्वाहदत्ताणि अतीतानि न संशय. । भूयश्चैव भविष्यन्तीत्येवमाह प्रजापतिः ॥ हरिवंश I 41. 11, अतिक्रान्ताश्च बहवः शार्ङ्गमर्वा मनीषिणा ॥ शान्ति 339. 106 Vldo भागवत I 3. 26 and अग्नि 16. 11-12 for similar words.

future avatāra. The usual ten avatāras are named in Varāha¹⁶²⁴ (4. 2, 48. 17-22, 55. 36-37), Matsya 285. 6-7, Agni (chap. 2-16 stories about all ten), Narasimhapurāṇa (chap. 36), Padma VI 43. 13-15). In Vāyu 98. 68-104 the text presents the avatāras in a confused manner and appears to mention ten avatāras, viz. Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Dattātreyā, Māndhātā, Jāmadagnya, Rāma (Dāśarathī), Veda-vyāsa, Vāsudeva, Kalkin Viṣṇuśāsa. In Brahmāṇḍa III. 73. 75 ff there are lists of avatāras different from the present ten. In the Bhāgavata the avatāras of Viṣṇu are mentioned in several places. In I. 3. 1-25 twenty-two avatāras including Brahmā, Devarsi Nārada (who promulgated the Sātvata system), Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Kapila (who taught to Asuri the Sāṅkhya system), Dattātreyā, Ṛṣabha, (son of Nābhi and Merudevi),¹⁶²⁵ Dhanvantari, Mohini, Vedavyāsa, Balarama and Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Kalki are mentioned. In II. 7 twenty-three avatāras are mentioned, many of which are the same as in I. 3, but in II. 7 Dhruva, Prthvi son of Vena, Hayagrīva are mentioned, the first two of which are mentioned as avatāras hardly anywhere else. In Bhāgavata XI. 40. 17-22 the following avatāras are mentioned, viz. Matsya, Hayaśīrṣa, Kūrma, Sūkara, Narasimha, Vāmana, Bhārgava Rāma, Rāma, Vāsudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Buddha, Kalki. In Bhāgavata XI. 4. 17-22 sixteen avatāras are set out, viz. usual ten plus Hamsa, Datta (Dattātreyā), Kumāra (Nārada), Ṛṣabha, Vyāsa and Hayagrīva. Twelve avatāras are noted in Matsya 99. 14 and Padma V. 13. 182-186. The Prapañcasāratāntara (ascribed to the great advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya) mentions (in Patala 20. 59) Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsimha, Kubja (i. e. Vāmana), three Rāmas

1624. The passage of Matsya (285. 6-7) is very likely a later interpolation, because in another place in the Matsya, the names of avatāras are different. In Matsya 47. 106 there is a reference to the curse on Viṣṇu by Bhṛgu that since Viṣṇu killed his wife he would have to be born seven times as a human being and the seven avatāras are Dattātreyā, Māndhātā, Jāmadagnya (Bhārgava) Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathī, Vedavyāsa, Buddha, Kalkin and three more (in 47. 237-240), viz. Nārāyaṇa, Narasimha and Vāmana are added; in Matsya 54. 15-19, Naksatrapurusa-vrata is described and the usual ten avatāras are named.

1625. Ṛṣabha, son of Nābhi, appears to be the first tīrthāṅkara of the Jains and was probably raised to the status of an incarnation of Viṣṇu as Buddha was raised. In भागवत I. 3. 24 बुद्ध is referred to as follows: ततः कलौ संयुक्ते संमोहाय सुरहिषाम् । बुद्धो नाम्नाञ्जनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति ॥ नमो बुद्धाय शुद्धाय वैष्णवान्वमोहिने । भागवत X. 40. 22.

(i. e. Bhārgavarāma, Dāśarathī Rāma and Balarāma), Kṛṣṇa and Kalkin (i. e. it omits Buddha). The Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā (5. 50-57) enumerates 39 avatāras of Vāsudeva, that are set out by Otto Schrader in his Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā, pp. 42-43. The Visṇupurāṇa¹⁶²⁶ states that Lakṣmī follows Viṣṇu in his avatāras. The Purāṇas are full of the descriptions of the exploits of Viṣṇu in his several avatāras. But it should not be supposed that Śiva had no avatāras. The Vāyu (chap. 23) mentions 28 avatāras of Mahēśvara the last of which was Nakulī (Lakulī) as verse 221 says. In Varāha 15 10-19 all avatāras are praised except that of Buddha. But Varāha (48. 20-22) provides that worship of Narasimha frees men from the fear of sins, of Vāmana leads to removal of delusion, of Paraśurāma to wealth, one should worship Dāśarathī Rāma for the destruction of cruel enemies, one desirous of a son should worship Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, one who desires a handsome form should worship Buddha and one should worship Kalkin for the slaughter of enemies.¹⁶²⁷ The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 49. 1-9) describes what characteristics the images of the ten avatāras should possess and says that the image of Buddha should be represented as having a quiet face, long ear-lobes, fair complexion, wearing an upper garment, seated in Padmāsana posture and his hands should have the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.

From the facts that Kṣemendra in his Daśāvatāra-carita¹⁶²⁸ (composed in 1066 A. D.), and the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva (court poet of Lakṣmanasena) mention the usual ten avatāras with Fish as the first and that the Matsya passage about ten avatāras is quoted by Aparārka (first half of 12th century), it follows that all the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu had become recognised throughout India at least about the 10th century A. D.

1626. एव यथा जगत्सामी देवराजो जनार्दनः । अवतार करोत्येष तथा श्रीस्तत्पदा-
यिनी ॥ पुनश्च पद्मावुभूता यदादित्योऽभ्यर्च्यते । यदा च भार्गवो रामस्तदाभ्यर्चणी त्वियम् ।
राघवत्वेऽभ्यर्च्यते इतिमणी कृष्णजन्मनि । अन्येषु चारतारेषु निष्कृतेषा सहायिनी ॥ विष्णु 1.
9. 139-141 ; आदित्य means वामन here.

1627. ज्ञान्तात्मा लम्पकर्णश्च गौराङ्गाश्चाम्बरायुतः । ऊर्ध्वं पद्मद्वितो बुद्धो वरदाभय-
दायकः ॥ अग्नि 49 8. बृहत्संहिता 57 4 पद्माङ्कितकरचरणः प्रसन्नमूर्तिः सुनीचकेशश्च ।
पद्मासनीपनिष्ठो पितेव जगतो भवति बुद्ध ॥, vide वराह 48. 20-22 तामन मोहनाशाय
नित्यार्थं जमदग्निजम् । क्रूरशत्रुनिनाशाय यजेद्वाशारथ्यं तुभ्यः । चलकृष्णौ यजेद्द्विमान् पुनर्कामो
न सहायः । रूपकामो भजेद् बुद्धं शत्रुघाताय कारुणिकम् ॥

1628. मत्स्य. कूर्मोऽवतारः सुवपदरिपुर्गमिनी जामदग्न्यः साकुलश्च कसद्वना स च
सुगतमुनिः कारुणामा च विष्णुः ॥ दशानतारचरित I. 2.

Kumārila (7th century A. D.) did not accept Buddha as an avatāra, though about that century some people had come to recognize him as such (vide note 1629). Besides, as shown above, there were many views about the total number of avatāras, their names and the order in which they appeared. Vide Dr. Katre's paper in Allahabad University Studies, vol. X, pp 37-130 for discussion on 33 avatāras. The Varāha avatāra is mentioned in the Eran stone Boar¹⁶²⁹ Inscription of Toramāna (Gupta inscriptions pp 158-160) in the first quarter of the 6th century. The Raghuvamśa (IV. 53 and 58) refers to the recovery of land near the Sahya mountain from the Western Sea by Rāma (Bhārgava); vide pp. 89-90 and note 224 above for references in the Mahābhārata and Purānas to Parasurāma's exploits. The Sarvānukramanī p 42 on Rg. X, 110 names as rsi Jamadagni or his son Rāma. The Meghadūta mentions the planting of the left foot of Viṣṇu on Bali (i. e. the Vāmana avatāra). Māgha in Śiśupāla-vadha (XV. 58) regards Bodhisattva (Buddha) as an avatāra of Hari and as sought to be tempted by the hordes of Māra. Māgha¹⁶³⁰ flourished about 725-775 A. D. The knowledge of Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa avatāras can be carried back centuries before the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, since it refers to works and dramatic representations of the imprisonment of Bali and the killing of Kamsa (vide pp. 130, 203 and notes 330, 521 above). In the Daśavatāra cave at Ellora one sees the representations of Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa. These caves are ascribed to the 8th century A. D.¹⁶³¹ Therefore, it appears almost certain that some at least (viz. Vāmana, Paraśurāma and Kṛṣṇa) of the usual ten avatāras had been recognised some centuries before Christ and all ten had come to be recognised by some writers and other people before the 7th century A. D.

1629 The first verse of the Inscription is . जयति धरण्युद्धरणे धनयोगावात-
चूणिमतदीध्रिः । देवो वराहमुनिश्चैलौक्यमहापुद्गलस्तम्भः ॥ Gupta Inscriptions p 159.
This was engraved in the first year of the Hūna king तोरमाण's reign on 10th
of Phālguna, when the temple of Nārāyaṇa in his Boar avatāra was built.
The probable date is about 500 to 510 A. D. This अवतार is sometimes called
आदिवराह, यज्ञवराह, श्वेतवराह, महावराह Compare हर्षचरित III 'महावराहपीवरस्कन्ध-
पीठे नरकासुर इव सुयो गर्भादुद्भूतः ।'. Vide 'Royal conquests and cultural
migrations' by C Śivarāma Mūrti (Calcuttā, 1955) for plate II C. for
'Ādivarāha' of 4th century A. D.

1630 इति तत्तदा विकृतरूपमभजद्विभिन्नचेतसम् । मारवलमिव भयङ्करतां हरिकोचि-
तुत्तमभिराजमण्डलम् ॥ शिशुपालवध XV 58. For Māgha's date, vide the author's
'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) pp 112-113 and 139.

1631. Vide 'Cave Temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 438;
Archaeological Survey of Western India by Burgess, Vol V. p. 25.

The conception of avatāras contributed largely to the increase of Dharmaśāstra material. They gave rise to numerous vratas and festivals. For example, the Varāhapurāṇa devotes chapters 39-48 to dvādaśī-vratas in honour of the ten avatāras from Matsya to Kalkin. There are separate festivals called Jayantīs of the avatāras such as Narasimha-jayantī on Vaiśākha śu 14, Paraśurāma-jayantī (on Vaiśākha śu 3) Vide pp. 262-263 for the tithis and months in which the different avatāras appeared 1631a

Descriptions of each of the ten well-known avatāras occur in several Purāṇas; for example, Matsya avatāra is described in Matsya chap. 1-2, Agni 2, Narasimha 37, Kūrma in Agni 3, Bhāgavata I 3 16, VIII 7-8-10, Narasimha 38, Varāha in Matsya 247-248, Vāyu 6 11-26, Bhāgavata III. 13. 18-45, III. 19. 25-30, Narasimha 39; Narasimha avatāra in Brahma 58. 12 ff, 213, 43 ff, Matsya 161-163, Bhāgavata I 3. 18, VII. 8. 18, Narasimha-purāṇa 41-44, Vāmana in Brahma 73 and 213 80-155, Vāyu 98, 74-87, Vāmanapurāṇa 78 51, Bhāgavata VIII. 18. 12 to VIII. 22. 33, Narasimha 45; Paraśurāma in Matsya 244-246, Bhāgavata IX. 15 13, IX. 16. 1-26 and vide above pp. 89-90 and note 204; Rāma in Brahma 176, Agni 5-11 (the seven *kāṇḍas* of the Rāmāyana are summarised), Vāyu 88. 183-198, Bhāg. IX. 10-11, Padma IV. 1-68, Narasimha 47-52, Kṛṣṇa in Brahma 14-17, 180-212, Agni 12-15, Bhāg X. 3, 44-45, 50-52 &c., XI 1 and 30, Narasimha 53; Buddha in Brahma 180. 27-39, Agni 16. 1-3, Varāha 180. 27-29, 213 32 ff, Padma VI. 31. 13-15, Bhāg I. 3. 24, Kalkin—Vide H. of Dh. III. pp. 923-925 for references. The avatāras and their *jayantīs* are described in many Dharmaśāstra works, but the Todarānanda, vol. I, edited by Dr P. L. Vaidya in the Ganga Oriental Series probably contains the longest account of the ten avatāras (pp. 39-386) Thousands of verses are devoted by the Purāṇas to each of the topics of *dāna* (gifts), *śrāddha*, *tīrtha* and *vrata* and they have been quoted at length by works on Dharmaśāstra It would be

1631 a The following verse is cited from the पुराणसमुच्चय in नि. सि. p 81. मत्स्योऽष्टद्विंशतिदिने मधुसिंहे, कूर्मो विधौ माधवे, वाराहो गिरिजासुते नमसि, यज्ञे सिंहे माधवे । सिंहो, भाद्रपदे सिंहे हरितिव्यो श्रीवामनो, माधवे रामो गौरितियावत परमधूद रामो नवम्यां मधो. ॥ कुण्ठोऽष्टम्या नमसि सितपरे, चाश्विने यक्षशम्या बुद्धः, कल्मी नमसि समभून्बुद्धपठया क्रमेण ॥ The भक्तिप्रकाश p. 79 (of the वीरमित्रोदय) also quotes this The नि सि remarks that others cite some stray verses where some of the tithis are different and that some Konkana writers cite some verses as occurring in वराहपुराण in which नरस्यजयन्ती is on आपादशुक्ल eleventh, Buddha should be worshipped on पौषशुक्ल 7th and so on.

best to bring together by way of illustration a few of the pages of the previous volumes of the History of Dharmasāstra on these subjects.

Vide vol. II. pp. 880-881 (for gifts of certain dānas called *dhenus* from Matsya chap. 82, Varāha, chap. 99-110, Agni, chap. 210), p. 882 (for gifts called parvata or meru from Matsya 83-92, Agni 210 quoted by Aparārka pp. 344-454), pp. 884-885 (for grahaśānti from Matsya 93 and about images of planets from Matsya 84), p. 892 (for dedication of a reservoir of water to the public from Matsya 58), pp. 895-896 for the planting of trees and the dedication of a garden to the public (Matsya 59, Agni 70), pp. 896-899 (for dedication of temples and consecration of images in Matsya 264-266, Agni 60 and 66); vol. IV. pp. 162-164 about various hells (Agni 203, 371, Brahma 22, 214-215, Brahmavaivarta, Prakṛtikhaṇḍa 29 and 33, Nārada-purāṇa I. 15, Padma IV. 227, Bhāviṣya, Brāhma-parva 192, Bhāgavata V. 26, Viṣṇu V. 6, Mārkaṇḍeya 12 and 14); vol. IV. p. 170 about heaven being really happiness of the mind (Brahma 22. 44 and 47, Viṣṇu IV. 6. 46); vol. IV. pp. 177-178 on the doctrine of Karmavipāka (Vāmana 12, Mārkaṇḍeya 15, Varāha 203, Viṣṇu-dharmottara II. 102); vol. IV. p. 181 on the signs of approaching death (Vāyu 19, Liṅga 91, Mārka. 43. 29-39 or chap. 40 of Venk. ed. and Viṣṇu-dharmottara III. 218); vol. IV. p. 212 on cremation (Varāha 187, Garuḍa II. 4); vol. IV. p. 256 on the persons entitled to perform funeral rites (Viṣṇu III. 13, Mārka chap. 30 of B. I. ed. and 27 of Venk. ed.); vol. IV. pp. 261-262 the rites after death being called pūrva or nava, madhyama (navamiśra) and uttara (or purāṇa) in Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 13; vol. IV. p. 265 about an ātivāhika body being assumed by the soul of a dead person (Brahma 214, Mārka. 16, Agni 230 and 371); vol. IV. p. 272 on āśauca (impurity on birth and death) from Kūrma II. 23, Liṅga I. 39, Garuḍa, pretakhaṇḍa 5, Agni 157-158, Vāmana 14. It is unnecessary to refer to the pages of this volume itself for numerous references to Purāṇas as regards tithis, various vratas, times for religious rites, astrological matters &c.

It should not be supposed that the Purāṇas are restricted to topics called religious in popular parlance and to the five characteristic topics of creation, re-creation (*sarga, pratī-sarga* &c.) Some of the Purāṇas contain an exhaustive treatment of the duties of kings, ministers, commander-in-chief, judge, envoy scribes, court physician and of coronation, invasion &c

Many of these matters have already been dealt with in vol. III. of the H. of Dh. The most exhaustive treatment of what may be called political matters is found in Matsya chap. 215-226 and 240, Agni 218-242, Visnudharmottara II, chap. 2-7, 18-21, 24-26, 28, 61-63, 66-72, 145-152, 177. Among other Purāṇas Garuda I 108-115, Mārkaṇḍeya 24 (in Venk. ed. or 27 in Banerji's ed.), Kālikā 87 contain some discussion of matters political. It should be noticed that both Matsya (240.2) and Agni (228.1) employ the two technical words, 'Ākranda' and 'Pārsnigraha' that are part of the theory of *Maṇḍala* in Kautilya (VI 2 p 260) explained in H. of Dh. vol. III p. 222. The Matsyapurāṇa is profusely quoted by one of the earliest extant digests on Dharmasāstra viz. the Kṛtyakalpataru on Rājadharmā (pp. 23, 25-30, 34-38, 42-43, 55-61, 118-122, 123-124, 158-161 and many verses from chap 227 and 241 of the Matsya on the administration of justice in Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa pp. 342, 345, 348, 377, 406, 409-10, 562, 581, 594-95, 599). The same digest quotes many verses (pp. 9-13, 128, 166, 178-181) from the Brahmapurāṇa which are not found in the printed Brahma (Ānan. ed.), but which are quoted by the Rājāniti-prakāśa of Mitrāmīśra (borrowing from Kṛtyakalpataru) pp. 138, 158, 283, 416-419 and some by the Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva (pp. 326-330). The Visnudharmottara on rājadharmā is not quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru on rājadharmā, but it is frequently quoted by the Rājāniti-prakāśa e. g. Vi. Dh. II. 18. 1, 5-14 are quoted by R. N. P. on pp. 32-33, Vi. Dh. II. 18. 2-4 are quoted by R. N. P. p. 61, Vi. Dh. II. 22. 1-185 are quoted by R. N. P. pp. 66-81 (on mantras to be recited and the several divinities to be invoked at a king's coronation), Vi. Dh. II. 23. 1-13 are quoted by R. N. P. on pp. 82-83 (describing the rewards of the mantras recited in Vi. Dh. II. 22). Vi. Dh. is quoted 21 times by the Rājadharmakaustubha. These three Purāṇas alone (Matsya, Agni, Visnudharmottara) devote several thousand verses to the topic of rāja-dharma and allied matters. The Garuda-purāṇa (I 108-115) devotes about four hundred verses to Rājāniti (political thought) but many of them are like subhāsitas (*bon mots*) and are borrowed from Manu (e. g. Garuda I. 109. 1 and 52, 110. 7, 115. 63 are respectively Manu VII 213, VIII. 26, II. 239, IX. 3), the Mahābhārata, the Nārada-smṛti (e. g. 'na sū sabha' in Garuda 115. 52 is Nārada III 18). The Garuda itself states that it will expound the essence of *nīti* (Rājadharmā) based upon Artha-

śāstra¹⁶³² and the like; while the colophons at the end of chapters 108-114 aver that they contain the Nītisāra promulgated by Brhaspati. One verse is almost the same as the Introductory verse 5 of Bāna's Kādambarī¹⁶³³ and I am disposed to hold that it is the Garuda that is the borrower.

Certain verses from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna (24. 5, 23-33 or chap. 27 and 21-31 in Banerji's ed.) are quoted by R. N. P. pp. 30-31 (about the duties of kings and their acting in the peculiar ways of five gods, viz. Indra, Sūrya, Yama, Soma and Vāyu). The Dāyabhāga quotes the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna for pointing out that *sāpindya* in the matter of inheritance and succession is different from *sāpindya* for the periods of *aśauca* (impurity on death¹⁶³⁴). The Kṛtyakalpataru on Rājadharmā (pp. 182-183) quotes a passage from Skandapurāna on the festival of Kaumudīmahotsava to be celebrated by the king. The same passage is quoted by R. N. P. pp. 419-421.

The Kṛtyakalpataru (on Rājadharmā) quotes a long passage (pp. 201-212) from Bhaviṣyapurāna on 'Vasordhārā', which is quoted by the R. N. P. (pp. 447-457) from the Devīpurāna. The Kālikāpurāna in chapter 87 devotes 131 verses to Rājanīti, in which a summary is furnished of the course of conduct that should be followed by the king. This chapter expressly mentions the works of Uśanas and Brhaspati (verses 99 and 130) and advises the king to honour brāhmanas that are advanced in knowledge, learning, *tapas* and age, to control his senses, to employ the four *upāyas* (*sāma*, *dāna*, *danda* and *bheda*), to avoid the vices of gambling, drinking, indulgence in sexual matters and hunting, to practise the six *gunas* (*yāna*, *āsana* &c.), to test the princes, councillors, the queens and other female relatives by *upadhās* (investigation of character by various tricks).¹⁶³⁵

1632 नीतिसारं प्रवक्ष्यामि अर्थज्ञाद्वादिस्तथितम् । राजादिभ्यो हितं पुण्यमायुःस्वर्गादि-
दायकम् ॥ गृह I. 108 1.

1633. अकारणाविष्कृतकोपधारिणः खलाद्भयं कस्य न नाम जायते । विषं महाहेर्विषमस्य
दुर्वचः शुद्धं सह संनिपतेत्सदा सुखे ॥ गृह I 112 16, compare कादम्बरी Introductory
verse 5 'अकारणाविष्कृतवैरदागणादसज्जनात् कस्य भयं न जायते । विषं महाहेरि यस्य दुर्वचः
शुद्धः सह संनिहितं सदा सुखे ॥'.

1634. अशौचाद्यर्थं तु पिण्डलेपमुज्जामपि तद्वत्पिण्डलेपभोक्तृत्वेन सपिण्डत्वं मार्कण्डेय-
पुराणे निर्दिष्टं यथा—'पिण्डलेपमुज्जश्चान्ये पितृमहपितामहात् । प्रत्युक्तान्नयस्तेषां यजमानश्च
सप्तमः ॥ इत्येवं सुनिभिः प्रोक्तं सप्तम्यः साप्तपौरुषः ॥' अशौचकर इत्यर्थः । दायभाग XI
para 41. The verses 'पिण्डलेप साप्तपौरुषः' are मार्कण्डेय 28. 4-5 with slightly
different readings (chap 31 in B. I.).

1635. Compare the heading of कौटिल्य I. 10 'उपधाभिः शौचाशौचज्ञान-
ममास्यानाम्' and the following passages; शरीरस्नानी, while commenting on the
word उपधा, quotes this heading about उपधा from कौटिल्य (expressly named)

It appears that Kautilya's Arthaśāstra was not available to most medieval writers and therefore they relied on the purāṇas for the treatment of Rājadharmā. But the early purāṇas like the Matsya appear to have made use of Kautilya's work. Vide the author's paper on 'Kautilya and the Matsya-purāṇa' in Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume II, pp. 13-15.

In the matter of the administration of justice and the law of succession and inheritance also some of the Purāṇas have influenced the views of writers of *mbandhas*. The Kṛtya-kalpataru on Vyavahāra quotes about twelve verses from the Kālikā-purāṇa on the marks of a truthful party or witness and on the appropriate ordeals in the case of the several varṇas,¹⁶³⁶ their procedure and the different causes of action (vide pp. 79, 205, 210, 211, 221, 231, 238). Three verses from the Kālikā (chap. 91. 35-37) about the twelve kinds of sons and the impropriety of making a punarbhava, svayamdatta and a *dūsa* successor to a kingdom are quoted in the R. N. P. pp. 35 and 42. Verses 38-41 of Kālikā, chapter 91, about the sons that can be adopted and the age up to which they can be adopted are quoted by the Dattakamīmāṃsā p. 60 (Ānand, ed.) and by the Vyavahāramayūkha p. 114, though the latter remarks that they were not found in two or three mss. of the Purāṇa.¹⁶³⁷ In connection with the question of the seniority among twins the Mayūkha quotes Śrīdhara's comment on Bhāgavata (III. 19 18) that the son born first is the younger one; but the Vyavahāramayūkha¹⁶³⁸ makes the interesting remark that in the Purāṇas practices opposed to the smṛtis are frequently seen.

1636. The three verses on pp. 210-211 beginning with 'paradārābhi-
kāpe' &c. in Kṛtyakalpataru are quoted also by the Vyavahāramayūkha p. 45
and the Rājadharmakaustubha p. 408.

1637. यच्च कालिकापुराणे—पितृगोत्रेण य पुत्रः "यदीत्मा पञ्चगव्यं पुत्रेति प्रथमं चरेत्
तदसंगोचपरम्। 'इदं तु वचो न तथा विश्रम्भणीयं द्वित्रकालिकापुराणपुराणस्तद्वैदिकदर्शनात्।
व्य. म. 114 (B. O. R. I ed. 1926).

1638. यच्च - द्वौ तदा भवतौ गर्भौ स्मृतिर्येनैव पर्यायत्-इत्यादिना भागवते पञ्चाङ्गात्तस्य
वैदिकस्य तदप्यनेन नाप्यते। पुराणेषु स्मृतिविरुद्धाचाराणां बहुशो दर्शनात्। व्य. म. p. 93.

CHAPTER XXV

Causes of the Disappearance of Buddhism from India.

At the beginning of Chapter XXIV (pp. 913-14, n 1448) above, it was stated that the Purāṇas had a large share in bringing about the final disappearance of Buddhism from India, the land of its birth. The disappearance of Buddhism from India was complete and seemed to be sudden and is a complex problem. No single cause, nor even a few causes can fully account for this phenomenon. A combination of causes, both internal and external, must have been in operation for a pretty long time to bring about this remarkable event. It may be admitted that some of the causes are more or less conjectural. In the first quarter of the 5th century A.D. Fa-Hian found Buddhism in a flourishing condition in India, while in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Yuan Chwang appears to say that the decline of Buddhism had set in. It-sing found Buddhism very much on the decline in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. An attempt will be made here to discuss briefly the several causes that have been put forward by scholars for explaining the almost total disappearance of Buddhism from India. A few of the contributions bearing on this subject may be noted here. 'Religions of India' by A. Barth, translated by J. Wood (1882) pp. 133-139; Journal of Pali Texts Society (1896 pp. 87-92) on 'Persecution of Buddhists in India' by Rhys Davids, Kern's 'Manual of Buddhism' (in the German Grundriss pp 133-134); 'Buddhist India' by Rhys Davids (1903, pp. 157-158, 319); I. H. Q. vol. IX pp. 361-371 (where the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism emphasized by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri are enumerated); 'The Sum of History' by René Grousset, translated by A. and H. Temple Patterson pp. 101-105 (Tower Bridge Publications, 1951); 'The Decline of Buddhism in India' by Dr. R. C. Mitra (1954), particularly pp. 125-164; 'Life and Teaching of Buddha' by Devamitta Dharmapala (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1938); '2500 years of Buddhism' edited by Prof. P. V. Bapat, 1956 pp. 360-376; 'The Path of the Buddha' by Prof. Kenneth W. Morgan pp. 47-50 (New York, 1956); 'How Buddhism left India' by N. J. O'Connor, Ralph Fletcher Seymour, Chicago (1957).

Before setting out the main causes of the virtual disappearance of Buddhism from India, certain general points have to be emphasized. Buddha was only a great reformer of the Hindu religion as practised in his time. He did not feel or claim that he was forming a new religion, nor did he renounce the Hindu religion and all its practices and beliefs. The Buddha referred to the Vedas and Hindu sages with honour in some of his sermons. He recognised the importance of Yogic practices and meditation. His teaching took over several beliefs current among the Hindus in his day such as the doctrine of Karma and Rebirth and cosmological theories. A substantial portion of the teaching of Buddha formed part of the tenets of the Upanisadic period. At the time when he was born there were two main currents of thoughts and practices prevalent among the people, one being the path of sacrifices to Gods and the other being the path of moral endeavour, self-restraint and spiritual goal. It has been shown above (pp. 917-918) how the Upanisads assigned a lower position to the Vedas and the sacrifices enjoined therein and how spiritual knowledge after cultivating high ethical qualities was deemed greater than sacrifices. The Upanisads first began by symbolical interpretation of Vedic sacrifices, as for example in Br. Up. I. 1. 1, where Usas, Sūrya and Samvatsara are said to be respectively the head, the eye and the soul of the sacrificial horse or as in Chān. Up. II. 2. 1-2, where the five parts of the Sāman employed in a sacrifice are symbolically identified with earth, fire, sky, sun and heaven. Then they proceed to belittle the Veda as mere name and as much inferior to *brahmaudya* (e. g. Br. Up. IV. 4. 21, I. 4.10, Chān. Up. VII. 1-4, Mundaka I. 1. 4-5). It is generally held by all Sanskrit scholars that at least the oldest Upanisads like the Brhadāranyaka and the Chāndogya are earlier than Buddha, that they do not refer to Buddha or to his teachings or to the *pitakas*. On the other hand, though in dozens of *Suttas* meetings of brāhmanas and Buddha or his disciples and missionaries are reported they almost always seem to be marked by courtesy on both sides. No meetings are recorded in the early Pali Texts or brahmanical Texts about Śakyans condemning the tenets of ancient brahmanism or about brāhmanas censuring the Buddha heterodoxy. Besides, in all these meetings and talks, the central Upanisadic conception of the immanence of *brahma* is never attacked by Buddha or by the early propagators of Buddhism. What Buddha says may be briefly rendered as follows. "Even so have I, O Bhikkhus, seen an ancient path, an ancient road followed by

rightly enlightened persons of former times. And what, O Bhikkhus, is that ancient path, that ancient road, followed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times? Just this very Noble Eightfold Path, viz. right views ..&c. This, O Bhikkhus, is that ancient path, that ancient road, followed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times. Along that (path) I have gone and while going along that path, I have fully come to know, old age and death. Having come to know it fully, I have told it to the monks, the nuns, the lay followers, men and women; this *brahmacarya* is prosperous, flourishing, widespread, widely known, has become popular and made manifest well by gods and men."¹⁶³⁹ It will be noticed that the Noble Eightfold Path which the Buddha put forward as the one that would put an end to misery and suffering is here expressly stated to be an ancient path trod by ancient enlightened men. Buddha does not claim that he was unique, but claimed that he was only one of a series of Enlightened men and stressed that the moral qualities which he urged men to cultivate belonged to antiquity. In the Dhammapada and the Suttanipāṭa (Mahāvagga, Vāsettha sutta) the truly virtuous man is spoken of as *brāhmana* : "I speak of him as *brāhmana*, who causes no harm (or evil) in body, word and thought, who is guarded as regards these three sources"; 'neither by matted hair nor by lineage, nor by caste, does one become a *brāhmana*'; 'that man in whom there is truth and righteousness is blessed and is a *brāhmana*', 'him who does not cling to desires (or pleasures) as water does not stick to a lotus leaf or as a mustard grain (does not stick) on the top of an awl, I call a *brāhmana*.'¹⁶⁴⁰ Moreover, it does not appear that at any time

1639. Vide संयुक्तनिकाय (P. T. S.), part II (Nidānavagga) edited by M Leon Feer pp 106-107 paragraphs 21-33, a few sentences from which may be quoted here : 'एवमेव एवाहं भिक्खवे अहसं पुराणं मग्गं पुराणजसं पुब्बकेहि सम्मासंखुद्धेहि अज्जातं ॥ कतमो च सो भिक्खवे मग्गो पुराणजसो...अज्जातो । अयमेव अहंमिहो मग्गो । सेव्यथापि सनदिहि । ...अयं रवो भिक्खवे पुराणमग्गो अज्जातो । तं अज्जं गच्छि । तं अज्जगच्छन्तो जरामरणं अभिज्जासिं । ...तद् अभिज्जाय आचिक्खि भिक्खुनं भिक्खुनीनं उपासकानं उपासिकानं । तयिद् भिक्खवे ब्रह्मचरियं इद्धं चेव कीतं च विचारिकं बहुजज्जं पृथुभूतं याव देवमनुस्सेहि सुप्पकासितं ति ।'

1640. यस्त कायेन वाचाय मनसा नत्थि दुक्कतं । संडुत्तं तीहि ठानेहि तमहं ह्वमि ब्राह्मणम् ॥ न जटादि न गोत्तेन न जञ्जा होति ब्राह्मणो । यमिह सच्चं च धम्मो च सो सुखी सो च ब्राह्मणो ॥ वारि पोक्खरपत्तेव आरमेरिव सासवो । यो न लिप्पति कामेसु तमहं ह्वमि ब्राह्मणम् ॥ धम्मपद verses 391, 393, 401 (of Dr P L Vaidya's edition of 1934 in Devanāgarī type), सूचनियात (महावग्ग, वासेठसुत्त) has the last verse. With the verse 'na jāṭhī

the whole of India or even large portions of it were completely Buddhist. The people of India as a whole were always Hindus.¹⁶⁴¹ There were many millions of people at all times who professed Hinduism and not Buddhism. Besides, even when Buddhism secured the patronage of emperors like Aśoka, Kaniska and Harsa Buddhism was mainly restricted to monasteries and schools and great tolerance prevailed. For example, Harsa's father was a great devotee of the Sun and he himself is described in his Banskhera and Madhuban plates as a great devotee of Śiva, though his elder brother Rājyavardhana is described as *paramasaugata* (a great devotee of Buddha) and he appears to have shown favour to the Buddhist pilgrim (Yuan Chwang).¹⁶⁴²

Some recent authors like Prof K. W. Morgan hold that the most important causes of the disappearance of Buddhism were decline of vigour in the Sangha, the Moslem invasions and the opposition of the Hindu community ('The Path of the Buddha' p. 48).

There is a good deal of truth in A. Coomaraswamy's contention that the more profound is one's study of Buddhism and Brahmanism the more difficult it becomes to distinguish between

(Continued from last page)

&c 'compare महाभारत, वनपर्व 216 14-15 'यस्तु शूद्रो दमे सत्ये धर्मे च सततोत्थित । तं ब्राह्मणमहं मन्ये वृत्तेन हि भवेद् द्विजः ॥' Vide H of Dh. vol. II p 101 for other passages from the Great Epic similar to these With the verse वारि पोक्खर-पत्तेव &c. compare Chān Up IV 14 3 'यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न क्षिप्यन्त एवमेव बिदि पाप कर्म न क्षिप्यन्त इति' and Gītā V. 10 'लिप्यते न स पापेन पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा'

1641. Vide for a similar view expressed by a great French *savant* and Sanskrit scholar Prof. L. Renou in 'Religions of ancient India' (University of London, 1953) p 100.

1642 For Banskhera Plate of the year 22 (of the Harsa era) i. e. 628-29 A. D., vide E. I vol IV pp 210-211 and for the Madhuban plate of Harsa in the year 25 i. e. 631-32 A. D., vide E. I vol. I pp 72-73 (Bühler) and E I vol. VII pp 157-158 (Kielhorn). Yuan Chwang does not mention that Rājyavardhana was a great devotee of Buddha but he tries to paint Harsa as full of faith in Buddha from the beginning and narrates a fictitious story describing how Harsa was prevented from mounting the throne and induced to take the title Kumāra by a Bodhisattva who miraculously appeared to him in return for his worship This shows that the accounts by the 'Master of the Law' must sometimes be taken with a pinch of salt. Vide Watters on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels in India' (London, 1904) vol I p 343 for this story.

the two or to say in what respects Buddhism is really unorthodox (vide his 'Hinduism and Buddhism' p. 452). Buddha and his successors really attacked some popular varieties of Brahmanism. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her lecture on 'The relations between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism' (published in I. H. Q. vol. X. pp. 274-286) endeavours to show that the Tripitakas do not refer to rupture with brāhmanas and that what Buddha preached was in agreement with the central tenet of immanence in the Brahmanism of the day. Buddha agreed (or at least had no quarrel) with the Upanisad teaching about high moral endeavour being a necessary pre-requisite for *brahma* realization and *mokṣa* (as in Br. Up. IV. 4. 23 'tasmād-evamvic-chānto dānta upratas-titiksuh samāhito bhūtvā ātmanyevātmānam paśyati', Katha Up. I. 2. 23, I. 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, Prasna Up. I. 15-16, Muṇḍaka I. 2. 12-13).

The main matters of controversy between Buddha and the Hindu religious and philosophical system current in his time are generally held to have been caste divisions and pride of caste, the absolute authoritativeness of the Vedas and the great importance attached to sacrifices.^{1642a} Buddha asserted that righteousness and wisdom were the best, he did not expressly deny the existence of God but proclaimed that it was unnecessary to be definite nor did he pronounce his definite views on such questions as whether the world is eternal or non-eternal, since according to him, to cogitate on such points would be "a thicket of theorizing, wilderness of theorizing, the tangle of theorizing, the bondage and shackles of theorizing nor would it conduce to aversion, passionlessness, tranquillity, peace, illumination and *nirvāṇa*."¹⁶⁴³ Buddha did not think much

1642 a. Barth in 'Religions of India' (pp. 125-126) scents the theory that the institution of the Saṅgha and primitive Buddhism were a reaction against the regime of caste and the spiritual yoke of the brāhmanas and calls that theory 'a fiction of romance'

1643 Vide Majjhima-nikāya (Cūla-Mālukyasutta and Aggi-vaccagotta-sutta) ed. by V Trenkner, vol I suttas 63 and 72 pp 431 and 486 'न निज्झिदाय न विरागाय न निरोधाय न उपसमाय न अभिञ्जाय न सम्बोधाय न निज्झानाय संवत्ति' These very words occur in the Potthapada-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya when Buddha was asked by Potthapada whether the world was permanent or otherwise, whether it was without end or not, whether the soul (*jīva*) and body were different and he replied that he did not expound these matters because they served no purpose and did not lead to *nirvāṇa* (Pali Texts Society, vol. I pp 188-189 para 28).

of worship or prayer. According to him, what mattered was the deliverance of man from sorrow and suffering and the attainment of *nirvāṇa*^{1613a} (which state he did not care to define clearly and precisely). The original doctrine (called *hinayāna*, 'the lesser way or vehicle') held that the experience of enlightenment and *nirvāṇa* can be secured by human beings in this very life if they follow the path chalked out by Buddha.

The causes that have been advanced from time to time by scholars for the total disappearance of Buddhism from India must now be dealt with. (1) Persecution is alleged by some scholars as at least one of the main causes. King Pūṣyamitra of the Sunga dynasty is charged with having proclaimed that whoever would bring to him the head of a *śramaṇa* would receive one hundred *dināras*,¹⁶⁴⁴ Mihirakula, king of Kashmir,

1643 a. The word 'Nirvāṇa' literally means 'blown out, extinguished, or become cooled'. Taking the view most favourable to Buddha's teaching, it implies the blowing out or extinction of the fires of *kāma* (lust or desire), *krodha* (anger or ill-will), *moha* (ignorance or stupidity) and transformation of these into moral purity, goodwill (or charity) and wisdom. It is not like the Biblical Heaven. It is a state of perfect enlightenment, peace and bliss, attainable not merely after death, but in this very life and on this earth. It is really indescribable as stated in the Pall Uḍāna VIII 'unbecome, unborn, unformed &c.' and resembles the words used in speaking of *brahṇa* as 'neti neti' in Br. Up. II. 3. 6, IV. 2. 1, IV. 4. 22, IV. 5. 15

1644. The words in the Aśokāvadāna No. 29 (the Divyāvadāna ed. by Cawell and Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 434) 'यावत् पुष्यमित्रो यावत्सङ्गरामं सिद्धं प्रयातयन् प्रस्थितः । स यावच्छाकलमनुयात । तेनाभिहितम् । यो मे अमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारस्तदा दास्यामि ।' "यदा पुष्यमित्रो राजा प्रयातितस्तदा मौर्यवंशः समुच्छिन्नः". Pūṣyamitra is said by most authorities to have been a Sunga and was called *senāni* in the Purāṇas, in Harṣacarita (VI) and in the Ayodhyā Inscription (in E. I. vol. 20 p. 54), while the above *avadāna* calls him Maurya. This shows either the ignorance of the writer of the Divyāvadāna (which is a late work) or the text itself may be incorrect or corrupt. Vide Pro. of the 6th Indian History Congress (Allahgarh, 1943) pp. 109-116 where Mr. N. N. Ghosh propounds the theory that Pūṣyamitra did persecute Buddhists, though his successors did not, on the other hand Dr. Ray Chaudhary in 'Political History of India' (5th ed.) does not agree to the theory of persecution by पुष्यमित्र. In the Āryamañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (T. S. S. part III, 53rd chapter pp. 619-620) it is stated in a prophetic vein that a certain king called Gomimukhya (and also Gomisanda) extending his rule from East India to Kashmir will make Buddha's *śāsana* (system) disappear, will destroy *vihāras* and kill monks'. K. P. Jayaswal in 'Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit text' (p. 19) holds that Gomimukhya is a concealed name for

(Continued on next page)

is accused by Yuan Chwang (or more correctly, Hsuan Tsang according to some modern writers) with having overthrown Buddhist topes in Gandhāra, with destruction of monasteries and the slaughter of myriads of Buddhists (vide 'In the footsteps of Buddha' by René Grousset pp. 119-120 on Mihirakula, the Indian Attila), king Śaśanka is said by Yuan Chwang to have destroyed the Bo-tree (*Bodhadrūma*), replaced the image of Buddha by one of Maheśvara and to have destroyed the religion of Buddha and dispersed the order (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' Vol. II, pp. 118, 122 and Watters on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels' Vol. II, pp. 115-116); king Sudhanvan is supposed to have issued at the instigation of Kumārila^{164a} a proclamation to take effect from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin (which is palpably absurd) that he would put to death any servant of his who did not kill the Buddhists. These instances are carefully examined by no less a scholar than Rhys Davids in the Journal of the Pali Texts Society for 1896 (pp. 87-92). After adverting to the facts that there is nothing about persecution in the Pali Pitakas, that the tone of Pali books is throughout appreciative of brāhmanas, that no details are given and that hardly any names of persons suffering by

(Continued from last page)

Puṣyamitra, that the portion above quoted was written about 800 A. D. and was translated into Tibetan in 1060 A. D. (Intro. p. 3). Vide 'Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire' by Ramaprasad Chanda in I. H. Q. vol. V pp. 393-407 at p. 397 (for the concluding sentences of the Divyāvadāna in English) and pp. 587-613 and a recent paper on 'Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and Buddhists' by Hari Kishore Prasad in JBRS, vol. 40 pp. 29-38

^{164a} Vide also 'Buddhist India' by Rhys Davids pp. 318-320 (5th ed. of 1917, the first being of 1903) about persecution and 'Life and Teaching of Buddha' by Devamitta Dharmapala p. 7 about Kumārila and Śaṅkara having waged only a polemic war and nothing more. The Tantra-vārtika of Kumārila also suggests that the Buddhists were afraid of polemic skirmishes with the Mīmāṃsakas and that, while stating in one breath that everything is momentary, the Buddhists at the same time foolishly boasted that their sacred texts also were eternal, borrowing that idea from the Vedic doctrines; यथा मीमांसकवृत्ताः शास्त्रवैशेषिकादयः । नित्य एवागमोऽस्माकमित्याहुः ह्यन्य-चेतनम् ॥ p. 235, तत्र शास्त्रैः प्रसिद्धाणि सर्वज्ञानिकवादिना । त्यज्यते वेदसिद्धान्ताज्जल्प-द्विर्नित्यमागमम् ॥ p. 236. Vide note (2011) which will show that Kumārila was prepared to admit the usefulness of Buddha's teachings up to a certain point. Other literary works also show that it was a polemic war e. g. the वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु (not later than 6th century A. D.) says 'केचित्तेतिनि मतानुसारेण ब्रह्म तथागतमतध्वंसिनः' (p. 144, Hall's ed.).

persecution are mentioned, he asserts that he does not believe in these stories, but adds that he does not go so far as to maintain that there is no truth at all in the legend about Pusyamitra (but judgment must be reserved in view of the text in the *avaśāna* being corrupt and the author of it being grossly ignorant). As to the legend about Sudhanvan and Kumārila he holds that of all the cases of alleged persecution this is the weakest and that it is no more than boastful and rhetorical exaggeration.¹⁶⁴⁵ Rhys Davids emphasizes that the adherents of both faiths so diametrically opposed to each other lived in continuous peace side by side for a thousand years, that this redounds to the credit of the whole Indian people from the time of Aśoka

1645. In the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* of mādhavācārya It is stated (I 56 and 59) that king Sudhanvan was an avatār of Indra and Kumārila of Skanda (who is also known as Kumāra). The order of Sudhanvan is couched in that work as follows. *स्यधावाज्ञां ततो राजा वधाय श्रुतिविद्वियम् । आ सेतोरा तुपारायेषां ज्ञानादृष्ट-
पालकम् । न हन्ति यः स हन्तव्यो भृत्या नित्यन्वशान्दप ॥* (*Śaṅkaradigvijaya* I. 92-93). This seems to be a palpably absurd legend. No king in ancient India, much less one called Sudhanvā, ruled over the vast territory from the Himālayas to Rāmeśvara. Further, it may be noted that the order, supposing one was issued, was addressed only to the king's servants and not to one and all. The *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* (XV. 1) states that when Śaṅkarācārya started on a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvara king Sudhanvan accompanied him. Mādhavācārya, being blinded by his zeal to glorify his hero to the utmost, goes on heaping one legend on another and casts all history and chronology to the winds. For example, he narrates that Ācārya Abhinavagupta (a great Śaiva and Tāntrika teacher) was vanquished by Śaṅkara in disputations (XV. 158) and that Abhinavagupta practised black magic against the great Ācārya. From Abhinavagupta's own works it appears that his literary activity lay between 980 to 1020 A. D. (vide the author's 'History of Sanskrit Poets', 1951, pp 231-232), while no scholar would place Śaṅkarācārya later than 800 A. D. Mādhavācārya also says (XV. 157) that Śaṅkara vanquished by his arguments Śrīharsa, author of *Khaṇḍanakhāḍa-khāḍya*, who could not be vanquished by Guru, Bhaṭṭa and Udayana. Śrīharsa flourished about the end of the 12th century A. D. Taranath in his 'History of Buddhism' says 'It was probably about this time that the terrible enemies of the Buddhists, Śaṅkarācārya and his disciple Bhaṭṭācārya appeared, the former in Bengal and the latter in Orissa. A short time after the Buddhists were persecuted in the South by Kumārila and Kaśādaruru; here mention is made of the Buddhist klag Śālivāhana, though the Buddhists relate that in the end Dharmakīrti triumphed in the discussion with Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya or Bhaṭṭācārya &c. (I. A. vol IV. p. 365) It will be noticed how the account is altogether confused. Vide Dr. Mitra's 'Decline of Buddhism' p. 129.

downwards and that India never indulged in persecution in anyway approaching to the persecution of reforming Christians by the orthodox Church or the persecution of Christians by the Roman authorities. Dr. R. C. Mitra in "Decline of Buddhism in India" (pp. 125-130) arrives at the same conclusion about the cases of persecution. Barth (in 'Religions of India' p. 136) admits that everything tends to prove that Buddhism became extinct from sheer exhaustion and that it is in its own inherent defects that we must seek for the causes of its disappearance. He prefaces this remark with the words 'the most reliable documents, coins and inscriptions, bear evidence of a tolerance exceptionally generous on the part of the civil powers' (p. 133) and illustrates this by examples.^{1645a} It should be noted that great Smṛtikāras like Yājñavalkya laid down that when an Indian king reduced a kingdom to subjection, it was the conqueror's duty to honour the usages, the transactions and family traditions of the conquered country and to protect them. Aśoka, though himself a believer in Buddha's teachings, shows great

1645 a. यस्मिन्वेदो य आचारो व्यवहारः कुलस्थितिः । तथैव परिपाल्योस्ती यदा वक्ष्यमाणतः ॥. Nothing is gained by a total denial of even sporadic cases of religious persecution and vandalism. But such cases are very few and their very paucity emphasizes and illuminates the great religious tolerance of the Indian people for more than two thousand years. One interesting instance is found in an inscription from Abhar published in E I vol. V pp 213 ff (at p. 243), where the story is told of an intense devotee of Saivism named Ekāntada Rāma, who, in a controversy with the Jainas of Huligere (Lakṣmeśvara) led by a village headman named Saṅkagandā made a wager in a writing on palmyra leaf to the effect that he would cut his own head, place it at the feet of Somanātha in Huligere and have the head restored after seven days and that, if he succeeded, the Jainas were to give up their faith and God. Ekāntada Rāma succeeded, but the Jainas refused to destroy the image of Jina, whereupon Rāma ranted the horses and guards sent by the Jainas, laid waste the Jaina shrine and built a big Śiva shrine there. The Jainas complained to king Bijjala who sent for Rāma and questioned him. Rāma produced the writing containing the terms of the wager, but offered to perform the same feat. The Jainas were not prepared to face the same test again. Bijjala asked the Jainas to live peaceably with their neighbours, gave a *jayapātra* (document of Rāma's success) and granted a village to the temple of Somanātha. It is clear that a Jain image was overthrown and a Śaiva one was substituted by Rāma (leaving aside the superhuman feat ascribed to him). Rāma is to be placed shortly before 1162 A. D. There is a great difference between local brawls as in the above case and a general policy by a community or a king of wholesale persecution.

tolerance by requiring honour to be shown to all beliefs and sects in his 12th Rock Edict in the words 'Neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place,' that 'other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case', that 'concord (*samavāya*) alone is meritorious, that is they should both hear and honour each other's Dhamma'¹⁶⁴⁶ In the 7th Pillar Edict (Delhi-Topra p 136) Aśoka proclaims that he appointed officers called *Mahāmātras* to look after the Sangha (the community or body of preaching Buddhist mendicants), *brāhmanas*, *Ajivikas*, *Nigganthas* and all other *pāsandās* (sects). India has been for thousands of years a country of nearly absolute tolerance, which is literally a religion, while European religiosity has nearly always been intolerant and, when not intolerant, it is tantamount to mental hostility or complete indifference. Most Indian religious people were and are ready to agree that there may be alternative approaches to the mystery of life and the salvation of the soul. Indians feel amused at the claims of millions of people that some prophet revered by them has got the monopoly of the knowledge of God and the Here-after. This tolerance for differing tenets and cults persisted in India with rare exceptions throughout the long stretch of time from centuries before Aśoka onwards till about 1200 A. D. when Moslems overran India. A few striking instances (both early and late) may be cited here: (1) Khāravela again, a Jain king of Kalinga (2nd or 1st century B C), granted freedom from taxation to *brāhmanas* in the 9th year of his reign (E I vol. XX, p. 79 and 88); (2) The Nasik cave Ins. No. 10 records that Usavadāta, son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta lineage made very large gifts to gods and *brāhmanas* on the

1646. Vide 'Inscriptions of Aśoka' ed by Dr. Hultzsch (1925) pp. 20-21 for the text and translation of the Rock Edict from Girnar. Dr. Minakshi in 'Administration and Social life under the Pallavas' (University of Madras, 1938, pp 170-172) after remarking that Pallava monarchs as a class were tolerant towards all religious sects, points out that king Pallavamalla indulged in some harsh methods and persecutions. Prof. Arnold Toynbee in 'East and West' (Oxford Uni. Press) points out that Christianity and Islam have seldom been content to follow the practice of 'live and let live' and that both of them have been responsible for some of the bitterest conflicts and cruellest atrocities that have disgraced history' (p 49). Similarly, V O. Vagt in 'Cult and Culture' condemns the unbending arrogance of Moslems and Christian Missionaries in their claims of revealed authority and laments that religions will meet disaster unless it universalises its own conception of Revelation to embrace the future as well as the past (p. 70)

s of sacred rivers and at Bharukaccha (modern Broach),
 pura, Govardhana and donated a field for feeding a congreg-
 on of Buddhist monks (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78); (3) The
 a kings were generally devotees of Visnu but they also
 : gifts to Buddhist monks e.g. Gupta Inscription No. 5
 Gupta Inscriptions' ed. by Fleet pp 31-34) records a grant by
 rakardaya (an officer of Chandragupta II) to an Āryasangha
 he Gupta year 93 (412-3 A. D), (4) Siri Chantamūla I, an
 aku king of Śrīparvata in Āndhradeśa, had performed
 istoma, Vājapeya and Āśvamedha sacrifices but the ladies of
 family were almost all Buddhist and one of them erected a
 ar in honour of the supreme Buddha (E I. Vol. XX, p 8 and
 aswal's 'History of India' 50-350 A D, p 175); (5) The
 itraka rulers of Valabhi (in Kathiawar) were all orthodox
 ndus and almost all are described as great devotees of
 heśvara (Śiva) The Journal of the University of Bombay
 III. (pp. 74-91) sets out five grants (four Buddhist and one
 brāhmana) The first is issued by a feudatory Gāṛulaka
 nārāja Varāhadāsa in Valabhi year 230 (= 549 A.D) and the
 ers by the Valabhi kings themselves. The four Buddhist records
 e grants to Yaksasūra-vihāra and Pūrnabhātta-vihāra (both
 nasteries for nuns) of lands and villages for providing
 ments, food, beds, seats and medicines to the nuns and for
 viding for incense, flowers, sandalwood &c. for the worship
 Buddha images; (6) A king of Orissa, named Śubhākara-
 a, who was son of a Buddhist king and who styles himself
 amasaugata, made a grant of two villages in the latter half
 the 8th century to a hundred brāhmanas belonging to various
 tras (E. I. vol. 15 at pp. 3-5 Neulpur grant); (7) Vighrahapāla,
 ng of Bengal, who belonged to the Buddhist Pāla'dynasty,
 anted in the 12th year of his reign a village to a Sāmavedi
 hmana after taking a bath in the Ganges on a lunar
 ipse in honour of Buddha (Bhagavantam Buddhahattārakam
 diśya) by the Amgacchi grant (E I. Vol. XV. p. 293 at
 295-298, about 1000 A. D); (8) The successor of king
 rarahapāla (iii) by name Mahipāla granted a village in honour
 Buddha after a bath in the Ganges in Visuva-sankrānti to a
 hmana (E I. Vol. XIV. p. 324), vide also I. A. vol. 21
 253-258 for a grant of Devapaladeva, a Buddhist king of
 ngal, about the end of the 9th century, recording a grant of a
 llage to a learned brāhmana (9) In the Kalacuri stone
 inscription from Kasia (E. I vol. XVIII p 128) the first invoca-
 on in prose is to Rudra and then to Buddha, the first two

verses are in praise of Śāṅkara, 3rd in praise of Tārā (a Buddhist deity) and the 4th and 5th verses praise Buddha (who is styled Munindra); (10) Kumāradevī, 4th queen of Govindacandra (1114-1154 A. D.), a Gāḥadavala king of Kanauj and an orthodox Hindu, built a *vihāra* in which she placed an image of Dharma-cakra Jina i. e. Buddha (vide E. I. Vol. IX p. 319 at p. 324); (11) Govindacandra himself made a gift of six villages to a Buddhist learned ascetic (Śākyarakṣita by name) who hailed from Utkala (Orissa) and to his pupil for the benefit of the Sangha at Jetavana Mahāvihāra (vide the Sahet-Mahet plate of Govindacandra dated *saṃvat* 1186, i. e. 1128-29 A. D. recorded in E. I. vol. XI p. 20 at p. 24). (12) The Madanapur plate of the Buddhist king Śricandra¹⁶⁴⁷ of East Bengal records that the king made a grant of land to a brāhmana named Śukradeva 'in honour of Buddha-bhattāraka' after having bathed on the Agastīrṭṭiyā day. (13) The Dambal (inscription of the times of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla alias Vikramāditya (in śaka 1017 i. e. 1095-96 A. D.) begins with an invocation to Buddha and records certain grants to two vihāras, one of Buddha built by certain Settis of Dharmāpura or Dharmavolal (i. e. Dambal in Dharwar District) and the other of Tārādevī by a Setti of Lakkigundi (or modern Lakkundi). (14) In E. I. vol. XVI p. 48 at p. 51 (Inscription of Lakṣmeśvara in 1147 A. D.) a general is styled as the restorer of the four sects viz. Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Bauddha and Jaina (*catuḥ-samaya-samuddharanam*). (15) A stone inscription from Śrāvastī (modern Sahet-Mahet) of (Vikrama) *saṃvat* 1276 (1219-20 A. D.) records that a certain person Vidyādhara of the Vāstavya family established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town where the inscription was put up (I. A. Vol. 17 p. 61). (16) The Kumbhakonam Inscription of Sevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore (of 1580 A. D.) records the gift of some land in the brāhmana village (*agrahūra*) of Tirumalarājapuram to an individual attached to a temple of Buddha at Tiruvilandura.¹⁶⁴⁸

1647. There is divergence of views about the date of Śricandra. Vide Dr. R. C. Majumdar's 'History of Bengal', vol. I p. 196 (where the beginning of 11th century A. D. has been accepted by some scholars as the date of Śricandra)

1648. The last two examples indicate that, though Jayacandra of Kanauj was defeated and Kanauj was taken by the Mahomedans in 1193 A. D., Buddhism had not become totally extinct in North India in the first quarter of the 13th century A. D. and that some remnants of Buddhism existed in South India up to the 16th century A. D.

The above examples show that in all parts of India in the North as well as in the South, the general rule among kings and their officers was tolerance and care for all faiths. If there was rarely some persecution it was by an individual king or officer or the like. On the other hand, though Aśoka, as an inheritor of the Indian royal tradition of showing honour and respect to all faiths of the subjects irrespective of his own religious views, breathes a striking spirit of tolerance in his 7th and 12th Rock edicts, one cannot help a suspicion that in the later part of his life he seems to gloat over the fact that the gods worshipped as divinities in Jambudvīpa had been rendered false and he proudly proclaims that this result is 'not the effect of my greatness but of my zeal'.

It should be noted that even Aśoka's *ahimsā* was at first not thorough-going but qualified. In his first Rock Edict he himself states that in his royal kitchen thousands of animals were killed, but that he had reduced the slaughter to two peacocks a day and one deer (that too rarely) and that even the three animals would not be killed in future (vide C. I. I. vol. I. pp 1-2). Whether this last promise was really carried out is not clear. Besides, Aśoka appears to have carried his solicitude for the protection of all life too far and used against human beings his absolute power like a dictator. In the 4th Delhi Topra Pillar edict (C. I. I., vol. I p. 124) he mentions that his revenue settlement officers called *Lājūkas* had to deal with many hundred thousands of men and were given the discretion to award punishments including the *death sentence* and that a respite of three days was allowed in which the relatives of the man condemned to death could persuade the *lājūkas* to grant reprieves. In the fifth Delhi-Topra pillar edict (*ibid.* pp 125-128), after 26 years of his being anointed he declared that 23 kinds of birds and other animals (such as parrots, *mainas*, ruddy and wild geese, doves, certain kinds of fish, tortoises) were not to be killed at all, that ewes and sows that were with young or were in milk or the young of these that were less than six months old were also not to be killed; he also forbade the sale of fish on certain Full Moon days and the days previous to them and following them, the castration of bulls, rams, horses on 8th, 14th and 15th days of a month and the branding of horses and bulls on Pūṣya and Punarvasu and on *cāturmāsī*. These sweeping regulations must have caused great hardships to poor people and must have assumed the form of rigid coercion more or less, particularly

when all discretion was left to the lajūkas. Later in life Aśoka appears to have tried to undermine the worship of Hindu Gods. In a Rupnath Rock Inscription¹⁶⁴⁹ published by Buhler in I. A. vol. VI pp. 154-156 it was stated that he had been an *upāsaka* (lay worshipper of Buddha) for certain years but that he was not zealous, that for a year or more (he had become zealous), that during that (last interval) those gods that were held to be true gods in Jambudvīpa (i. e. India) had been made (to be regarded as) false and that was the reward of his zeal. This could be construed as saying that when he became a zealous Buddhist he tried to dissuade people from the

1649. The important words in the Rock edict at Brahmagiri, Rūpanāth and six other places are quoted here (there are slight variations and some omissions in almost all of them here and there); I follow the reading in the Rūpanath text given by Prof Jules Bloch in 'Les Inscriptions d' Aśoka' (Paris, 1950 pp 145-148) 'देवानं पिबे देवमाह सात्त्विकानि अद्वितीयानि च

(स्तानि) य इमि पाकासके (उपासके?) नो तु वादि पक्कते (पक्कन्ते) सात्त्विके तु उन्मज्जे य इमि हकं संय (संये) उपेते वादि च पक्कन्ते या इमाय जालाय जम्बुद्वीपस्सि अमिस्सा देवा ह्यु ते दानि मिस्सा कटा पक्कनस्स हि एस कल्ले नो च एसा महत्ता पाप्पोत्तरे सुव्वेकेन पि पक्कमिनेन सक्किये पिण्डे पि स्वग्गे आरोहेवे' (the rest is omitted). The Erragudi copy of the edict reads 'इमिना तु कालेन अमिस्सा मुनिस्सा देवेदि ते दानि मिस्सिभूता'. Two others from near by regions read इमिना तु कालेन अमिस्सा समाना मुनिस्सा जम्बुद्वीपस्सि मिस्सा देवेदि There are some gaps and mistakes in these and it is not clear what is meant Probably the sentence in these latter may be rendered 'During that time men that were true (or, if we take *amissā* as equal to *amissā* 'that were not mixed with gods') became false (or, became mixed with gods'. The words from पक्कनस्स onwards mean 'this is the result of zeal; it cannot be attained by greatness (by one occupying a merely high position), even for a small person it is possible to reach heaven by zeal.' Mr. Ramchandra Dikshitar in Prof Rangaswami Aiyangar Presentation volume pp. 25-30 argues that Aśoka was a Hindu as he refers to 'Svarga' This is not correct, since the edict itself recites that Aśoka had been a lay follower of Buddha for more than 2½ years before the date of the edict and that for more than a year before it he approached the community of monks and became a zealous Buddhist (or probably a monk) Even early Pālī works speak of Gods from heaven coming to pay respect to Buddha. So the mere mention of *svarga* means little. Aśoka does not appear to have been trained in the sacred Pālī books if any existed. He hardly ever mentions *nirvāna*, never mentions fundamental tenets of early Buddhism (in all his numerous edicts) like the Four Noble Truths or the Noble Eight-fold Path or *Pratītya samutpāda* He was probably attracted by Buddha's teachings on moral endeavour and subscribed to them and disliked sacrifices. He appears to have believed in gods and desired that the people should strive for heaven (vide 6th Rock edict at Gurnar 'एरु च एसा अराधयन्तु' and similar words in the 10th Rock edict) This is all that can be said positively.

worship of gods and probably resorted to coercive measures in that direction. This very inscription is edited at C. I. I., Vol. I, pp 166 by Dr. Hultzsch and the translation of the important sentence is changed and is given as 'And those gods who during that time had been unmingled with men in Jambudvīpa have now been made (by me) mingled with them; for this is the fruit of zeal'. This new translation cannot be understood as it stands and on p 168 (note 3) Hultzsch admits that this sentence is enigmatical and tries to show that it refers to religious shows at which effigies of gods were shown in order to convey to the subjects that they would be able to reach the abodes of gods by the zealous practice of Buddha's Dhamma. This interpretation is extremely far-fetched and does not fit into the context. How can the mere showing of exhibitions and their effect on people be regarded as the reward of zeal? Besides, in the very first rock edict he forbids assemblies or festival meetings (C. I. I., vol. I, p. 1 'na ca samājo kattavyo') except such as were regarded good by Aśoka and asserts that the king sees great evil in festival meetings. Aśoka probably followed what Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 19 provides for Vedic householders 'sabhāḥ samājāmsca' (varjayet), sabhā meaning 'gambling hall'. The author is not satisfied with the translation of Hultzsch, particularly when Bühler and Senart (pp. 168 note) agreed as to the meaning of the important sentence about gods.¹⁶⁵⁰

About Emperor Harsa also Yuan Chwang narrates that he caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties (vide Watters' work cited above p. 344). This also must have been felt by large populations as coercive and bordering on persecution. It is remarkable that Harsa felt no qualms in reconciling his zeal for bird and animal life and keeping vast armies on a war footing for conquest.

1650. Hultzsch himself in JRAS for 1910 at p 1310 translated 'those who at that time were (considered by me) the true gods of Jambudvīpa are now considered false (by me)'. The Mysore texts of this edict insert 'men' after the word 'those'. The great difficulty is about the words 'amissā' and 'missā kṛtā'. They may respectively stand for 'amrsā' (not false) or 'amisrā' (not mixed) and 'mrsā kṛtā' (made false) or 'mīsrā kṛtā' (made mixed). There is no word for 'considered'. A straightforward translation of 'amissā devā hsu' would be 'that were the true (not false) gods' and of 'missā kṛtā' would be 'were made false'.

A few more striking examples of tolerance of other faiths and spirit of accommodation may be cited here. The great Hindu emperor Samudragupta allowed the building of a splendid three-storied convent at Bodh Gaya at the request of the Buddhist king Meghavarna of Ceylon about 360 A. D. Vide 'Early History of India' by V. A. Smith (4th ed. of 1924 pp. 303-304), where the historian further points out that when Yuan Chwang visited Bodh Gaya, that convent was a magnificent establishment occupied by a thousand monks. One Muhammad Ufi relates an anecdote. Though Mahomed of Gazni plundered Kathiawad and Gujarat several times and desecrated temples, the Hindus made a distinction between such invading and destructive marauders and peaceful Muslims residing in Gujarat for trade. Some Hindus at Cambay, being incited by some Parsis, destroyed a mosque and killed some Muslims. One Muslim that escaped approached the king Siddharāja with a petition. The king in disguise inquired into the matter, punished the offenders, gave to the Moslems one *lakh* of *Balotras* to rebuild the mosque and presented to the Khatib four articles of dress which were preserved in the mosque. Ufi declares that he never heard a story comparable to this. Vide Elliotts' History of India, Vol. II pp 162-163. The Somanath-Pattan Inscription (in I. A. Vol. XI p. 241) is a most remarkable document. A Muslim ship-owner from Hormuz acquired a piece of land in the sacred town of Somanath-pattan, built a mosque, a house and shops thereon. The purpose of the grant was to confirm the purchase and to provide for the application of the income from the shops for particular Moslem religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shia sailors of Somanath and to provide that the surplus left, if any, was to be made over to the sacred towns of *Mecca* and *Medina*. It is dated in four eras, first in Rasūl Mahammad *sanaat* i e Hijra year 662, then Vikrama *samvat* 1320 (1264 A. D.), Valabhi year 945 and Simha *samvat* 151 (i e. probably of Calukya Siddharāja Jayasimha). Syrian Christians were given special privileges by generous Hindu rulers in South India.

The above examples will indicate what tolerance was practised by Indian kings and people even in the mediaeval period when Moslem invaders were ruthlessly attacking India. The reader should visualise to himself what the fate of a Hindu would have been, if he had the audacity to build a temple in Christian or Moslem countries or tried to collect materials for

describing the Christian or Muslim religion and ways of life in the 13th century A. D. like Alberuni, who was able to collect, without molestation, from Hindu Pandits and people vast material in the 11th century A. D.

How intolerant most Moslem kings were need not be dwelt upon at length. A few typical examples may be cited from the Cambridge History of India, vol. III. Firuz Shah Tughlak burnt a brāhmana who tried to propagate his religion (*ibid.* p. 187); Sikander Lodi did the same (*ibid.* p. 246) to a brāhmana and was guilty of wholesale destruction of Hindu temples; Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir offered his subjects the choice between Islam and exile (*ibid.* p. 280); Hussein Shah of Bengal sent an army to destroy Navadvipa and converted many brāhmanas forcibly. Jehangir says in his 'Memoirs' (translated by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge, 1909 pp. 72-73) that he killed Guru Arjun for his religious activities. Vide 'History of Aurangzeb' by Jadunath Sarkar vol III, chap. XXX, pp. 265-279 for *firman*s to demolish temples such as those of Somanātha, Mathurā, Viśvanātha in Benares, Ujjain and Appendix V. It is not necessary to go into great details about the terrible persecution of the Jews in Europe and the horrible deeds of the Inquisition in Europe and particularly in Spain and Portugal. For the persecution and expulsion of the Jews in Europe one may read 'A short History of the Jewish people' by Cecil Roth (MacMillan and Co 1936) chapters XX-XXI. References to several works have been given above on p. 933 note 1494 about the Inquisition. A few instances of the intolerance and barbarities of that body may be cited. The Inquisition staged what are called acts of faith or 'autos-da-fé'. In the presence of thousands of people severe punishment would be inflicted on harmless individuals whose adherence to the Holy Catholic faith was suspected. Those that professed penitence were stripped of their property and condemned to imprisonment, deportation or the galley. The minority who refused to confess to their crime of heresy or gloried in their views would be burnt at once. Kings and nobles graced such spectacles by their presence and such spectacles were arranged at the marriages of high persons or on the birth of a son to the reigning monarch. During the three centuries when the Inquisition was active, it is found that the it condemned about 375000 people, of whom at least one-tenth were burnt; vide Cecil Roth's 'A short History of the Jewish people' (1936) p 312. Henry C. Lea in 'Superstition and

force' (1878) pp. 426-427 remarks 'The whole system of the Inquisition was such as to render resort to torture inevitable. Its proceedings were secret, the prisoner was carefully kept in ignorance of the exact charges against him and of the evidence on which they were based. He was presumed to be guilty and his judges bent all their energies to force him to confess. To accomplish this no means were too base or too cruel'

It would be instructive to read what the state of Hindus was under Portuguese rule in Goa, where the infamous Inquisition was established in 1560 A. D. and continued its intolerant and inhuman work for about 250 years more. Those interested may consult 'A India Portuguesa', vol. II. published by the Portuguese Government in 1923, particularly the paper by Antonio de Noronha, a former judge of the High Court of Goa, on 'Os Indus de Goa' pp. 211-355. A brief passage from a paper on 'Historical essay on the Konkani Language' by J. H. de Cunha Rivara, who was General Secretary to the Portuguese Governor General in India from 1855 to 1870 A. D., is very illuminating. It runs (original in Portuguese) 'we shall now endeavour to investigate the causes, which under the Portuguese regime, were either favourable or contrary to the culture of the Konkani language. In the first ardour of conquest temples were demolished, all the emblems of the Hindu cult were destroyed and books written in the vernacular tongue, containing or suspected of containing idolatrous precepts and doctrines, were burnt. There was even the desire to exterminate all that part of the population which could not be quickly converted; this was the desire not only during that period, but there was also at least one person who, after a lapse of two centuries, advised the Government, with magisterial gravity, to make use of such a policy.' The writer further notes that the long distance of Goa from Portugal, the invincible resistance offered by a numerous population amongst whom the principal castes had reached a very high degree of civilization, obliged the conquerors to abstain from open violence and to prefer indirect, though not gentle, means to achieve the same end ^{1650a}.

Buddha's renunciation of his princely position, of his young wife, child and home, to become a wandering ascetic for discovering the path of humanity's deliverance from sorrow and

^{1650a}. Quoted from p. 161 of 'The Printing Press in India' by Prof. A. K. Priolkar (Bombay, 1958)

suffering, his subsequent mortification of the body for years, his retirement into solitude for meditation, his struggle with Māra and final victory, his confidence that he had discovered the path of deliverance, his constant travels from city to city and village to village for about forty-five years for preaching the great truths he had discovered, his crusade against the slaughter of innocent and dumb animals in sacrifices, his passing away full of years and in peace and contentment—this panorama of Buddha's life had a noble grandeur and irresistible human appeal. Edwin Arnold in his preface (p. XIII) to his poem 'Light of Asia' (1884) pays a very eloquent tribute to Buddha's teaching in the following words 'this venerable religion which has in it the eternity of an universal hope, the immortality of a boundless love, an indestructible element of faith in the final good and the proudest assertion ever made of human freedom'. The torch lighted by Buddha was kept burning brightly by a succession of able and worthy disciples till Buddhism reached its peak about the 6th century A. D. A reaction had already begun by that time. Substantial changes in the old Buddhist faith had been made, the ideals had changed (as noted above). From being a faith without a clear acceptance of God, many sects arose that had become thoroughly theistic and Buddha himself came to be worshipped as if he were God and the sects were gripped by the strange doctrines and evil practices of Vajrayāna Tantrik sects; and Buddhism became a medley of conflicting dogmas and was riven with dissensions and internecine rupture. Discussions as to doctrines arose immediately on the passing away of Buddha, when the first council was held at Rājagṛha, a second one being held about one hundred years later at Vesālī and a third one at Pāṭaliputra under Aśoka. In all four councils appear to have been held to secure 'saṅgīti' (standardized scriptural recital) according to traditions, but no Pali book can be traced back to a time before the council held in the time of Aśoka (about 250 B. C.). These discussions and subsequent schisms very much undermined Buddhism. This is mentioned as the first of the four main causes of the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from India by N. J. O'Connor.

III From about the end of the 7th century A. D. India was divided into several independent but small and warring States. Buddhism could not secure the favour and patronage of powerful and zealous monarchs and emperors like Aśoka, Kaniska and

Harsa Royal patronage on a large scale having ceased from the end of the 7th century A D, except under the Pāla kings of Bengal, Buddhism began to wane

IV Many of the ablest and most vigorous exponents of Buddhist thought and faith left India for propagating their faith in other lands Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'India and China' names 24 eminent Indian scholars who went to China for propagating Buddha's teachings from the 3rd Century A D to 973 A. D. (p 27) and also mentions a few Chinese scholars who came to India for visiting the sacred places of Buddhism and for making a study of Buddhism on the spot (*ibid.* pp 27-28)

V. The observance of the high moral ideals inculcated by Gotama Buddha must have been found irksome by at least a great many of his followers, and particularly after his personal example ceased to exist In the Mahāparinibbānasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI, p 127) we are told that Subhadda, a barber who had been received in the Order in his old age, addressed the brethren, that deeply mourned and lamented on Buddha's nirvāṇa, as follows: "Weep not, neither lament We are well rid of the *Great Samana* We used to be annoyed by being told 'this becomes you, this befits you not' But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like that we shall not have to do " Ordinary people could not be fed for long on mere repetition of the sermon on suffering being the lot of man, on monasticism, aversion to speculation and on promises of nirvāṇa which was hardly ever well defined By nirvāṇa Buddha probably meant extinction of egoism and desires, a state of bliss beyond understanding and not a complete annihilation or extinction But this last was the sense in which many understood it Buddha had an aversion to speculation and particularly to issues that were irrelevant to his purely moral approach and purpose. Several questions of a metaphysical or speculative character such as whether the world is permanent or not, whether it is finite or not, whether the soul is the same as the body or other than the body, whether the Tathāgata continues after death or not were left unanswered by Buddha (vide Majjhima Nikāya, discourse 63, Trenckner's ed vol. I.) Monasteries of Buddhist monks and nuns became in course of time centres of idleness, pleasures and immorality, and of debased practices like those of Vajrayāna Tāntricism. A well-known scholar like Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, himself a Buddhist bhikṣu, in a paper on 'Vajrayāna and the 84 Siddhas' contributed to the

Journal Asiatique vol. 225 (1934) pp. 209-230 was constrained to say "The monasteries and temples were gorged with riches due to the pious offerings made by the multitudes. The life of the monk became more comfortable than that of the layman. The discipline weakened and many unfit persons entered the community.¹⁶⁵¹ The easy life associated with the culture of a sensual art under the cover of cultured paintings, meditation, gods and goddesses must have inclined the minds towards sensuality. Already from the Kathāvatthu^{1651a} (XXIII. 1) we know that the Andhaka School was disposed to permit *Mathuna* (copulation) for a special object; it was introduced in the mystic cult. Coming to the south, the practice of mantras, psychical practices, and a certain indulgence in the pleasures of sense were united; the Vajrayāna was complete "

VI. Smrtis like those of Gautama (IX. 47, 68, 73), Manu (IV. 176, 206, X. 63), Yājñavalkya (I. 156, III. 312-313), while asking the people to honour the Vedas and learned brāhmanas laid great emphasis¹⁶⁵² on *Ahimsā*, truthfulness, charity, self-

1651. A paper of Dr A. S. Altekar in the Pro. of the 17th All India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, 1953 (pp. 243-246) on *Śrāmanera-Tikā* (about 11th century A.D.) on the *Ācārasāra* (laying down rules for Buddhist novices) enumerates admonitions (some of the striking ones being set out on p. 245) that lead to the conclusion that the monks had a fairly large number among them that brought Buddhism into disrepute. In the 'Questions of King Milinda' S. B. E. vol. 35 pp. 49-50, to the question why people joined the *saṅgha*, Nāgasena gives the significant answer that some joined the *saṅgha* for the reason that sorrow may perish and no further sorrow may arise, 'the complete passing away without clinging to the world is our highest aim', 'some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings, some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.

1651 a. एकाधिष्णायो मेथुनो धम्मो पटिस्सेवित्तव्वो ति । आमन्ता । कथावत्थु XXIII, 1.

1652 अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । एतं सामासिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्यं ब्रह्मीष्मत् ॥ मनु X. 63; अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ या I. 22, अथाद्यात्मगुणाः । दया सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरननूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति । यस्यैते चत्वारिंशत्संस्कारा न चाद्यात्मगुणा न स ब्रह्मणः सायुज्यं सालोक्यं गच्छति । गौतमधर्मसूत्र VIII 23-25 The मत्स्यपुराण (52 8-10) mentions these very eight as 'ātmagunas' after referring to the Veda and Ācāra 'वेदेऽखिलो धर्ममूलमाचारश्चैव तद्विदाम् । अद्यात्मगुणास्तस्मिन्मयानत्वेन संस्थिताः ।' मत्स्य 52, 7-8, the Aśrismṛti (verses 34-41) mentions almost all these eight and defines them and Haradattā on Gautama quotes eight verses defining these eight *gūnas* धम्मपद verse 131 is 'सुखकामानि ज्ञानानि यो दण्डेन विहिंसति । अचनो सुखमेतानो पेच्च सो न लभते सुखम् ॥'

restraint, sexual purity and other virtues for persons of all the four varnas, just as Buddha and early Buddhist works did for his followers. The sentiment in Manu V. 45 and the Visnu-dharma-sūtra 51-68 'he, who kills harmless animals (like deer) merely for the sake of his own pleasure, never increases nor prospers in happiness, whether living or after death,' finds a parallel in Dhammapada 131. Even the R̥gveda solemnly says (X. 85. 1) 'the earth is supported by Truth, the sky is supported by the Sun'. The Mundaka Up. exhorts 'Truth alone is victorious, not falsehood' (III. 1. 6)

VII The strong faith and the alertness of brāhmanas who welded into a coherent whole the Veda, the philosophy of the Upanisads, Yogic practices of a middle path as in Gītā VI. 15-17, the doctrine of salvation by faith and bhakti for all preached in the Gītā gradually held an irresistible appeal.

VIII In re orienting their religious outlook and practices to stem the tide of Buddhism and make Hinduism popular, the brāhmanas and other leaders of Hindu society of the centuries before and after the Christian era had to make compromises of a far-reaching character; the old Vedic gods (like Indra and Varuna) receded into the background though not totally forgotten, most of the Vedic sacrifices had to be given up, deities like Devī, Gaṇeśa and the Mātṛs had to be brought to the front, Paurāṇika mantras came to be used along with Vedic ones as the mantras even in śrāddha (e.g. 'dātāro nobhivardhantām' &c. which occurs in Manu III. 259, Yāj I. 246, Matsya 16. 49-50, Padma, Śrstikhaṇḍa 9. 117, Kūrma II. 22. 60 and other works). Even an early writer like Varāhamihira (first half of 6th century A.D.) in describing the Pusya-snāna for the king provides ordinary mantras (Br. S. 47. 55-70) to be recited by the *purohita* along with mantras in the Atharvaveda, Rudra (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), the Kūsmāṇḍa mantras (Vāj S. XX. 14-16 and others, Br. S. 47. 71) and winds up the whole procedure with a well-known Paurāṇika verse¹⁶⁵³. Even Aparārka (pp. 14-15) had to say that in Devapūjā the procedure to be followed is that in the Narasimhapurāṇa (probably something like the one in chap. 2 of the Narasimha Purāṇa) and in the matter of 'pratiṣṭhā' (establishment of images) also Paurāṇika procedure was to be adopted. Besides, emphasis was laid on abhaya, charity (dāna),

1653 यान्तु देवगया सर्वं पुत्रलादाय पाप्मिनाम् । निद्रिं दत्त्वा तु तिष्ठन् पुनस्त-
नननाय च ॥ शुक्लसं ४७. ४९

pilgrimages and vratas and it was said that the latter two were more efficacious than even Vedic sacrifices. These changes seriously reduced the appeal of Buddhism. The purāṇas contained stories of gods and avatāras that vied in their appeal to the common man with the Buddhist Jātaka tales. The Kādambarī of Bāna (first half of 7th century A. D.) states that the people of Ujjayinī were fond of the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and Rāmāyana (Mahābhārata-Purāṇa-Rāmāyanā-nurāginā &c). This is put down as the last of the four causes of the decline of Buddhism by O'Connor.

IX. From about the 7th century A. D. Buddha began to be recognised by Hindus as an *avatāra* of Visnu and by the 10th century Buddha came to be so recognised throughout India by almost all Hindus

X. Moslem fanaticism and invasions of India delivered the *coup de grace* (final blow) to Buddhism about and after 1200 A. D. by ruining famous universities like those of Nālanda and Vikramaśilā and the monks were mercilessly killed in large numbers. Those who escaped the carnage fled to Tibet and Nepal. H. M. Elliott's History of India (as told by its own historians) vol. II p. 306 contains a passage from Tabakat-i-Nasiri about Bakhtiyar Khilji that states that Bakhtiyar led his army to Behar and ravaged it, that great plunder fell in his hands, that most of the inhabitants of the place were brāhmanas with shaven heads, that they were put to death, that large numbers of books were found and it was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (*madrasa*). The description indicates that brāhmana with shaven heads were Buddhist monks

It should not be supposed that Buddhist bhikkhus renounced wealth altogether Vide I. A. vol. VII pp. 254-256 (Inscriptions 2 and 9 at Kuda) where bhiksus and bhiksunis are donors and Cunningham's 'Bhilsa Topes' p. 235-236 where there are many bhiksus and some bhiksunis among donors. The great appeal of the original Buddhism to common men lay in its spirit of self-abnegation, discipline, service and sacrifice.

When Moslem invaders exterminated the monks the laity became bewildered and were either converted to Islam or became slowly absorbed among Hindus. It has been already stated that Buddha himself was against the admission of women into the Sangha but at the persistent requests of his favourite pupil

Ānanda he yielded and prophesied that his pure Dharma, which otherwise would have flourished for a thousand years, would not last so long but only for 500 years Vide 'Cullavagga' in SBE, vol XX p 325

The Pātimokkha for monks contains 227 articles which were to be recited twice a month in an assembly of at least four monks and confessions of breaches of the rules had to be made. If one reads the Cullavagga (SBE XX pp 330-340), one may understand how the gatherings of legions of monks and nuns in immense monasteries led in some cases to sapping the ordinary observances of decency and morality. At first the Pātimokkha could be recited to nuns by monks and the nuns could confess their lapses to monks but this had to be changed later and it was laid down that only bhikkhunis could do these things for them. P 333 of the same shows how nuns quarrelled among themselves and came to blows and p 335 narrates how some monks threw dirty water on nuns and how they uncovered their bodies and thighs before nuns.

The author has cited the above as the main causes of the disappearance of Buddhism following what most have written. Different writers attach importance to a few of them according to their individual leanings. While prepared to concede that the causes noted above went a long way in bringing about the downfall of Buddhism in India, he feels that the principal cause was that large sections of the Indian population came to realize that the persistent teaching of the world being a place of suffering, of giving up all desires and of monasticism, which were preached by the writers on Buddhism to all and sundry, was too much for ordinary men to attempt and that the Hindu ideal of an ordered scheme of life into four *āśramas*,¹⁶⁵⁴ with peculiar duties and rights, particularly the importance attached to the grhasthāśrama showed to vast populations that family life properly regulated and disciplined was capable of realizing the highest that man was capable of and that too much insistence on the giving up of all desires (including desire for life) sapped the very stability and continuance of human society and

1654 In 'the Philosophy of the Upanishads' by Deussen tr. by A. S. Geden (1906), the distinguished author after adverting to the peculiar rights and obligations of the four life-stages (*āśramas*) remarks 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought' (p. 367)

gradually led on to the loss of physical and mental virility, to idleness, base morals and race suicide. Manu III. 77-78, VI. 89-90, Vas. Dh. S VIII 14-17, Visnu Dh. S. 59, 29, Dakṣa II. 57-60 and many other sages and writers praise the stage of householder as the highest.¹⁶⁵⁵ The Mahābhārata (Śānti 270. 6-11) and the Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā 103, 2) and the Purāṇas also sing the same tune, vide H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 425-426 and 540-541.

Not only Dharmaśāstras but also great poets like Kālidāsa emphasized the supreme importance of the householder's stage to society. In the Raghuvamśa ¹⁶⁵⁶ (V. 10) king Raghu says to a learned brāhmana student 'it is now time for you to pass on to the second stage of life that is capable of being useful to (men of) other āśramas'. In the Śākuntala also Kālidāsa harps on the same idea.

When Buddha came to be worshipped by Buddhists as God, when Buddhists gave up the original characteristic doctrine of the attainment of the peace and bliss of *mūvāna* in this very life through the eradication of selfish desires by following the Noble Eightfold Path, when Buddhists adopted the doctrines of bhakti and the ideal they set up was the evolution of bodhi-sattvas through aeons by good deeds, the line of demarcation between Buddhism and popular Hinduism became very thin and was gradually obliterated. Buddhism disappeared from India because of these deviations from the original doctrine and because the brāhmanas made Hinduism very comprehensive by finding a place for purely monistic idealism, for the worship of several gods, for the performance of vedic or other religious rites (i. e. Karmamārga) as a preparation for higher spiritual life. The ultimate victory of Hinduism shows the strength and comprehensiveness of its religion and philosophy as against the onesidedness of Buddhism in its various phases and its silence on matters of great moment to the inquiring human mind.

1655. Vide यस्मात्त्वयोप्याश्रमिणी ज्ञानेनास्तेन चान्वहम् । गृहस्थेनैव धार्यन्ते तस्मा-
ज्ज्येष्टाश्रमो गृही ॥ मनु III. 78, मार्कण्डेयपुराण 26 3-6 'वत्स गार्हस्थ्यमास्थाय नरः सर्वमिदं
जयत् । पुण्याति तेन लोकाश्च स जयत्यभिवाञ्छितान् ॥ पितरो मुनयो देवा भूतानि मनुजास्तथा ।
कुम्भीदपतङ्गाश्च वपासि पशवोऽसुराः ॥ गृहस्थमुपजीवन्ति ततस्तृप्तिं प्रयासन्ति च । सुखं चास्य
निरीक्षन्ते अपि नो दास्यतीति वै ॥ सर्वस्याधारभूतेयं वत्स धेनुस्त्रीमयी ॥ (chap. 29. 3-6
of B. I. edition).

1656. अपि प्रसक्तेन महर्षिणा त्वं सम्यग्निनीयाहुर्मता गृहाय । कालो ह्ययं संक्रमितुं
द्वितीयं सौम्यकारस्ममाश्रमं ते ॥ रघुवंश V. 10, अध्याक्रान्ता वसतिरमुनाप्याश्रमे सर्वभोग्ये ।
शाकुन्तल I

The Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras put so much emphasis on ahimsā that millions of people in India became and are even now strict vegetarians not only among brāhmanas, but also among vaiśyas and śūdras, while it appears that Buddhists all over the world are not strict vegetarians at all. To day very few of the ideal virtues that Buddhism set before even laymen are a matter of endeavour for most Buddhists in all lands. In spite of Buddha's crusade against animal sacrifices and Aśoka's drastic measures to eliminate the killing and cruelty to birds and beasts, it is found that some Vedic sacrifices (including animal sacrifices) continued to be performed by Indian kings and common people during the centuries before and after the Christian era. A few examples are cited here : (1) Senāpati Pūsyamitra (about 150 B C) performed two Aśvamedhas (E I. vol. XX. pp 54-58, Hariyamśa III. 2. 35 ff¹⁶⁵⁷ (which latter speaks of Senāni Kāśyapa-dviya as performer of Aśvamedha in Kali age) and Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra (Act V) where he is spoken of as engaged in Rājasūya sacrifice; (2) Khāravela, king of Kalinga and a Jain, performed in the 6th year of his reign a Rājasūya (E I. XX p. 79); (3) Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva lineage (about 200 A. D) glorified as the performer of ten Aśvamedhas in Vākātaka plates (Chammak plate of Vākātaka Pravarasena II in Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 pp. 236-237,¹⁶⁵⁸ and in Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, the chief queen of Vākātaka Rudrasena II in E. I. vol. XV. p. 39); (4) Vākātaka emperor Pravarasena I. (about 250 A. D.) is described as the daughter's son of Bhavanāga and as the performer of four Aśvamedhas (in E I. vol. XV. p. 39); (5) The great Gupta emperor Samudragupta (about 325-370 A. D) is described in some Gupta Inscriptions as one who restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice that had long been in abeyance (vide Bilsad Stone inscription in Gupta Inscriptions No. 10 at p. 42 and the Bihar Stone pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, *ibid*,

1657. The reference from हस्तिना is as follows. श्रीद्रिजो भविता कश्चित्सेनाजीः काश्यपो द्विज । अश्वमेध कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति ॥ तयुगे तत्कुलीनश्च राजस्यमपि कतुश्च । आहरिष्यति राजेन्द्र चेत्यहमिदमन्तरः ॥ भविष्यत्पूर्वं 2 40-41. Here it is said that a senapati of the काश्यपगोत्र will perform an अश्वमेध in कलियुग and a scion of his family will perform राजस्य

1658 About Bhavanāga it is said 'असत्प्रारम्भे निश्चितदिव्यलिङ्गोद्भवनिश्चयपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादित-राजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्ध्याभिविक्तानां वृक्षाश्च-नेत्राश्चक्षुस्तानानां भवतिशयानां महाराजश्रीभूतनाम-दौर्दिनस्य' वाजावक्रानां महाराजश्रीरुद्र-सेनस्य &c ' Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 pp. 236-237.

No. 12 at p. 51); (6) The Pallava King Śivaskanda-varman (about 300-350 A. D.) is praised as the performer of Agnistoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 5); (7) The Pallava king Simhavarman is spoken of as the performer of several Aśvamedhas (Pikira grant in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 159 at p. 162); (8) Cālukya king Pulakeśi I (about 570 A. D.) performed Aśvamedha (Aihole Inscription of śaka 536 in E. I. vol. VI p. 1); (9) Cālukya king Pulakeśi II performed Aśvamedha (Aihole Ins. of śaka 536 in E. I. vol. VI. p. 1 and Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I. in E. I. vol. IX p. 98 in A. D. 660); (10) the Visnukundin Mādhava-varmā (a relative of the Vākātaka family) is recorded (in E. I. vol. IV. p. 196) as having performed eleven Aśvamedhas, one thousand Agni-stomas, Paundarika,¹⁶⁵⁹ Purusamedha, Vājapeya, Sodasin and Rājasūya (about the 7th or 8th century A. D.). For other instances of Aśvamedhas performed by kings, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1238-39.

It may be noted that even learned brāhmanas sometimes performed elaborate Vedic sacrifices. For example, the fifth in ascent from Bhavabhūti performed a Vājapeya at Padmapura in Daksināpātha. In the Vājapeya, seventeen was a characteristic number and seventeen animals were to be sacrificed therein. Vide for description of Vājapeya, H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1206-1212. As Bhavabhūti flourished in the first half of the 8th century A. D., the fifth in ascent from him who performed Vājapeya must have flourished about a hundred years before him i. e. in the first half of the 7th century A. D.

In these days it has become a fashion to praise Buddha and his doctrines to the skies and to disparage Hinduism by making unfair comparisons between the original doctrines of Buddha with the present practices and shortcomings of Hindu society. The present author has to enter a strong protest against this tendency. If a fair comparison is to be made it should be made between the later phases of Buddhism and the present practices of professed Buddhists on the one hand and modern phases and practices of Hinduism on the other. The Upanisads had a nobler philosophy than that of Gautama the Buddha, the latter merely based his doctrines on the philosophy of the Upanisads. If Hinduism decayed in course of time and exhi-

¹⁶⁵⁹. It is possible that this statement about the performance of so many solemn vedic sacrifices is boastful and exaggerated.

bited bad tendencies, the same or worse was the case with later Buddhism which gave up the noble but human Buddha, made him a god, worshipped his images and ran wild with such hideous practices as those of Vajrayāna. As a counterblast to what modern encomiasts often say about Buddhism the present author will quote a strongly-worded (but not unjust) passage from Swami Vivekānanda's lecture on "The sages of India" (Complete Works, volume III p 248-268, 7th ed. of 1953 published at Māyāvati, Almora) "The earlier Buddhists in their rage against the killing of animals had denounced the sacrifices of the Vedae; and these sacrifices used to be held in every house ... These sacrifices were obliterated and in their place came gorgeous temples, gorgeous ceremonies and gorgeous priests and all that you see in India in modern times I smile when I read books written by some modern people who ought to know better that the Buddha was the destroyer of Brahmanical idolatry. Little do they know that Buddhism created brahmanism and idolatry in India. .. True in spite of the preaching of mercy to animals, in spite of the sublime ethical religion, in spite of the hair-splitting discussions about the existence or non-existence of a permanent soul, the whole building of Buddhism tumbled down piecemeal; and the ruin was simply hideous. I have neither the time nor the inclination to describe to you the hideousness that came in the wake of Buddhism. The most hideous ceremonies, the most horrible, the most obscene books that human hands ever wrote or the human brain ever conceived, the most bestial forms that ever passed under the name of religion have all been the creation of degraded Buddhism" (pp 264-265)

SECTION VI

CHAPTER XXVI

Tāntrik doctrines and Dharmaśāstra

In H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 739 while dealing with the worship of Durgā, who is also worshipped as Śakti (cosmic power or energy), it was stated that the influence of Śakta worship has been great throughout India and a promise was given that a brief treatment of Śāktism would follow in a later volume. It is now time to deal with Śāktas and Tantras, which exercised some influence over the Purānas and directly and through the Purānas over Indian religious ritual and practices in the medieval ages.

There is a vast literature on Tantras, published and unpublished. There are Buddhist Tantras, Hindu Tantras and Jaina Tantras. There is a philosophical or spiritual side in some of the Tantras which has not been much studied except by Arthur Avalon, B. Bhattacharya and a few others. In the popular mind Tantras have been associated with the worship of Śakti (Goddess Kālī), with mudrās, mantras, mandalas, the five *makāras*, the Dakṣināmārga and the Vāma-mārga, and magic practices for acquiring supernatural powers. All that can and will be attempted here is to trace briefly the origin of Śāktism and Tantra and point out some of the ways in which *tantra* has entered into Hindu ritual directly and indirectly through the Purānas.

The Amarakośa states that *tantra* means 'principal matter or part', 'siddhānta' (i. e. doctrine or śāstra), a loom or paraphernalia. But it does not state that *tantra* means a certain peculiar class of works. Therefore, the inference is not altogether unjustifiable that in its time works bearing the peculiar character of what are called Tantras were either not composed or had not at least attained great vogue. In Rg. X. 71. 9 the word 'tantra' occurs and appears to mean a loom. 'These ignorant¹⁶⁶⁰ men do not move about lower down (in this world) nor in a higher

1660. इमे चेर्षाङ्ग न परश्चरन्ति न ब्राह्मणास्तो न क्षुत्केरासः । त एते वाचमभियथ पापया सिरीस्तन्त्र तन्त्रे अमजज्ञयः ॥ ऋ. X 71 9. सायण explains सिरी. सीरिणो भूत्वा तन्त्रं कुपिलक्षणं तन्त्रे विस्तारयन्ति कुर्ष्वनीत्यर्थः ।

world, being neither (learned) brāhmanas nor some-extracting priests, these resort to speech (of a vile kind) and with that vile speech they engage in handling ploughs and looms' The Atharvaveda (X 7 42) ('tantram-eko yuvati virūpe abhyākrāmam vayataḥ san-mayūkham') employs the word tantra in the same sense and so does the Tai Br. II 5. 5. 3 in a closely similar passage Pāṇini (V. 2 70) derives the word 'tantraka' (a cloth that is recently taken away from a loom) from 'tantra'. The Āp. Śr. employs the word¹⁶⁶¹ tantra in the sense of 'procedure containing many parts'. The Śān. Śr. applies the word tantra to what being once done serves the purpose of many other actions. The Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini IV. 2 60 and Vārtika 'sarvasāderdvigoṣa laḥ' cites 'sarvatantrah' and 'dvitantrah' as examples meaning 'one who has studied all the tantras' or 'one who has studied two tantras', tantra probably meaning 'siddhānta'. In Yāj. I. 228 ('tantram va vaiśva devikam') the word tantra is employed in the sense in which the commentary on the Śān. Śr. takes it The 15th adhikarana of Kautilya's Arthasāstra bears the title 'Tantrayukti' (vide J. O. R., Madras, vol. 4, 1930, p. 82 ff) meaning the main canons or propositions or principles of exposition of a sāstra. Caraka (Siddhisthāna, chap. 12. 40-45) also speaks of '36 tantrayya yuktayah' and Susruta (Uttara-tantra, chap. 65) names 32 tantrayuktis In Brhaspati and Kātyāyana and in the Bhāgavata the word tantra is employed in the sense of 'doctrine' or 'sāstra'. Śābara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini XI. I. 1 remarks that when any thing or act, once done, becomes useful in several¹⁶⁶² matters, that is called 'tantra'. Śaṅkarācārya in several passages of his *bhāṣya* on the Vedānta-sūtras speaks of the Sāṅkhya system as sāṅkhya-tantra and of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā as 'prathama-tantra'.¹⁶⁶³ In the Kalikā-

1661 उद्दिन आदित्ये पार्श्वनास्त्यस्तत्र प्रक्रमयति प्रागुदाधनाराधया.। आप औ I 15 1, on which the com. says 'अङ्गसमुदायस्तत्रम् । तत्प्रक्रमयति यजमानोऽध्वर्या' । 'तन्त्रलक्षणं तत्' । आ औ I 16 6 on which the com. says 'यत्समुद्भूतं ननुनासुप-रतिं तत्तन्त्रमिति न्युच्यते ।'

1662. आन्मये न्युतिनाञ्चै च लोकाचरि च सूरिनि । शरीरार्थे स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्य-फलं सना । न्युच्यति q by अपरार्क p 710, दापभाग XI. 1 2 p. 119, कुट्टक on मनु IX 187. आत्मनञ्चै तु यन्त्रोक्तं तत्कुप्यात्स्वन्निकम् । q from नास्त्यायन by स्मृतिच p 5, तन्त्रं सात्यतनाचष्ट निष्कर्षं क्रमणो यन. । भागवत I 3 8 Here the यन्त्रात्र is called मत्तनतन्त्रं । तत्समुद्भूतं ननुनासुप-रतिं तत्तन्त्रमिति न्युच्यते यथा ननुना प्राज्ञाणां नष्टं दृ. नदीप । 'शरीर' भाष्य on जै XI 4 1

1663 On १ च II 2 I the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya says 'तद्यपि महाजनपरिग्रही-तानि नानि नाख्यादितन्त्राणि । सम्यग्दर्शनायोपादेया-नीत्यपेक्षा &c.', vide also भाष्य

purāṇa (87. 130) the works of Uśanas and Brhaspati on Rajaniti (the science of statecraft) are called tantras and in 92. 2 the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa is called tantra. In all these cases the peculiar meaning attached to the word tantra in medieval times does not occur.

It is difficult to determine the exact¹⁶⁶⁴ time when the word tantra came to be employed in the sense in which it is used in the so-called tantra literature nor is it possible to decide what people first introduced tantra principles and practices or where they first arose. M. M. Haraprasad Shastri was inclined to hold that the principles and practices of tantra came to India from outside and he relies mainly on a verse in the Kubjikāmatatantra¹⁶⁶⁵

(Continued from last page)

on V. S. II 1 1, and II. 4 9 (where a half verse from सांख्यकारिका 29 'सामान्य-करणज्ञानं प्राणायामाद्यैः पञ्च' is cited as belonging to तन्त्रान्तर. The सांख्यकारिका itself calls सांख्य system 'Tantra' in verse 70 'tena ca bahudhā kṛtam tantram'. On वे सू III. 3. 53 the पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र is referred to as 'प्रथमे तन्त्रे' in the भाष्य.

1664. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Intro to Buddhist Esoterism (p. 43), which work will be referred to hereafter as B. E

1665 I. H. Q. Vol. IX p. 358 f n 'गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षे अधिकाराय सर्वतः । पीठोपपीठक्षेत्रेषु कुरु सुदिननेकधा ॥'. Vide H. P. Sastri's Cat. of Palm-leaf mss. in Nepal Durbar Library (Calcutta, 1905), Preface p. LXXIX, for the verse in Kubjikāmata, the ms. of which is written in late Gupta characters (i. e. about 7th century A. D.). Dr. B. Bhattacharya appears to hold the same opinion (p. 43 of the work cited in the preceding note). Arthur Avalon in Mahānirvāṇatantra (3rd ed. of 1953 p. 560) holds that tantra was brought into India from Chaldea or Śakadvīpa. In 'Modern Review' for 1934 pp. 150-156 Prof. N. N. Choudhuri tries to prove that Indian tāntricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. He relies on the Tibetan tradition of Asaṅga having introduced Tāntricism in India. But that tradition is mainly based on Taranath's History of Buddhism. Lama Taranath was born in 1573 A. D. (1575 A. D. according to some) and completed his history in 1608 i. e. he wrote about twelve hundred years after Asaṅga. Prof. Choudhuri further relies on the colophon to Ekajātāsādhana (in Sādhana-mālā No. 127, आर्पणमार्गार्चनपादैर्भवेदु जटुतमिति). But this sentence is dropped

in three out of the eight mss. on which the edition is based. Prof. Choudhuri further asserts that the guru's position 'in tantra' is neither Vaidika nor Paurāṇika. Here he is wrong. The Vidyāsūkta in Nirukta (II. 4) and the passage of the Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad quoted in note 1540 make the Vaidika position of the guru clear. As for the Paurāṇika position of guru, vide the Lingapurāṇa (quoted in note 1718 below) and Devī-bhāgavata (XI. I. 49 'Gṛur-brahmā' &c in the same note) and the verse 'परम देवे परम भक्तिर्या देवे तथा गुरौ ॥ तस्यै कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥' श्वेताश्व-उप VI. 23 and अग्निपु. 392 6

which says 'go thou to the country of Bhārata for exercising dominance on all sides and bring about new creation in various ways in *pīthas*, *upapīthas* and *kṣetras*'. With all respect to that great scholar it has to be said that the passage does not affirm that tantra principles were then unknown in India and were first introduced in Bhārata after that verse was uttered. That passage could very well have been uttered even when tantra practices had already taken hold of people's minds in India and the reference to *pīthas* and *kṣetras* (in the verse) clearly indicates that what is meant is only a record of an existing fact, just as the Purāṇas speak in a prophetic vein about what is past. It is possible that a few mystic practices of *Kulācāra* or *Vāmācāra* owe their origin to foreign elements or sources. But the one verse on which M. M. H. P. Shastri relied is far too inadequate for proving this. The Rudrayāmala (ed. by Jivananda, 1892) contains a panegyric of the Atharvaveda (17th patala, verse 4), saying that all gods, all beings (on land, in water and air), all sages, Kāmavidyā and Mahāvidyā dwell in it; verses 10-17 dwell upon the mysterious Kundalinī, verses 31 ff dilate upon Yogic practices and six *cakras* in the body, verses 51-53 mention Kāmarūpa, Jālandhara, Pūrnagiri, Uddiyāna, and a few others as Kālikā pīthas. Bagchi (in 'Studies in Tantra' pp 45-55) adduces some evidence of foreign elements in the tāntrik doctrines. The Rudrayāmala¹⁶⁶⁶ (17th Patala, verses 119-125) states that Mahāvidyā appeared to sage Vasistha and asked him to go to Cinadeśa and Buddha, who is said to have taught Vasistha the *Kaula* path, Yoga practices for the attainment of siddhis (extraordinary powers) and directed him to make use of five *makāras* (*madya* &c.) in his *sādhana* for becoming a perfect Yogin. All this shows that pīthas flourished in India when the Rudrayāmala was composed, that Tāntrik practices had grown in China or Tibet and that Buddha was deemed to have taught those practices, which is a libel and a vile travesty of Buddha's noble teaching.

1666. च. कुलार्थी सिद्धमन्त्री भवेदाचारनिर्मलः । प्रसीति साधनं पुण्य वेदानामप्य-
गोचरम् ॥ बौद्धदेशेऽथर्ववेदे महाचीने सदा ब्रज ॥ "मत्कुलज्ञो महर्षे त्वं महासिद्धो भविष्यति ॥
" ततो मुनिवरः श्रुत्वा महाविद्यासरस्वतीयः । जगाम चीनभूमौ च यत्र बुद्धं प्रतिष्ठति ॥ ' बुद्ध
उवाच । वसिष्ठ कृणु वक्ष्यामि कुलमार्गमनुत्तमम् । येन विज्ञानं (त ?) मात्रेण रुद्ररूपी भवेत्क्षणम् ॥
" अतः कुलं समाश्रित्य सर्वसिद्धींश्चरो भव ॥ मासेनाकर्षणं सिद्धिर्दिमासे वाक्यतिर्भवेत् ।
" शक्तिं विना शिवोऽशक्तः किमन्ये जडबुद्धयः । इत्युक्त्वा बुद्धरूपी च कारयामास साधनम् ॥
कुरु विप्र महाशक्तिसेवनं मद्यसाधनम् । * मदिरासाधनं कर्तुं जगाम कुलमण्डले । मद्य मासे तथा
मत्स्यं बुद्धा मैथुनमेव च ॥ युनः पुन साधयित्वा पूर्णयोगी बभूव स ॥ रुद्रयामल, 17th पटल
verses 121-123, 125, 135, 152-153, 157-158, 160-161,

Magic spells are found in plenty in the Atharvaveda and some mystic words or syllables are used even in the R̥gveda; e. g. the word 'vasat' occurs in R̥g. VII. 99. 7, VII. 100. 7 and other verses and the word *svāhā*¹⁶⁶⁷ occurs over a dozen times in the R̥gveda (e. g. in I. 13. 12, V. 5. 11, VII. 2. 11). A sleep-inducing spell occurs in R̥g. VII. 55. 5-8,¹⁶⁶⁸ which verses occur also in the Atharvaveda IV. 5. 6, 5. 1, 3 and which spell was probably employed by a *purohita* to put to sleep some noble man complaining of sleeplessness at night. Some Western scholars have held that this hymn is a lover's charm for a clandestine meeting with his lady-love. But the whole hymn has hardly any words of love in it and the author is not able to accept that theory as proved. R̥gveda X. 145 is a hymn to be employed against a co-wife, the first verse of which is 'I dig up this herb, which is a most powerful creeper, by which (a woman) injures her co-wife and by which she secures her husband (to herself alone)'

The R̥gveda frequently mentions magicians who appear to have been mostly non-Aryans described as *adeva* (godless), *anṛtadeva* (worshipping false gods), *śiśnadeva* (lecherous, R̥g. VII. 21. 5, X. 99. 3). For reasons of space, it is not possible to go into great details. Tāntrik works describe the six cruel acts which will be dealt with later on. In the Vedic times it was supposed that some wicked people could by charms and incantations bring about the death of men and animals or make them ill. Two long hymns (VII. 104 and X. 87 both containing 25 verses) are enough to show how the R̥gveda people were afraid of black magic. Both hymns are full of the words '*Yātudhāna*' (one who employs black magic) and '*raksas*' (devil or evil spirit), the word *yātu* being the same as '*jādu*' (employed in Marathi and other regional Indian languages). There were female evil spirits also called '*piśāci*' (R̥g. I. 133. 5 'O Indra! destroy the reddish very powerful piśāci and kill all evil spirits'). A few verses from the R̥gveda may be translated

1667. In the Tantras the word '*svāhā*' in mantras is indicated by such a word as 'wife of Agni'. Vide Tāntrik Texts, vol 7, where स्वाहा is called बह्विजाया, ज्वलनबहुना and द्विड, also शारदासिलक VI. 62-63.

1668. ससु माता ससु पिता ससु श्वा ससु विश्वेतिः । ससु सवे ज्ञातयः ससु य-
मभितो जनः ॥ य आस्ते यश्च चरति यश्च पश्यति नो जनः । तेषां सं हन्तो अक्षाणि यथेदं हर्ष्य-
तथा । ... मोक्षेया यक्षेया नारीर्यास्तल्पशीविरीः । स्त्रियो याः पुण्यगन्धास्ताः सर्वाः स्वापयामसि ॥
ऋ VII. 55. 5-8

here. ' May I (Vasistha) die this very day if I be a practitioner of black magic or if I have scorched the life of any person; may he, who falsely called me a practitioner of black magic, lose his ten sons; may Indra kill with a terrible weapon him who called me *yātudhāna*, though I am not so and who, being himself a raksas, declares himself to be pure; may he, being most wretched, fall below all beings (Rg. VII. 104. 15-16); O Maruts! may you spread in different places among the people, and wish to seize the devils and pound to dust the devils (raksasah) who assuming the form of birds fly about at night and who, when the sacrifice is shining, produce deadly obstacles (*ibid.* verse 18); O Indra! kill the male practitioner of black magic and also the female (magician) that destroys with wiles; may the (devils) worshippers of foolish deities perish with their necks cut off; and may they not be able to see the sun rising (Rg. VII. 104. 24); O Agni, split the skin of the *yātudhāna*, may thy destructive bolt kill him by its heat; O Jātavedas! shatter his joints, may some carnivorous beast longing for flesh seek (devour) the broken (*yātudhāna*), O Agni! shatter the *yātudhānas* by your heat, and the raksas by your glow and destroy the worshippers of foolish gods (*mūradevān*) and, shining towards those that feed on the lives of men (*asurpak*), shatter them' (Rg. X. 87. 5 and 14)

In the Āp. Gr. (III. 9. 5-8) it is said that the plant used by the co-wife is called *Pāthā* and the hymn (Rg. X. 145) is employed for securing domination over the husband and for harming a co-wife Rg. I. 191 is a charm against various poisons. In the Atharvaveda there are numerous hymns styled '*śatrunāśana*' (destructive of enemies) e.g. II. 12-24, III. 6, IV. 3 and 40, V. 8, VI. 6, 65-67 and 134. Atharva II. 11 is styled '*Kṛtyā-dūsana*' (counteracting black magic). A few of the typical verses may be cited¹⁶⁶⁹ here. 'Employ magic spells against him, who hates us and whom we hate; attain (i.e. dominate) him who is superior and surpass him who is (our) equal'; 'O Soma! strike in the mouth with your thunderbolt him who speaks evil of us that speak what is good and may he, being crushed, run away'. The Sukranītisāra (ed. by G. Oppert, 1882) provides that the Tantras are the Upaveda of the

1669. प्रति तमभि चर योऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि य वरं द्विष्म । आप्नुहि श्रेयासमति समं क्रमं ॥ अथर्व II 11 3; यो न सोम सुशसिनो दुःशंस आदिदेशति । वज्रेणास्य मुखे जहि स सपिबो अपायति ॥ अथर्व VI 6 2; विविधोपास्यमन्त्राणां प्रयोगाः सुविभेदतः । कथिताः सोपसहायस्तद्धर्मनियमैश्च षट् । अथर्वणा चोपवेदस्तन्त्ररूपः स एव हि ॥ शुक्रनीतिसार IV. 3. 39.

Atharvaveda. Atharva III. 25 and VI. 130 are spells respectively employed by a man and a woman to soften the heart of the person loved; Atharva II. 30 and 31 are charms for driving away or destroying worms that cause diseases and V. 36 is a charm against *piśācas* (goblins) ¹⁶⁷⁰ The sound 'phat' occurs in Vāj. S. In the Āp. Śr. Sūtra *phat* is employed in offering Soma stalks in *abhicāra* (employment of spells for a malevolent purpose). Phat is a sound frequently employed in the worship of Devi in Tantra works. But no direct connection or line of evolution from the Atharvaveda to the Tantras can be traced. The Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntaraksita (705-762 A. D.) connects even Buddha with magic practices. It says 'all wise men declare that it is dharma from which results worldly prosperity and the highest beatitude. Seen results such as intelligence, health, rulership are produced by properly observing the rules about mantras, yoga and the like declared by him (i. e. ¹⁶⁷¹ by Buddha)'. But one cannot place implicit reliance on any writer's statement made more than a thousand years after the event or person referred to in it. There are, however, stories in the Pāli sacred books about the cultivation of magic powers among Buddha's own disciples, e. g. the story of Bhāradvāja ¹⁶⁷² who rose in the air for a bowl carved out of very fragrant

1670 For the sound 'phat' in Durgā-pūjā, vide p. 161 n. 416; उपरि प्रता भङ्गेन हतोऽसौ फट् प्राणाय त्वा व्यानाय त्वा। वाज. सं VII. 3, on which the com. महीधर explains 'उपरि आगतेन भङ्गेन आमर्देन असाविति देवदत्तादिनामनिर्देशः। असौ द्वेपो हतो निहतः सत् फट् विशीर्णो भवतु। ...स्वाहाकारस्थाने फडिति अभिचारे प्रयुज्यते।

1671 यतोऽम्युद्यन्निष्पत्तिर्यतो निःश्रेयसस्य च। स धर्म उच्यते तादृक् सर्वैरेव विचक्षणैः॥ तदुक्तमन्त्रयोगादिनियमाद्विधिवत्कृतात्। प्रज्ञायोग्यविभुत्वादि ह्यधर्मेऽपि जायते॥ तत्त्वसंग्रह p 905, कमलशील (pupil of शान्तरक्षित) comments 'तेन भगवतोक्तश्चासौ मन्त्र-योगादिनियमश्चेति विग्रहः। योगः समाधिः। आदिशब्देन मुद्रामण्डलादियपरिग्रहः॥'. The first verse appears to have been based on the वैशेषिकसूत्र I 1. 1-2 'अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। यतोऽम्युद्यन्ति श्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः॥'. The word अम्युद्य has been variously interpreted by the commentators of Kanāda's sūtra, but generally अम्युद्य means 'worldly happiness or prosperity'; compare भरत's नाट्यशास्त्र 'विवाहप्रसन्नावाहप्रमोदाऽम्युद्यपादिषु। विनोदकरणं चैव वृत्तमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम्॥' chap. IV. 263 (G. O S). Some take it to mean स्वर्ग in contradistinction to निःश्रेयस (which means मोक्ष or अमृतत्व).

1672 The story of Pundola Bhāradvāja, a disciple of the Blessed One (Buddha) rising in the air, taking the bowl and going thrice round the city of Rājagṛha in the air, is narrated in Cullavagga (S. B. E Vol. XX pp 78 ff). But it is said there that Buddha rebuked his disciple, ordered that bowl to be broken and reduced to powder.

sandalwood. Further, there is a story of miraculous powers possessed by all the members of the family of a layman called Mendaka (viz. himself, his wife, son and daughter-in law) in Mahāvagga VI. 34. 1 ff. (S. B. E. vol. XVII. pp 121 ff) Here again we have to remember that there is nothing in the *Tiṭṭaka* or any early Buddhist document to prove that Buddha or his first disciples had anything to do with *mudrās*, *mantras* and *maṇḍalas* and that neither Yuan Chwang nor I-tsing refers to any Tantras, though both of them refer to the Buddhist monasteries as centres of Buddhist culture (vide Dr. De in N. I. A. vol. I pp. 1 ff). In the introduction to Sādhnamālā (vol. II. LXVIII.) Dr. Bhattacharya relies upon the words 'Sugato-padistam' and 'Sugatāh' occurring on pp. 334-335 of the Sādhnamālā for holding that Buddha himself must have promulgated some mantras. There are two weighty objections viz. 'Sugatāh' does not always mean Buddha, but means also 'followers of Buddha' and secondly, just as most Hindu Tantras are dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī, so later Buddhist writers might have easily said that they are quoting the Buddha; the same objection applies to Kamalaśīla's remarks quoted by Dr. Bhattacharya, as Kamalaśīla and his teacher flourished about 1200 years after Buddha.

The question whether Buddhist Tantras were prior to Hindu Tantras or *vice versa* is difficult to decide. It appears probable that both arose nearly about the same time. Vide 'The Śāktas' by E. A. Payne pp. 72-74 for discussion of views. In the Sādhnamālā (a Vajrayāna work consisting of 312 small works composed according to Dr. Bhattacharya from the 3rd century A D to 12th century A D.) four *pīthas* (chief centres) of Vajrayāna¹⁶⁷³ are mentioned viz. Kāmākhyā, Śrīhatta (or Śrīhatta), Pūrṇagiri and Uddiyāna. The first two are respec-

1673. It appears that in some Tantra works five Pīthas are named (according to H P Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf and selected paper mss. in the Nepal Durbar Library, Calcutta, 1905, p LXXX) viz Odiyāna (in Orissa, says H P Sastri), Jāla (in Jalandar), Pūrṇa Mataṅga in Śrīśālla and Kāmākhyā in Assam. The very fact that five pīthas are named in the work supposed to be delivered by Śiva shows beyond doubt that before the work Tāntrism had spread in all parts of India. The Sādhnamālā (vol II pp. 453 and 455) mentions Uddiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmākhyā and Śrīhatta, the Kulacūḍāmanitantra (Tāntrik texts, Vol. IV) in 6th patala verses 3-7) refers to five pīthas viz. Uddiyāna, Kāmarūpa, Kāmākhyā, Jālandhara and

tively identified with Kāmākhyā or Kāmarūpa (three miles from Gauhati) and modern Sylhet. The exact situation of the other two is a controversial matter. M. M. H. P. Shastri identified Uddiyāna (which is most frequently mentioned as a pīṭha) with Orissa. His son Dr B Bhattacharya thinks it most probable that Vajrayāna Tāntricism arose in Uddiyāna (p. 46 of Intro. to B. E.). Dr. Bagchi in 'Studies in the Tantras' pp. 37-40 furnishes good grounds for holding that Uddiyāna was near Swat valley in N. W. India and Grousset 'In the footsteps of Buddha' pp. 109-110 holds the same view. The Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by F. W. Thomas) names eight Śāktakṣetras (III. 123-124). In his Intro. to Sādhnamālā (vol. II. p. LXXVIII) Dr Bhattacharya holds that the Hindu tantras were introduced on the model of the Buddhist tantras. But Winternitz (in 'History of Indian Literature', Eng. tr., vol. II. p. 401) states that this view of Dr. Bhattacharya is contrary to the facts and the present writer agrees with this view.

Though Dr. Bhattacharya admits that Buddhism and Jainism exploited Hindu gods in the earlier period, he asserts (on p. 147 of his Intro. to B. E.) that 'it is possible to declare without fear of contradiction that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the Tantras in their religion and that the Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times'. It is no honour to ancient Hindus to be called the pioneers in the practice of black magic. But scholars have to seek truth irrespective of the question of honour or dishonour. Very weighty arguments are advanced by Vallée Poussin (in E. R. E. vol. XII, p. 193), Winternitz and Payne (on 'Śāktas' p. 73) for the opposite view and the present author agrees with them. Hundreds of works were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan and Chinese. The traffic of borrowing has been all one way from India to Tibet and China. Vide a paper on 'China's debt to India' by Prof. Liang Chi Chao in Viśvabhāratī Quarterly, vol. II. for 1924-25 pp. 251-261, where it is stated that 24 Hindu scholars from A. D. 67 to 789 came to China, besides 13 from Kashmir and that the Chinese scholars that went to India for study from 265-790 A. D. numbered 187 of which the names of 105 can be ascertained.

(Continued from last page)

Pūrnagiri (vide also 3rd pātala, 59-61). In I H. Q. vol. XI. pp. 142-144 it is argued that Uddiyāna and Sāhore are in Bengal. The Devībhāgavata (VII. 30 55-80) names over one hundred kṣetras of Devī.

There is hardly any evidence of the translations of Chinese or Tibetan works into Sanskrit. Besides, the three great Chinese travellers never refer to the study of Buddhist Tantras in India. Watters on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels in India' vol. I p. 360 narrates a story from the pilgrim's life that when he left Ayodhyā in a boat and proceeded east down the Ganges, thugs that looted the boat decided to sacrifice him to Durgā but that the Chinese pilgrim was saved by a hurricane which put the thugs in terror, who released him and treated him with reverence. Vide also 'In the Footsteps of Buddha' by René Grousset pp 133-135 for this incident. We see that there is evidence of the prevalence of Tāntrik and Śākta worship in India long before the 7th century A. D. There is hardly any evidence of any Buddhist Tāntrik work before 650 A. D. except perhaps the Guhyasamājatantra and Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, both of which contain late elements. In this way, presumption and chronology are both against borrowing by Hinduism from Buddhist Tibetan or Chinese Tāntrik works. Vide 'Tibet past and present' by Sir Charles Bell (1924) pp 23, 25, 29, Sardar K. M. Panikkar's work 'India and China' (1957) p. 70, 'Introduction of the alphabet in Tibet' by M M Dr Satishchandra who holds that it was borrowed from Magadha in 7th Century A. D., that show that a written script based on an Indian alphabet as prevalent in Kashmir was first introduced about 640 A. D., that the Tāntrik Buddhist Padmasambhava was summoned from Uddiyāna by a Tibetan king Ti-son De-tson (749-786 A. D.) on the recommendation of Śāntarakṣita Bodhisattva and was induced to settle in Tibet. Bunjiu Nanjio's 'Catalogue of Tripitaka' (Oxford, 1883), appendix II, p. 445 No. 155 shows that Amoghavajra translated many works between 746 and 771 A. D., died in 774 A. D. and that it was under his influence that Tantra doctrines gained currency in China. It is clear from the works of Bāna as detailed later on that worship of Candikā with wine and flesh was prevalent in India long before 600 A. D., that Śrīparvata was famed for its tāntrik *siddhis*, that Śivasamhitā existed, that japa of mantras a crore of times in a cemetery was supposed to confer *siddhis*, that the 14th of the dark half of a month was deemed the proper tithi for japa and black magic. Therefore, it is most likely that Śākta or Tāntrik doctrines were taken to China and Tibet from India and not *vice versa*. Prof. P. V. Bapat in '2500 years of Buddhism' (pp. 360-376) follows (at p. 363) Dr. B. Bhattacharya and tries to prove that Tibetan Tantrism is earlier than Hindu Tantrism, but his arguments

like those of Dr. Bhattacharya do not carry conviction at all. Dr. A. S. Altekar in his paper on Sanskrit Literature in Tibet (ABORI. vol. 35 pp. 54-66) shows how Buddhism entered into Tibet in the reign of Strong-Tsan-Gampo (637-693 A. D.), that about 750 A. D. Padmasambhava from Orissa and Vairocana from Kashmir were pioneers and how about 4500 works were translated into Tibetan.

Even Dr. Bhattacharya admits that Buddhist Tantras in outward appearance resemble in a marked degree Hindu Tantras (p. 47 of Intro to B. E.), but he contends that in the subject matter, the philosophical doctrines and religious principles there is little similarity. As Buddhism did not believe in Hindu gods they do not speak about Śakti or Śāktism. But just as in Hindu Tantras there is the male principle Śiva and the female principle of Devī, the Buddhists postulate Prajñā (which is feminine) and Upāya (masculine) as two principles and invest them with the same roles as those of Śiva and Devī but reversed in character. They had to graft on the idea of *Śūnyatā* the ideas underlying the concepts of Śiva and Devī or Śakti. The subject matter is very similar as regards the goal and means (Yoga &c) and the procedure of mantra, guru, mandala &c. is the same. The most important and early works of Buddhist Tantric cult, the Prajñopāya-viniścayasiddhi and Jñānasiddhi are not earlier than the 8th century A. D., when Śāktism and Tāntrism had both been long established in India.

The word 'Śākta' means one who is a worshipper or devotee of 'Śakti' (cosmic power or energy). It appears that long before the 8th century A. D. this cult had spread in almost all parts of India, particularly in Bengal and Assam. Śakti under different names (such as Tripurā, Lohitā, Sdaśikā, Kāmeśvarī) was conceived to be the primordial principle of all activity in the universe and is generally worshipped under the name of Devī. The Devīmāhātmya is one of the chief works of the Śāktas and has been described above on pp. 155-156. The chief characteristics of the Śākta cult are the doctrine that God or Deity is one and is to be conceived as the mother and also the destroyer¹⁶⁷⁴ and that there is a special form of ceremonial

1674 One of the *dhyānas* of Devī as Kālī is as follows: श्वाकृदां महाभीनां
वोरद्वीं एतन्दुलीम् । चतुर्भुजा खड्गमुण्ड-वराभयकरां शिवाम् । मुण्डमालाधरां देवीं ललजिदां
दिगम्बराम् । एवं सन्निवृत्तेत्कालीं इममानालयवासिनीम् ॥ कालीतन्त्र ॥ शाक्त्यमोद
(Venk. ed.)

worship which sometimes assumed debased and revolting forms. Devī has been eulogised in other Purāṇas also as in Vāmana (18-19), Devī-bhāgavata (III, 27), Brahmānda (that contains the Lalitāmāhātmya in 44 chapters), Matsya (13. 24-54, where 108 names of Devī and 108 places of her worship are set out), Kūrma (I. 12). In the last Purāṇa (Kūrma I. 12) Devī is called Mahāmāhisamardini (98), Anāhatā, Kundalini (128), Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Candi, Bhadrakālī (143 and 148) and it is stated that the śāstras opposed¹⁶⁷⁵ to the Veda and Smṛti that are popular among people such as Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala, Vāma, Ārḥata were propagated by Devī for deluding the world and were based on ignorance. Vide also Brahmapurāṇa (181. 48-52) for names of Devī and for the proposition that Devī when worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh and other edibles becomes pleased and grants men's desires. Bhadrakālī is comparatively an ancient name. In the Śān. Gr. (SBE vol. XXIX p. 86) it is provided that an offering is to be made to Śrī at the head of the bed on which the householder sleeps and at the foot of the bed to Bhadrakālī, while Manu provides that, in the daily *baliharana*, *balī* (offering) is to be offered to Bhadrakālī in the south-west.

The Tantras and Śākta works have much in common, the main point of difference being that in the Śākta cult Devī (or Śakti) is worshipped as the highest, while Tantras (which include also Buddhist and Jaina works) are not restricted to the worship of Devī or Śakti, but may be agnostic, Vedāntic or Sāṅkhya in their philosophical outlook. Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in Intro to Guhyasamājatantra p. XXXIV and in Intro to Sādhana-mālā vol. II, p. XIX) states that, for a work to be called a real Tantra, there must be the element of Śakti in it. But this is plainly rather an over-statement. The Vāyupurāṇa enumerates the Śākta among six *darśanas* (philosophic points of view) as in note ^{1675a}.

Even the Rgveda speaks of the Śaktis of the great gods of the Vedic pantheon. But the Śakti or Śaktis are of the God

1675. यानि शास्त्राणि दृश्यन्ते लोकेऽस्मिन्निविधानि तु । श्रुतिस्मृतिविषयज्ञानि निष्ठा
तेषां हि तामसी ॥ कापालं भैरवं चैव यमलं वामनाहृतम् । एवविधानि चान्यानि मोहनार्थानि
तानि तु ॥ कूर्मे I. 12. 261-262. These verses are quoted by रघुनन्दन in स्मृतितत्त्व
I. pp. 785-786 (under मलमासवत्त्व).

1675 a ब्राह्मं शैव वैष्णवं च सौरं शाक्तं तथाहृतम् । पद्मवर्शनानि चोक्तानि सभावं
नियतानि च । 104 16.

nimself and not a separate creative principle and sometimes Śakti is meant as part of the poet, priest or sacrificer (as in Rg. I. 31. 18, I. 83. 3, IV. 22. 8, X. 25. 5). The word 'Śakti' occurs in the Rgveda about a dozen times in the singular as well as in the plural, five times with Indra,¹⁶⁷⁶ once with Aśvins (Rg. II. 39. 7), twice with pitrs (I 109. 3, VI. 75. 9) and once with gods in general (X. 88. 10, who are said to have created Agni with their powers). Sometimes, the word 'Māyā' is used with regard to Indra instead of the word Śakti. 'O Indra! I long for your great friendship and powers (śaktih)...understand that you are our great protector; I proclaim your ancient and recent deeds, O Indra endowed with powers (Śaktivaḥ) !; 'Indra assuming¹⁶⁷⁷ many forms by his powers (māyābhiḥ) repairs (to many sacrifices), ten hundred horses are yoked to his chariot'. In these passages there is no question of worshipping śakti or śaktis of the god praised. The more frequent word, however, is 'Śaci' ('śacibhiḥ' occurring 36 times and 'śacyā' 12 times). The word 'Śacipati' (lord of Śaci or power) occurs sixteen times in the Rgveda and has been applied in all places to Indra, except once in Rg. VII. 67. 5 (where it is applied to Aśvins). It cannot be said that in the Rgveda 'Śaci' is the wife of Indra (as it is said in later mythology), since the plural is more frequent than Śaci in the singular and since Aśvins also are called 'Śacipati' once. Similarly, the word 'Śacivah' occurs eleven times, in nine of which it is addressed to Indra but it is once applied to Agni (Rg. III. 21. 4) and once to Soma (Rg. IX. 87. 9). The ideas associated with the words 'Śakti' and 'Śaci' are those of creation, protection, valour, and bounty. In Rg. I. 56. 4 Indra's power is called 'Devi tavīṣī' but the word Śaci does not occur in that verse. There is a sublime hymn (Rg. X. 125) of the power of Vāk (speech), wherein Vāk is said to associate with Rudras, Ādityas, Vasus, all gods and is

1676. मया ते सख्यं वदिम शक्तीरा वृत्रघ्ने निरुतो यन्ति पूर्वीः । महि स्तोत्रमव आगन्म सुरेस्मान् ह मयवन् वोधि गोपाः ॥ ऋ III 31. 14, म ते पूर्वाणि कारणानि वोचं प्र नृत्तना मययन्वा चकार्य । शक्तीवो यद्विभरा रोदसी जने जयकपो मने दातुचित्राः ॥ ऋ. V 31 6. Vide also Rg. VII. 20. 10, X. 88. 10 (स्तोमेन हि दिवि देवास्तो अग्निमजीजनच्छक्तिमी रोदसिमाय् ।)

1677. इन्द्रो मायाभिः शुक्लं ईयते युक्ता हार्य हरयः शता दश ॥ ऋ. VI 47. 18. On this the वृह उप. II 5. 19 says 'इदं वै तमधु दध्यद्वानथर्वणोऽविम्याशुवाच । तदेतद्वयैः पश्यन्तोचत् । इन्द्रो मायाभिः ... शता दश ॥ इति । अयं वै हरयोऽयं वै दश च सद्यमाणि ब्रह्मन् चामन्तानि च । तदेतद्वज्रम् &c. '

declared to support Mitra and Varuna, Indra and Agni, the Āśvins, Soma, Tvastr, Pūsan and Bhaga. Vāk is said to stretch the bow for Rudra in order that the destructive enemy of *brahma* (prayer or God *Brahmā*) may be killed, that Vāk stands occupying all worlds and that her body touches heaven, that it is beyond heaven and the earth, that Vāk stands so vast by its greatness'. Vāk becomes the principle of all energy. According to the Nighantu (I. 11), *menā*, *gnāh* and *śaci* are three of the 57 words meaning 'Vāk'. In Tai. S. V. 1. 7. 2 the metres are called 'gnās'. Rg. I. 164, 41 is an enigmatic description of Vāk explained in Nirukta XI. 40. It should be noticed that, just as Devī or Śakti is associated with Śiva in later literature, so are Indrānī, Varunānī, Agnāyī, Rodasī associated with Indra, Varuna, Agni and Maruts respectively as wives. 'I invoke Indrānī,¹⁶⁷³ Varunānī and Agnāyī for my welfare and for drinking Soma', 'May the women, the wives of gods, partake of the offering, viz. Indrānī, Agnāyī, the brilliant (wife) of the Āśvins, Rodasī; may Varunānī listen (to our laud); may the goddesses partake (of offerings) at the time (appropriate) for women'. It must be said, however, that these goddesses (*devīh*) play a very subordinate part in the Rgveda. No direct connection can be traced between these Vedic goddesses and the later conception of Devī or Śakti. Indrānī is invoked for protection in Rg. I. 22. 12, II. 32. 8, V. 46. 8, X. 86. 11-12. In Rg V. 46. 8 Indrānī and three others are called *Devapatnīs* and 'gnās'. In Rg. I. 61. 8 it is said that the *gnās*, the wives of gods, wove, when Indra struck the demon Ahi, a song of worship. The word 'gnā' occurs 20 times in the Rg. in the nominative, objective, instrumental and locative and is an Indo-European word for wife (Greek has it). Vide Nir III. 21 where '*menā*' and '*gnā*' occur. In the Kenopanisad Umā Haimavatī (daughter of Himavat) tells of *Brahma* to the gods Agni, Vāyu and Indra (III. 12). In the Śvetāśvataropanisad it is said 'they (*brahmavādins*) endowed with meditation and Yoga saw Śakti (power) abiding as non-different from God and concealed (from com-

1678 इन्द्राणीश्वर ह्ये वरुणानी सस्तये। अग्नायी सोमपीतये। ऋ I. 22. 12; उत सा अस्तु देवपत्नीरिन्द्राण्यग्नायन्विनी राद। आ रोदसी वरुणानी श्वपोह अस्तु देवीर्य ऋतुर्जनीनाम् ॥ ऋ V 46. 8. सूर्या is said to be the wife of Āśvins in Rg. X. 85 8-9. यास्क explains Rg. V 146. 8 in Nirukta XII 46 and holds रोदसी as the wife of रुद्र, in Rg. V. 56. 8 the Maruts are said to have 'Rodasī' on their chariot, in Rg V. 61 4 the Maruts are said to have a beautiful wife, in VI 50 5 Rodasī is called devī and is said to be mixed up with Maruts In Rg I. 167 4 and VI. 66.6 Rodasī is connected with Maruts.

prehension) by its own attributes (or by *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*). The same Upanisad (in VI. 8) speaks of *Brahma* as possessing the highest Śakti¹⁶⁷⁹ in various forms and this text is quoted by Śankarācārya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 24. In the *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 30 and in the sūtra itself *Brahma* is said to be endowed with all powers. Vide also Śvetāśva. IV. 1. The Nārāyanopanisad contains an invocation of Durgā-devi¹⁶⁸⁰ 'I approach as a refuge the blazing goddess Durgā, brilliant like fire, luminous owing to *tapas*, that is resorted to for, (yielding) the rewards of religious actions; O goddess possessed of excellent might! adoration to your power'. Rāghavabhatta¹⁶⁸¹ avers that Tantra cult is based on Śruti as can be seen from the Upanisads called Rāmāpūrvottara-tāpanīya and Nrsimhapūrvottara-tāpanīya. Similarly, Bhāskaraśārya in his commentary Setubandha on Vāmakeśvaratantra mentions several Upanisads as treating in detail of the bhakti of Mahātripura-sundarī and interprets Rg. V. 47. 4 'catvari im' as referring to Kādividyā. But all these Upanisads seem to be purposely composed to bolster up the *tantras* that had come to be looked down upon and they

1679. ते स्थानयोगाद्युपता अपश्यन्देवात्मशक्तिं स्वयुगेनिगूढाम्। श्वेताश्वः I. 3; परास्य शक्तिर्विविधेयं श्रुयते स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानचलक्रिया च॥ श्वेताश्वः VI. 8; सर्वोपेता च तदर्थोपदेत्। वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 30, on which Śaṅkara says 'एकस्यापि ब्रह्मणो विविधशक्ति-योगादुपपद्यते विचित्रो विकारप्रपञ्च इति'। But this is entirely different from the later Śākta doctrines. Here *Brahma* is said to be endowed with various Śaktis (not one), while Śakti among Śāktas is the female principle that is supreme. It is possible that such a vedānta doctrine of śakti might have suggested the later all-engrossing power of Śakti as the only deity or principle

1680. तामग्निवर्णीं तपसा ज्वलन्तीं वैरोचनीं कर्मफलेषु सुहृदाम्। दुर्गा देवीं शरणमहं प्रपद्ये सुतरसितरसे नमः। नारायणोपनिषद् 2. 1

1681. श्रुतिमूलकता तु रामपूर्वोत्तरतापनीय-दुर्गापूर्वोत्तरतापनीय-सौराष्ट्र-क्षेत्र-पञ्चाक्षरात्मिका च साक्षाच्छ्रुतिरूपलभ्यत एव। राघवभट्ट on शारदातिलक p. 2; श्रीमहा-त्रिपुरासंहार-व्याख्यानौ भक्तिं सेतिकातस्थिताकां निरूपयितुमैदं पर्येण सुन्दरीतापनीयपञ्चकं भावनोपनिषत्कौलोपनिषद्-युष्टोपनिषद्महोपनिषद्चेत्यादयो वेदश्रीरभागाः प्रवृत्ताः। सेतुबन्ध on बामकेश्वरतन्त्र p. 4, तथा च बहुचैरान्नायते-चत्वार ई विव्रति...अन्ताद-इति। अत्र हि

कादिविद्याया ईकारचतुष्टयवत्तविशेषणद्वाराद्वारः कृतः। सेतुबन्ध p. 17 In शक्तोपनिषद्, edited with the com. of उपनिषद्ब्रह्मयोगिन् by Pandit A. Mahadevasāstri, Adyar, 1925, are printed त्रिपुरा, त्रिपुरातापनी, देवी, बहुच, भावना, सरस्वतीरहस्य, सीता, सौभाग्यलक्ष्मी (the भावनोपनिषद् occurring on pp 68-73). In the बहुचोप-

निषद् (on p. 62) occurs the passage 'सैषा परा शक्तिः सैषा शान्भवी विद्या कादिविद्येति वा शदिविद्येति वा सादिविद्येति वा रहस्यमनोनां वाचि प्रतिष्ठतः।' The com. explains: श्रीमत्पञ्चदशाक्षरीयविभक्ता क ए ई ल ह्रीं-यथमखण्डात्मना कादिविद्येति वा-इ स क ह ल ह्रीं-इति द्वितीयखण्डात्मना शदिविद्येति वा स क ल ह्रीं-इति सादिविद्या वा रहस्यम्।

are mostly mentioned by late medieval writers like Rāghava-bhatta and Bhāskara-rāya. There are two great hymns addressed to Durgā in the Mahābhārata,¹⁶⁸² viz. in Virāṭaparva (chap. 6) by Yudhisthira and the other in Bhismaparva (chap. 23) by Arjuna, but they are discarded as apocryphal in the Poona critical edition. The Gangadhara stone Inscription of Viśvavarman of 480 of the Mālava era (424 A.D.) refers to Mātrā (Mother Goddesses) and Tantra¹⁶⁸³ The Br S. 57. 56 mentions the groups of Mātrā. The Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti recommends that the householder should not enter places of Śaiva, Bauddha, Skānda and Śākta¹⁶⁸⁴ cults. The Viṣṇupurāṇa¹⁶⁸⁵ (one of the earliest among extant Purāṇas) speaks of the whole world as that of Viṣṇu, who is the highest *Brahma* and is endowed with

1682. In JRAS for 1906 pp. 355-362 B. C. Majumdar endeavours to show that the two hymns to Durgā are late interpolations in the Mahābhārata, probably derived from practices of non-Aryan Sūdras in Oriya-speaking hill tribes of Sambalpur. But he forgets that apart from other sources Kālidāsa (not later than about 400 A. D.) speaks of Pārvatī as Umā, Aparnā, Durgā, Gaurī, Bhavānī and Candī in his several works and also that Kālidāsa refers to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. In the last verse of the Śākuntala Kālidāsa speaks of Śiva as 'parigata-śaktiḥ' and thereby suggests that at least the germs of the later Śakti worship were not unknown in his times. Therefore, the worship of Durgā in her several aspects is older than 300 A. D. by at least a century or more; vide pp. 185-186 above

1683. मानुषां च प्रमुदितधनार्थनिर्द्वादिनीना तन्मोद्भूतप्रबलपवनोद्धातिताम्बो-
निधीनाम् । in Gupta Inscription No 17 p. 72 The बृहत्संहिता 57 56 provides rules about images of Mātrā 'मानुष्य, कर्तव्य, स्वनामदेवाद्रूपकृतचिह्नः', the विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (in I 226) mentions a large number of मानुस including काली and महाकाली (in all over 180) Vide a recent work on 'the Cult of the Mother Goddesses' by E. O. James (London, 1959), of which pp. 99-124 deal with India, 'Matsyendranātha and his Yoginī cult' by Dr. Karambelkar in I H. Q. Vol XXXI (for 1935) pp 362-374, which show that Ādmātha (Śiva Himself) was the guru of Matsyendranātha, who was himself guru of Gorakṣanātha, the former being called Luipa (in Tibet), one of the 84 Siddhas, vide Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report IX, for the temple of 64 Yoginīs at Bheraghat and 'Tāntrik cult in Epigraphs' by Mr. B. P. Desai in J. O. R. (Mad.), Vol. 19 pp 285-288

1684. शैवबौद्धस्कादशास्त्रधानानि न विरोत् कचिद् । बृहहरीतस्मृति XI 143

1685. एतत्सर्वमिदं विश्वं जगदेतच्चराचरम् । परब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य विष्णोः, शक्तिरन्वितम् ।
विष्णु V. 7. 60; सुरमांसोपहारैश्च भक्ष्यभोज्यैश्च पूजिता । वृणामशेषकामास्त्वं प्रसन्ना
संप्रदास्यसि ॥ विष्णु. V 1 86 This verse occurs in ब्रह्मपुराण 181 52 and the
preceding three verses which contain the names of Durgā are the same
in both.

Śakti, enumerates some of the names of Durgā as Āryā, Vedagarbhā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadrā-kālī, Ksemadā, Bhāgyadā and winds up by stating that when Durgā is worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh, various kinds of foods, she, being pleased, would fulfil all desires of men. In the Kādambarī of Bānabhatta there is a long description of the temple of Candikā at a few days' journey from Ujjayinī, where there was an old Dravida devotee, in which the following points deserve to be noted, viz. offerings of the heads of animals, lion as *vāhana*, the slaughter of Mahisāsura, the doctrines of Pāsupatas written down on small books of palm leaves containing jugglery, tantra and mantras, Durgā-stotra written on a piece of cloth, ruined temples of the Mātr̥s and description of the Dravida devotee as knowing thousands of wonderful stories about Śrīparvata. Bāna describes at length what queen Vilāsavati, pining for a son, began doing to placate all Gods viz. sleeping in the shrines of Candikā where *guggulu* was being incessantly burnt, taking auspicious baths on nights of dark 14th in public squares where magic circles had been drawn by great magicians, visiting temples of Mātr̥s, wearing amulets inside which were pieces of birch leaves on which mantras had been written with yellow pigment, and, when delivery was near, her bed was rendered holy with various herbs, roots and yantras (figures or diagrams). In the Harsacarita (III) there is a reference to magic circles and to human sacrifices in the description of the Śaiva ascetic Bhairavā-cārya who had all the Śaiva-samhitās by heart, who performed the *japa* of a mahāmantra called Mahakālahrdaya a crore of times in a cemetery and wanted the help of Puspabhūti (an ancestor of Emperor Harsa) for perfection in that mantra to be achieved by subduing a *vetāla* and who ultimately attained to the position of Vidyādhara and rose into the starry firmament. In the last Introductory verse of the Harsacarita the Emperor Harsa is, by means of puns, called the Śrīparvata in yielding all Siddhis (supernatural powers, or fulfilment) according to the wishes of all suppliants.¹⁶⁸⁶ These descriptions from the works of Bāna (first half of 7th century) show how even long before the 7th century A. D. the worship of Candi with flesh and the Śakta or Tāntrik paraphernalia of mantras, siddhis, mandalas and yantras had gripped the minds of all Indian people, great

1686. जयति ज्वलन्मतापज्वलनमाकारकृतजगद्दशः। सकलमणायिमनोरथ सिद्धिः श्रीपर्वतो
वर्षः॥ इति 1. 21; सौदामिनी says in मालवीनाथ 'सुवचर्या तपस्तत्रमन्त्रयोगाभि-
योग्याम्। दमामाक्षेपिणी सिद्धिमातनोति दिवाय वः॥ IX.

and small, rich and poor. In the *Mālatīmādhava* (Act V) we have a gruesome picture of human sacrifice to Cāmundā. In the same drama Saudāminī is described as observing the vows of a Kāpālīka on Śrīparvata and as having secured supernatural powers by means of mantras. Śrīparvata is mentioned as a holy place of Śiva and Devī in *Vanaparva* 85. 19-20. The *Vasavadattā* of Subandhu (p. 87 of Hall's ed.) speaks of Śrīparvata as 'Sannihita-mallikārunah.' Later on a few passages from Sanskrit and Prakrit literature will be cited to show how the teaching of Tāntrik practices led to great moral debasement and revolting orgies in the name of religion.

The literature on Tantras was vast (vide 'Principles of Tantra' ed. by A. Avalon, part 1 pp. 390-392 for a long list of Tantras). Both Hindu and Buddhist writers composed numerous works on Tantra and a very large number of subjects came to be included in Tantra works. Buddhist and Hindu Tantras are alike in some respects but they differ in the topics discussed, philosophical doctrines and some religious principles and practices. Tantra works were introduced into Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan and South East Asia. Originals of many of the Sanskrit Tāntrik works are now not available, but the translations of some of them in Tibetan are available.¹⁶⁸⁷ It is said that even now if proper search is made, three hundred works on Tantra may be discovered (vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya in vol. X. of Śrī Rāmavarmā Institute of Research at Cochin p. 81).

It is difficult to give a general definition of Tantras. The word 'Tantra' is derived usually from 'Tan' to spread and 'traī' (to save). 'It spreads (diffuses upon) many matters including the tattvas and mantras and affords protection;

1687. The following works will convey some idea of Śākta doctrines and practices R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.' (in *Collected Works*, Vol IV pp 203-210); 'Śakti and Śākta' by Sir John Woodroffe (1920), 'Serpent Power' by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe), 'the Śāktas' by E. A. Payne (Oxford University Press, 1933) 'Śakti or divine power' by Dr. Sudhendu Kumar Das (Calcutta University, 1945); 'Doctrines of Śakti in Indian Literature' by Dr P. C Chakravarti (1940). Vide Prof. Bagchi's 'Studies in the Tantras' pp 1-3 for the introduction of four Tāntrik texts in Kambuja (Cambodia) about 800 A. D. named 'Śiraścheda, Vināśikha, Sammoha and Nayottara and 'Inscriptions from Kambuja' by Dr R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1953) pp. 362, 373-374, and *JRAS* for 1930 pp. 163-65 for relics of Śāktism in Moslem Malaya.

therefore it is called 'Tantra'.¹⁶⁸⁸ They can only be described but one matter is included in almost all of them, viz. the five 'Makāras'. Often they contain an amalgam of religion, philosophy, superstitious dogmas, rites, astronomy, astrology, medicine, prognostications. They resemble the Purāṇas in several respects. The Buddhists deified many important personages of Buddhism and took over in course of time certain Hindu deities like Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī. Tantras are classified by comparatively later works into three groups, Viśṇukrānta, Rādhakrānta and Āśvakrānta and 64 Tantras are assigned to each of the three groups (vide Tāntrik Texts, vol. I. ed. by Arthur Avalon, Introduction pp. II-IV); but these numbers seem to be fictitious. The same Tantra is put in two classes by certain works. The Kulārṇava-tantra (III 6-7) speaks of five āmnāyas (East, West, South, North and ūrdhva) as the paths to Mokṣa. The Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra¹⁶⁸⁹ I. 2 does the same. Besides, Tāntrik worshippers are divided into three classes viz. Śaiva, Śakta and Vaiṣṇava. Bagchi states ('Studies in Tantras' p. 3) that Tāntrik literature is classified into *Srotas* (which are three) *Piṭha* and *Āmnāya*. The Saundaryalaharī, ascribed by some to the great Advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya, refers to sixty-four Tantras (in verse 31 which begins 'catuṣṣaṣṭya tanaṭraṭṭ' which, it is said therein, were declared by God Śaṅkara for deluding¹⁶⁹⁰ the world. Several Hindu and Buddhist Tantras

1688. तन्नोति विदुलानर्थान् तत्त्वमन्त्रसमाप्तिनाम् । त्रयं च कुर्वते यस्मात् तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥

1689. भगवान् परमाशिवमहाराजः...भगवत्या भैरव्या स्वात्माभिज्ञया वृद्धः पञ्चभिर्दुर्लैः पञ्चान्मायायन् परमार्थसारधूलान् यणिनाय । परचुरामकल्पसूत्र I 2. There exist works that mention the mantras and *dhyānas* of the five āmnāyas, for example, D. C. ms. No. 394 of 1882-83 does so (cat. vol. XVI on Tantra mss, pp 339-340).

1690. The evidence for attributing the work Saundaryalaharī to the great ācārya is not strong. In H. P. Śaṅkari's Cat. of Palm-leaf mss in Nepa Durbar Library p. LXII there is an entry for ताराहस्यवृत्तिका, a Tāntrī compilation by a Śaṅkarācārya of Gaudadeśa. This would emphasize that caution is required in accepting works ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya as genuine works of the great Advaita teacher. Vide D. N. Bose on 'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets' pp 29-30 for the names of 64 tantras mentioned in the Vārāṇsi-tantra together with the verses therein and Saundaryalaharī (tr pp 117-120) for a list of 64 tantras and Bagchi's 'Studies in the Tantras' p 5 for the names of tantras considered authoritative in the 8th century A.D. and even prior to it. The तन्त्रालोक of अभिनवगुप्त states that there are groups of ten, 18 and 64 Śaiva tantras 'दशाष्टादशस्वदभिज्ञं यच्छास्त्रं विभोः ।

(Continued on next page)

have been published and we have now a fair idea of what the numerous Tantras must have been like. Some of the published Hindu Tantras are Kulārṇava, Tantrasāra, Nityotsava, Paraśurāmakalpa-sūtra, Pārānandasūtra, Prapañcasāra, Mantramahodadhi of Mahidhara, Mahānirvāṇatantra, Rudrayāmala, Vāmakeśvaratantra, Śāradātīlaka (about 11th century A. D.). Besides, there are works like the Tantrāloka and Mālinīvijaya-vārtika of Abhinava-gupta of Kashmir Tantrism. They stand somewhat apart from the works enumerated above. Among the published Buddhist tantras are, Advaya-vajrasaṅgraha, Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Guhyasamāja-tantra (probably 6th century A. D.), Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti (717 A. D.), Nīpan-nayogāvali of Abhayākara-gupta (composed between the last quarter of 11th and first of 12th century A. D.), Prajñopāya-viniscaya-siddhi of Anangavajra (about 705 A. D.), Sat-cakra-nirūpana (1577 A. D.), Sādhnamālā (containing 312 small works supposed to be from 3rd to 12th century A. D.). Of the Buddhist Tantras Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa and Guhyasamāja-tantra¹⁶⁹¹ are the oldest according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya (Intro. p. XXXVIII. to Guhya-samājatantra). Most of the above works have been published by Arthur Avalon (Sir. John Woodroffe) and in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. Some of the Hindu Tantras contain sublime philosophical views derived from the Upanisads and the Gītā or from the Sāṅkhya and Yoga and the final goal according to them is *Mukti* (liberation from the

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तत्सारं त्रिकज्ञात्तं हि तत्सारं मालिनीनमः ॥ I. 18 (Kashmir S. series, Vol. XXII p. 35). The नित्यादौष्टिकार्णव (a part of जामलेखरतन्त्र) names the 64 Tantras in verses 13-22 of the first विग्रह, but it includes eight Yāmala among Tantras, while Dr. Bhattacharya (in 'Introduction to E. B. p. 52) tries to distinguish Āgamas and Yāmala from Tantra and also in his Intro. to Sādhnamālā Vol. II pp XXI-XXII. The कौलवलीनिर्णय of ज्ञानानन्दगिरि (Tāntrik Texts, vol. XIV) enumerates numerous tantras including Yāmala in I. 2-14 and names (I 92-93) eight gnrns.

1691. Dr. Bhattacharya in Intro. to Guhyasamāja p. XXXIV holds that Asaṅga is probably the author of the Guhyasamāja and therefore that work belongs to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. One has only to read the Mahā-yānaśūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga ed. by Sylvain Levi; and compare its refined and correct Sanskrit with the rather barbarous Sanskrit of the Guhyasamāja to come to the conclusion that the latter is not Asaṅga's work. There is no evidence to prove that Guhyasamāja belongs to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. It is probably two or more centuries later than that; Bagchi ('Studies in Tantras' p. 41) is against identifying Asaṅga, the author of Sādhana No. 159, with the great teacher of Yogācāra,

cycle of births and deaths) for all men but to be secured by following the path laid down by the Tantras. As the number of published Hindu Tantras is considerable, reference will be made mainly to a few viz. Kulārṇava, Pārāṇandasūtra, Prapañcasāra, Māhānirvāṇatantra, Vāmakeśvaratantra (Ānan. ed.), Śakti-sangamatantra, Śāradātīlaka and in the case of the Buddhist tantras to Āryamañjuśrīmūla-kalpa, Guhyasamāyatantra, Prajñopāyavinīścayasiddhi, Jñānasiddhi, Sādhana-mālā, Sekoddeśatikā. The purpose of most Buddhist Tantras is to indicate a short path for attaining Buddha-hood through Yoga practices and they introduce the element of Śakti for Yogic practices and for securing miraculous powers (called *siddhis*). In the History of Dharmaśāstra not much need be said about Buddhist Tantras except for comparison and stress will have to be laid on the Hindu Tantras alone. The philosophical aspects of Tāntrik culture may be studied in the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, the Vāmakeśvara-tantra, Tantrarāja, the works on Kāśmīr Śaivism, works of Bhāskara-rāja, Bhāvanopaniṣad. This last is a late work dignified with the title of Upaniṣad, as it deals with *bhāvanā* and summarises the Vāsanāpātala of Tantrarājatantra (vide Intro. to the latter p. 3). There are also Vaiṣṇava Tāntras like the Gautamiya-tantra (D. C. ms. No. 1120 of 1886-1892) and Kramadīpikā of Keśava (who was a successor of Nimbārka) with the commentary of Govinda Vidyāvinoda (published in the Chowkhamba S. series), which are not referred to in this work from considerations of space. Vide Agnipurāṇa 39. 1-7 for the names of twenty-five Vaiṣṇava Tantras dealing with the establishment of Viṣṇu image and other matters and Māheśvara-tantra 26. 16-20.

The Hindu tantras which are supposed to have embodied dialogues between Śiva and Devī or Skanda or Bhairava and rarely others as in Dattātreya-tantra (D. C. ms. No. 962 of 1887-91) endeavour to show that they base themselves on the Vedas, Āgamas, Smṛtis and Purāṇas, that there is an easier and quicker way to the final goal of mokṣa and they often quote Vedic verses. For example, in the Kulārṇava, Śiva says to Devī 'I churned the great ocean of Vedas and Āgamas with the churning handle of (correct) knowledge. I knew the essence of these and took out the Kuladharmā,¹⁶⁹² that the Kaulaśāstras are autho-

1692 मयित्वा ज्ञानदण्डेन वेदानममहार्णवम् । सारज्ञेन मया देवि कुलधर्मः सखद्वत् ॥
कुलार्णवः II. 10, the पारानन्दसूत्र III. 64 is almost the same 'मयित्वा ज्ञानमन्थेन
(Continued on next page)

ritative like Vedic texts and should not be nullified by ratiocination.' The same Tantra further asserts 'one who has studied the four Vedas but is ignorant of Kuladharmas is inferior to a cāṇḍāla, while a cāṇḍāla who knows Kuladharma is superior to a brāhmaṇa. If all dharmas such as sacrifices, pilgrimages and vratas are put on one side and Kuladharmas on another side, Kula (dharma) is superior.'¹⁶⁹³ It is, therefore necessary to understand what is meant by Kula or Kuladharmas. The Guhya-samāja¹⁶⁹¹ states that Guhya means the three viz. body, speech and mind and 'samāja' means 'coming together', that Kula may comprehend five matters or three or 101 and that Guhya (as defined) is *trikula*.¹⁶⁹⁵ God Śaṅkara¹⁶⁹⁵ declared five tattvas, viz. wine, flesh, fish, mudrā (hand and finger poses or the woman helper of a yogin) and sexual intercourse, that are acts that become the means for the attainment of the position of a *vīra* and that the mantra of Śakti does not confer perfection unless one follows the practices of Kula; therefore a person

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वेदागममार्गानम् । पारमर्शमत सुदृ रसज्ञेन मयोद्भूतम् ॥ इति (p. 7): 'कुलशास्त्राणि सर्वाणि मयैकोक्तानि पार्यन्ति । प्रमाणानि न सन्देहो न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥ देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च मधुनाता क्रतायते । स्वादिष्टया मदिष्टया क्षीरे सर्वेनोद्वजम् । हिरण्यपायाः स्यादिश्च अभयम् पुरुषं पशुम् । क्षीराक्षुपेयादित्यायाः प्रमाणं श्रुतम् । त्रिविधं कुलार्णवम् II. 139-141 देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च is वायु 74. 15, मधु ..यते is Rg I. 90 6, स्वादि...ष्टया is Rg. IX. 1 1, क्षीरे...द्वजम् is Rg IX. 67, 32, हिरण्यपाया is in Rg IX. 86. 43. Most of the Vedic references are cleverly chosen to suggest sweet wine and flesh.

1693. एकत. सकला धर्मा यज्ञतीर्थव्रतादयः । एकत. कुलधर्मश्च तत्र कौलोऽधिकः त्रिविधः । चतुर्विधो कुलाज्ञानी स्वपचादधम त्रिविधः । स्वपचोऽपि कुलाज्ञानी ब्राह्मणादतिरिच्यते ॥ कुलार्णव-तन्त्र II 11 and 67 Vide महानिर्णयतन्त्र IV 42 for almost the same words.

1694. त्रिविधं कायवाक्चित्तं गृह्यमित्यभिधीयते । समाजं भोजनं शोकं सर्वबुद्ध्याभिधानकम् ॥ गृह्यसमाजं 18th पटल p. 152, पञ्चमं त्रिकुलं चैव स्वभावैकज्ञतं कुलम् ।... तन्त्र पञ्चकुलं शोकं त्रिकुलं गृह्यमुच्यते । ibid. p. 153

1695. वीरसाधनकर्माणि पञ्चतरोदितानि च । मय मासं तथा मत्स्यसुद्धामैथुनमेव च । एतानि पञ्च तत्त्वानि त्वया शोक्तानि शङ्कर । महानिर्णय I 57 ; साधकः are of three kinds पशु, वीर and विषय । Vide शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र, कौलाखण्ड VI. 21, महानिर्णय I. 51 and 55, IV. 18-19, कौलावलीनिर्णय VII. 186. कुलाचारं विना देवि शक्तिमन्त्रो न सिद्धिः । तस्मात्कुलाचारतः साधयेच्छक्तिसाधनम् । मय मासं तथा मत्स्य सुद्धा मैथुनमेव च । शक्तिपूजा-विधावाद्ये पञ्चतन्त्रं प्रतीतिरितम् ॥ महानिर्णय V. 21-22, आद्ये is vocative of आद्या applied to शक्ति, the spouse of शिव । The कौलावलीनिर्णय states चाष्टिका पूजयेद्यस्तु विना पञ्चमकारकैः । चत्वारि तस्य नश्यन्ति आयुर्विद्या यशो धनम् ॥ मय मासं मैथुनमेव च । .. मकारपञ्चकं देवि देवताभीतिदायकम् ॥ विना पञ्चोपचारं हि देवीपूजा करोति यः । योगिनीनां भवेद्भक्ष्यं पापं चैव पदे पदे ॥ IV 24-28, besides, कौलावलीनिर्णय II. 101-105 are more striking : सस्थाप्य वामभागे तु शक्तिं स्वामिपरायणाम् ।... विना शक्त्या तु या पूजा विफलं नात्र संशयः । तस्माच्छक्तिपुतो वीरो भवेच्च यत्नपूर्वकम् । या शक्तिः सा महादेवी हरकृपासु साधकः । अन्योन्यचिन्तनाच्चैव देवत्वमुपजायते ।... शक्तिं विनापि पूजाया नाधिकारी भवेत्तदा ॥

should be devoted to the Kula practices whereby he would attain to the sādhanā of Śakti; wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse—these are declared to be the five tattvas in the procedure of the worship of Śakti. In another place the Mahānirvāṇa¹⁶⁹⁶ says that the individual soul, *prakṛti*, space, time, *ākāśa*, earth, water, fire and Vāyu—these are called 'Kula' and that way of life whereby one looks upon all these as *brakma* without distinction is called Kulācāra, that confers the four goals viz. dharma, artha, kāma and moksa. The Śaktisangama-tantra states that Kula means the *upāsakas* (worshippers)¹⁶⁹⁷ of Kālī. The Kulārṇava states 'Kula means gotra and that springs from Śakti and Śiva; that man is called Kaulika who knows that moksa is secured from that (i. e. Śakti and Śiva). Śiva is called 'Akula' and Śakti is called 'Kula', those who contemplate on Kula and Akula are the wise kaulikas." Various other definitions are given in Guhyasamāja (Ist patala p. 6), in the Preface p. VIII of the Śaktisangama tantra, Tārākhanda. But the same Tantra clinches the matter by declaring that "Śakti is known as *Kula*; her worship and the like are described; that should be known as 'Kulācāra', which is difficult of attainment even for gods. Worship, done with these alone viz. wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse, is known as Kulācāra." The Pārānanda-sūtra¹⁶⁹⁸ provides that the highest self is one,

1696 जीवः प्रकृतितत्त्वं च दिक्कालाकाशमेव च । क्षित्यतेजोवायुश्च कुलमित्यभिधीयते ।
ब्रह्मद्वयं निर्विकल्पमेतेषां चरणं च यत् । कुलाचारः स एवाद्ये धर्मकामार्थमोक्षदः ॥ महानिर्वाणः
VII 97-98. In VII. 109-110 it identifies the five तत्त्वाः, मद्य, मांस, मत्स्य, सुद्रा and नैथुन with the five elements viz. तेजः (अग्नि), पवन, आपः, पृथिवी and विद्युत्.

1697. श्रीकारुण्यपासका ये च तत्कुलं परिकीर्तितम् । तेषां समूहो देवेशि कुलं सङ्कीर्तितं
मया ॥ शक्तिसङ्ग्रह, कालीखण्ड chap 3 32, मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यं सुद्रा नैथुनमेव च ।
एभिरेव कृता पूजा कुलाचारः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ शक्तिसङ्ग्रह, ताराखण्ड, 36th पटल, verses
18-20; कुलं गोत्रं समाख्यात तच्च शक्तिशिवाद्भवम् । येन मोक्ष इति ज्ञानं कौलिकः सोभि-
धीयते ॥ अकुलं शिव इत्युक्तं कुलं शक्तिः प्रकीर्तिता । कुलाकुलादसन्धानादिपुणाः कौलिकाः
प्रिये ॥ कुलाण्येव 17. 26-27 The पञ्चमकार-शोधनविधि (ms D. C. No. 994 of
1891-95 folio 13 b) states 'मद्य...नैथुनमेव च । वाग्यदीना (ने.?) न लभ्यन्ते मकाराः पञ्च
दुर्लभाः ॥'

1698 एकः परमात्मा । ईश्वराः सप्त । असंख्या जीवाः । ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवसूर्यगणेशशक्ति-
भैरवाश्चेश्वराः । पारानन्दे मते त्रयो मार्गाः । दक्षिणः । वामः । उत्तरः । तथैव गाथासुदहर्णिनो
दक्षिणादुत्तमं वामं वामादुत्तरमुत्तमम् । उत्तरादुत्तमं किञ्चिन्नैव ब्रह्माण्डमण्डले । वामाचारी
द्विप्रकारी मध्यमोत्तममयेन । मध्यमैथुनसुद्राभिर्युक्तोऽसादुत्तमः स्मृत इति । मध्यमांसमत्स्य-
सुद्रानैथुनैर्युक्तो मध्यमः । पारानन्दसूत्र (G. O. S) pp 1-3, 13, compare कुलार्णवतन्त्र
II. 7-8 'वैष्णवादुत्तमं शैवं शैवाद् दक्षिणमुत्तमम् । दक्षिणादुत्तमं वामं वामाद् सिद्धान्तमुत्तमम् ।
सिद्धान्तादुत्तमं कौल कौलात्यन्तरं नहि । ' वामाचारः was possibly so called because
woman (वामा) played an important part in it or it was secretly practised
(which is a crooked way)

that there are seven Lords (Īśvara) viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Śakti and Bhairava, that individual souls are countless, that there are three *mārgas* (paths) viz. Daksina, Vāma and Uttara, each succeeding one being superior to each preceding one, that Daksina-mārga is the one declared in the Veda, smṛtis and purāṇas, that the Vāma (way) is declared by the Veda and Āgamas, while the third (Uttara) is the one declared by the words of the Veda and of the Guru and that the Guruvākya is that of one's guru who is himself *Jīvan-mukta* and who gives instruction as to a mantra. That sūtra further provides that the Vāmācāra is of two kinds, *madhyama* (middling) and *uttama* (best), that *uttama* is the one which is concerned with wine, sexual intercourse and hand poses, while *madhyama* is one where all five, wine, flesh, fish, *mudrā* and *maithuna* are resorted to. It should be noticed that the Tantras themselves designate the use of five *makāras* in worship as Vāmācāra and not their orthodox partisans of Yoga, as Heinrich Zimmer alleges in 'The art of Indian Asia' vol I. p 130 Pārāṇandasūtra¹⁶⁹⁹ prescribes that the disciple has to undergo *dīksā* (consecration) from a qualified guru, who instructs the disciple as to the mantra, who holds a mouthful of water in his own mouth and passes it into the mouth of the disciple that accepts the mantra while he gulps down the water. This procedure applies if the guru is a brāhmaṇa, but if the guru is a ksatriya he should recite the mantra in the right ear of the disciple. The Tantrarāja-tantra provides that the guru should wait for 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 years according as the intending disciple belongs to the four varṇas or to a mixed caste, should test his qualities and devotion and then communicate to him the mantra; otherwise, both guru and disciple would come to grief (Tāntrik Texts, vol VIII. II. 37-38) Most works on Tantra provide that the knowledge conveyed by the guru and worship with five *makāras* must be kept secret and if made public falling in hell is the result. Vide Parasurāma-kalpasūtra I. 12 and Śaktisāṅgama-tantra¹⁷⁰⁰ After undergoing *dīksā* and receiving the mantra the disciple has to follow the orders

1699. प्रत्यद्युखं उदद्युखं शिष्यं तद्विदमन्त्रमुपदिशेत् । मन्त्रं ग्राहयित्वा शुचर्जलगण्डं धृत्वा मन्त्रं जप्त्वा शिष्यमुखे निक्षिपेत् । निगिरन्नेव शिष्यो मन्त्रं गृह्णीयात् । एव ब्राह्मणोपदेशकः ॥ क्षत्रध्वेनमन्त्रं ग्राहयित्वापदिशेद् दक्षिणे कर्णे । पारानन्दसूत्र p. 5 sūtras 12-16

1700. आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो रूपं तच्च देहव्यवस्थितम् । तस्याभिव्यक्तता. पञ्च मकारा, तेरर्वर्णे शुद्ध्या, माकट्याक्षिरयः । परशुरामकल्पसूत्र I 12, वेदशास्त्रपुराणानि स्पष्टा वेदशास्त्रना द्वयः इयं तु शास्त्रवी विद्या शुभा कुलवधूति ॥ सुखं कौलिकाचारमनुगृह्णन्ति देवताः । वाञ्छासिद्धिं प्रयच्छन्ति नाशयन्ति मकाराक्षणे ॥ शक्तिसङ्घन, तारा 36. 24-25

of the guru till the former has a vision of the deity.¹⁷⁰¹ Guru is higher than all other men, mantra is higher than guru, the deity is higher than the mantra and the highest self is higher than the *devat  *. In order to attain *siddhis* the guru is to be served by disciples with devotion in all ways. There is only one way viz. *bhakti* (devotion) for those (disciples) that long for worldly pleasures, heaven or moksa, as the *  ruti* says 'there is no other way'. *Jivan-mukti*¹⁷⁰² means 'to have a vision of the Deity worshipped' and 'one who is liberated, though living, is not tainted by his acts, whether meritorious or otherwise'. This doctrine closely follows what is said in some of the Upanisads about the man who has realised *brahma* that 'he shakes off *punya* and *p  pa* and having cast aside the body he reaches the world of *brahma*; he does not return i. e. he never again undergoes *sams  ra*'. One should strive for that stage. Therefore one who has obtained correct knowledge should become a *bhakta* (devotee). All these, viz. one in distress, the seeker after knowledge, one who seeks some desired object and one who has obtained correct knowledge, are noble, but the man, who has knowledge about God, when he becomes a devotee, reaches the world of the Highest Self, as the Vedic words say 'one who knows *brahma* reaches the Highest'. With all this sublime philosophy as the background the P  r  nandas  tra frankly provides that the guru, after completing the worship up to the offering of a handful of flowers and having offered into fire some food, should make a collection of *mak  ras*, should again come to the place for worshipping the Deity and offer food into fire, should hand over to the neophyte a bowl for drinking wine,

1701. मन्त्रदीक्षातः प्राग्देवतासाक्षात्काराद्बुद्धिज्ञाप्यो भवति । सर्वेभ्यः परो गुरुर्गुरुः परो मन्त्रो मन्त्रात्परा देवता देवतायाः परः परमात्मैति भावयेत् । भोगस्वर्गापवर्गकाक्षिणा भक्तिरेवैकः पन्था नान्यः पन्था इति श्रुतिः । पारानन्द pp 6-7 s  tras 35, 38, 59. The   vet  t  r  p III, 8 and VI, 15 have 'तमेव विदित्वातिमृद्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽप्यनाय'. This half verse also occurs in वाज सं. 31. 18

1702. स्रोपास्यदर्शनं जीवन्मुक्तिः जीवन्मुक्तो न कर्मभिलिप्स्यते पुण्यैः पापैर्वा । न स पुनरावर्तते । न स भूयः संसारं सम्पद्यति । तस्मात्तद्वर्ति यतितव्यम् । ज्ञानी भक्तो भवेत् । आर्तजिज्ञास्यार्थिज्ञानिन उदारास्तत्रैश्वर्यं ज्ञानी भक्त एव परमात्मलोकं प्राप्नोति ब्रह्मविदामिति परमिति शब्दात् । पारानन्द p. 9 s  tras 3-8. The words न च पुनरावर्तते occur in छा. उप. VIII 15 at the end and the words 'ब्रह्मविदामिति परम्' are तै उप. (ब्रह्मानन्द-वह्नि) at the very beginning. The words आर्त-ज्ञानी भक्त एव are borrowed from गीता VII. 16-17 'चतुर्विधा भजन्ते.. उदाराः सर्वे एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मेव ते मतम् ॥'. Compare सुष्टोत्रोप   III, 1. 3 (तदा विद्वान् पुण्यपापे विधूय निरञ्जनः परमं साम्यमुपैति), छा. उप. VIII 13. महानिर्वाणतन्त्र IV. 22 (ब्रह्मज्ञाने सङ्कल्पके मेध्यामेधं न विद्यते ॥ and VII. 94) (ब्रह्म...को कृत्याकृत्यं न विद्यते ॥).

mudrā, materials for dinner with condiments and a courtesan and should instruct the neophyte, that has accepted the three *makāras* (madya, mudrā and maithuna), as regards the kaula practices.¹⁷⁰³ Then the Pārānanda-sūtra devotes two pages (16-17) to the kauladharmas taught to the neophyte, from which a few striking passages may be cited. "A young¹⁷⁰⁴ courtesan is Śakti incarnate, is *brahma*; women are gods and the very life-breath and are ornaments (of the world); they should not be censured nor angered"; 'after worshipping the gods and gurus in the way laid down by the Veda and the Tantras a man does not incur sin if he drinks wine while remembering god or has sexual intercourse with a courtesan. He who partakes of wine and the rest merely for pleasing himself falls into a terrible hell. He who giving up the ordinances of śāstra acts as he pleases does not attain *siddhi* in this world, nor heaven nor the Highest goal (*moksa*). A worshipper should drink wine only up till his eyes do not begin to roll and up till his mind does not become unsteady; to drink beyond that stage is bestial'. The Pārānandasūtra (pp. 70-71) describes the procedure of a festival (Utsavavidhi) among Tantrikas. The mantra is 'Īśvarātman, tava dāsoham', which may be given to even a cāṇḍāla or may be accepted from a oāṇḍāla. It is further provided that the followers of Vāma-mārga may employ the following mantras about the three makāras, that (the best among)

1703 शुक्र. पुष्पाञ्जल्यन्तामर्चां विधाय हुत्वा हवि. प्रतिपश्यगारं प्रविश्य मकारत्रय-
सुररीकुल्य पुनर्देवतागारमागत्य हुत्वा देवता ससमस्तमण्डलामग्न्यर्च्य नवशिष्यायालिपात्रं
समुद्रं सग्न्यजनभोजनसम्भारं सवेद्याकं प्रयच्छेत्।. ग्रहीतमकारत्रयं नम्यं शिष्य कौलिक-
धर्माक्षुपदिशेत्। पारानन्द pp. 15-16, sūtras 56 and 63

1704 स्वेच्छाकृतुमती शक्तिः साक्षाद् बह्व न संशयः। तस्मात्ता पूजयेद्भक्त्या बधालङ्कार-
भोजनैरिति॥ स्त्रियो देवा स्त्रियः याणाः स्त्रिय एव हि भूषणम्। स्त्रीणा निन्दा न कर्तव्या न च ताः
क्रोधयेदपि॥ इति। देवाम् शुक्रसमग्न्यर्च्य वेदतन्त्रोक्तवर्मना। देवं स्मरन् पिबन् मद्यं वेद्या
गच्छन् दोषभाक्॥ इति। सेवेदात्मसुखार्थं यो मद्यादिकमशास्त्रतः। स याति नरकं घोरं नात्र
कार्यं विचारणा॥ य शास्त्रविधिः. परा गतिम्॥ इति। यावत् चलते दृष्टिर्भाव चलते मनः।
तावत्पानं प्रकुर्वीत पशुपागमितपरम्॥ इति। जीवस्तुक्तः पिबेदेवमग्न्यथा पतितो भवेत्॥ इति।
पारानन्द pp. 16-17 sūtras 64, 65, 74-76, 80-81 Extravagant praise is
bestowed on women in several tantras such as in Śaktisāhagama-tantra,
Kālikāhanda 3 142-144 and Tārākāhanda 13, 43-50 and in कौलावलीनिर्णय X, 88
The half verse 'स्त्रियो . भूषणम्' occurs in शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र, ताराखण्ड 23 10 The
verse य. शास्त्रं is भगवद्गीता 16. 23 For यावत्. परम् compare कुलार्णवतन्त्र VII.
97-98. The कुलार्णव states that every woman is born in the *kula* of the great
Mother and so one should not beat a woman even with a flower even if she
be guilty of a hundred misdeeds, one should not mind the faults of women
and should make known only their good points (XI, 64-65). Vide also
कौलावलीनिर्णय X. 66-69

Vāmācāras should resort to. They are: 'I take this holy nectar, which is a medicine (antidote) for *samsāra*, which is a means of cutting off the snares by which the *paśu* (in man) is bound and which is declared by Bhairava' (this when taking the first i. e. wine); 'I take this mudrā which is 'ucchista' of the Lord (i. e. which has been first offered to God), which destroys the torments of the heart, which produces joy and which¹⁷⁰⁵ is enriched with other food materials' (this when taking mudrā); 'I take this divine young woman who has drunk wine, that always makes the heart full of bliss and that brings about my *sādhana*' (when taking one of the women that are brought together).

The Hindu Tantra works present two sides, one philosophical and spiritual, the other popular, practical and more or less magical, which relies on mantras, mudrās, mandalas, *nyāsas*, *cakras* and *yantras* as physical means to realize one's identity with the Supreme Power or Energy by concentration and as conferring extraordinary powers on the devotee. This may be illustrated by reference to two typical tantras, the Śāradātilaka and the Mahānirvāna-tantra. The Mahānirvāna-tantra, though it speaks of the five makāras as means of *upāsana* and though it states that when the great Tantra is understood, the Vedas, Purānas and śāstras are hardly¹⁷⁰⁶ of any use, puts forward the striking conception in IV. 34-47 that Parameśvara is one and to be described as *sat*, *cit* and *ānanda*, that He is one without a second, is beyond the *gunas* and is to be known from the Vedānta texts. It further on says that the best mantra is 'om sac-cidekam brahma' (III. 14), that those who perform the *upāsana* of the Highest Brahma do not require other means of worship (*sādhana*); by sticking to this mantra man becomes *brahma*. In the 4th chap. however, the Mahāparinirvāna starts by saying that Durgā is the highest prakṛti of Paramātmā, she has various names such as Kālī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bagalā, Bhairavī, Chhinnamastakā, that she is Sarasvatī, Laksmī and Śakti, that she assumes various forms for securing the purpose of her devotees and for the destruction of demons. In the Kaliyuga perfection cannot be attained without following *kula* practices, which lead

1705. Mudrā has not here the sense of 'hand and finger poses' but one of the meanings that will be noted under mudrā later

1706. किं वेदैः किं इराणैश्च किं शास्त्रैर्वह्निभिः शिषे । विज्ञातेऽस्मिन्महातन्त्रे सर्वसिद्धीश्वरो भवेत् ॥ महानिर्वाण II. 31.

to the knowledge of brahma and the man who possesses knowledge of brahma is a liberated soul, though living (he is *Jivanmukta*). Then there is high praise (IV. 10 ff) of Devi who is spoken of as the primordial Śakti (*ādyā paramā śakti*) and all gods including Śiva himself derive their powers from this Highest Śakti. A rather astounding statement is made in 1707 the words 'as there was partaking of wine and the rest in Satya, Tretā and Dvāpara yugas, one should do the same in Kali-yuga, but in accordance with the *kula* way, and that Kali does not affect those who give to the truthful Yogin the five tattvas (wine &c.) sanctified according to the *kula* way'. Then a mantra of ten syllables is declared 'hrim śrim kṛim parama-svari¹⁷⁰⁸ svāhā', by merely listening to which a man becomes *jivanmukta*. Then by various combinations of the mystic syllables with Paramaśvari and Kālīka twelve mantras are produced (V. 18). But the mantras do not confer siddhi unless the *kulācāra* way is followed viz. the five tattvas 'madya' &c. are offered (V. 22-23). Then a Gāyatri mantra is set out (V. 62-63) as 'ādyāyai vidmahe Paramaśvaryai dhīmahi | tan-nah Kālī pracodayāt ||', which is to be muttered thrice daily. The Sāṅkhya tattvas, Prakṛti, Mahat, Ahankāra &c. are welded on to the worship of Śakti and the Vedic mantra 'Hamsaḥ śucisad' (Rg IV. 40. 5) with the Tāntrik *bija* Hrim (V. 197). The Tantra gives directions for the sanctification of flesh (V. 206-208, where Rg. I 22. 20 'tadvisnoh paramam padam' is employed), of fish (V. 209-210) where the mantra 'Tryambakam' (Rg. VIII. 59. 12) is employed, of mudrā (V. 211-212 where the mantras 'Tad Visnoh paramam' and 'tad-viprāso' Rg. I. 22. 20-21, are employed) to be offered to Devi. The Mahānirvāṇatantra

1707. सत्यत्रेताद्वापरेषु यथा मद्यादिसेवनम् । कलावपि तथा कुर्यात् कुलवर्त्मनुसारतः ॥
...कुलमार्गेण तत्त्वानि शोधितानि च योगिने । ये द्रव्य सत्यवचसे न हि तान् वापते कलि ।
महानिर्वाण IV. 56 and 60. It may be stated here that in the two editions of the Mahānirvāṇ there is a difference of a few verses here and there

1708 In the *tantra* works the letters of the *bijas* in mantras are often indicated in a roundabout or mystic way. One example about the *magical* बीज ह्रीं may be set out here. प्राणेश्वरैजसराखण्डो भेरुण्डा व्योमविन्दुमान् (महानिर्वाण V. 10), here ह is प्राणेश, र is तेजस, ई is भेरुण्डा, व्योमविन्दु is अनुस्वार and this gives the *bija* ह्रीम्; ह्रीं and क्रीं are described in नित्यापोढशिक्षा (I. 162-64) in a similar way. ह्रीं and श्रीं are respectively the बीज of माया (or भुवनेश्वरी) and of लक्ष्मी. Vide मातृकानिघण्टु (Tāntrik Texts Vol I. 5-22, pp 26-34 for बीजानिघण्टु, pp 35-45 for मातृकानिघण्टु i. e. for ओम् and letters of the alphabet from अ to क्ष) Every *bija* mantra must have the *bindu* on it, as in Hrim, Srim, Krim &c. 'विन्दुयोगं विना बीजत्वायोगात्' (सिद्धवन्तः p 50 on नित्यापोढशिक्षाणव).

(18th century) being composed after Śāktism had come into great ridicule and obloquy is rather sober.¹⁷⁰⁹ It says that women of good birth should simply smell wine and not drink it, while householder *sādhakas* should drink only as much as is contained in five cups, since by drinking too much men of good family incur the loss of *siddhi*, and should drink only so long as the wine quaffed does not make their eyes roll or does not make their mind confused. As to the last tattva (*maithuna*) the *sādhaka* was to confine himself to the woman he chooses as his Śakti (VI. 14) and if his wife is alive he is not to touch another woman with a vicious intent, otherwise he would go to hell.¹⁷¹⁰ In keeping with its desire to present respectability along with *tāntrik* practices, the Mahānirvāṇa devotes chapter VIII. to the duties of *varnas* and *āśramas*, the duties of the king, the duties of servants in general, provides¹⁷¹¹ that persons of all *varnas* are to marry within the *varna* and dine with persons of the same *varna*, except when engaged in *Bhairavī cakra* and *Tattva-cakra* (VIII. 150), when men of all *varnas* are like the best *brāhmanas*, and no consideration of the castes of the participants arises nor any question about *ucchiṣṭa*. It prescribes that no one has the *adhikāra* to engage in the performance of *Tattvacakra* unless he is a *sādhaka* endowed with knowledge of *brahma*. In that *cakra* the *tattvas* (wine and the others) should be collected and placed in front of the Devi, the mantra 'Hamsaḥ' (Rg. IV. 40. 5) should be recited over all *tattvas* and the *tattvas* should be offered to the Highest Self with the verse 'Brahmārpanam brahma havir' (Bhagvadgītā IV. 24 = Mahānirvāṇa VIII. 214)

1709. अलिपानं कुलस्त्रीणां गन्धस्वीकारलक्षणम् । साधकानां युहस्थानां पञ्चपात्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ अतिपात्रात्कुलीनानां सिद्धिदानिः प्रजायते । यावत् चालयेद्दण्डं यावत् चालयेन्ननः । तावत्पानं प्रकुर्वीत पञ्चपात्रमनन्तरम् ॥ महानिर्वाणः VI. 194 The cup should be of gold or silver or of glass or of coccoanut shell but should not be more than five *tolakas* in capacity and not less than three 'पात्रपात्रं प्रकुर्वीत न पञ्चतोलकाधिकम् । तोलकात्रितयावदयुतं स्वर्गं राजतमेव च । अथवा काञ्चनजितं नारिकेलोद्भवं च वा । महानिर्वाणः VI. 187-188. For similar provisions about पात्रपात्रं, compare कौलवलीर्निर्णयः VIII. 55-56.

1710. स्थितेषु स्वीयदारेषु स्त्रियमन्यां न संस्पृशेत् । दुष्टेन चेतसा विद्वानन्यथा नारकी भवेत् ॥ महानिर्वाणः VIII. 40.

1711. संगते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजोत्तमाः । निवृत्ते भैरवीचके सर्वे वर्णाः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ नामजातिविचारेति नोच्छिष्टादिविवेचनम् । चक्रमध्ये गता वीरा मम रूपा नराख्यया । चक्राद्विनिरुताः सर्वे स्वस्ववर्णाभ्योदितान् । लोकयात्रायामसिद्धयर्थं कुर्युः कर्मे पृथक् पृथक् ॥ महानिर्वाणः VIII. 179-180, 197. The verse प्रवृत्ते भैरवीचके...पृथक् पृथक् occurs also in कौलवलीर्निर्णयः VIII. 48-49 भैरवीचक्र and तत्तत्तत्तत् are described in महानिर्वाणः VIII. 154-176 and VIII. 204-219 respectively

and all the sādhakas should engage in drinking and eating.¹⁷¹² Chap. IX enumerates and describes ten *samskāras* from garbhādhāna to marriage for members of the three varnas and nine for śūdras (omitting *upanayana*), wherein Vedic mantras are prescribed as in the Dharmasūtras and smṛtis. One interesting item is what is called Śaiva marriage, which is of two kinds, one entered into according to the rules of *cakra* and the other lasting for life. It is further provided that in Śaiva marriage¹⁷¹³ no question of *varna* or age arises and that if a man has children from a wife married in the *brāhma* form and also children of a Śaiva marriage, it is only the former that take as heirs and the latter are entitled only to food and raiment (IX. 261-264). Chapters X, XI, XII of the Mahānirvāṇa deal respectively with *śrāddhas*, *prāyaścittas* for sins and *vyarāhāna*.

It is necessary now to turn to the Śāradātilaka which belongs to about the 11th century A. D. That work is divided into 25 *patalas* and contains over 4500 verses. It presents in the beginning a somewhat abstruse and involved philosophy. It says that Śiva is both *nirguna* and *saguna*, the former being different from Prakṛti, the latter being associated with Prakṛti. Then it describes the order of evolution and manifestation as follows:—From the Saguna Paramesvara described as “*Sac-cidānanda-vibhava*” Śakti¹⁷¹⁴ proceeds; from the latter arises *nāda* (para) and from *nāda* arises *bindu* (para) which is divided into three viz. *bindu* (apara), *nāda* (apara) and *bija*; the first is identified with Śiva, *bija* being Śakti and *nāda* being the coming together of the two (Śiva and Śakti). Śakti creates the worlds, she is *śabda-brahma* (I. 56) and is called *parāśakti* (I. 52) and *para-devatā* (I. 57). She flashes like lightning in the *ādhāra-cakra*.¹⁷¹⁵

1712. ततो ब्राह्मेण मनुज समर्प्य परमात्मने। ब्रह्मज्ञे। साधकैः साधं विद्वत्प्राप्तान-
भोजनम्॥ महासिर्वाण VIII 216 मनु is often used in the sense of मन्त्र, vide
कुलार्णव XII. 18, बृहदारणितस्तुति VI 161, 163 मन्त्र and मनु are both derived
from the same root ‘man’ to think. The ब्राह्म-मनु is औ सच्चिदेक ब्रह्म

1713. बयोनर्णविचारोत्र जैवोद्वादे न विद्यते। ibid. IX. 279

1714. Rāghavabhāṭṭa, the very learned commentator of the Śāradā-
tilaka, who composed his commentary in Banaras in Vikrama year 1550
(1494 A. D.) explains that in the Sāṅkhya system Śakti is called Prakṛti, in
Vedānta Māyā and in Śivatantras Śakti

1715. Vide पञ्चकनिरूपण (Tāntrik Texts, vol. II ed by Arthur Avalon)
verses 4-49, Dakṣiṇā-mūrtisambhūṭ VII 11-16 for cakras and “Serpent
Power” (by A. Avalon, ed. of 1953) which contains an English translation
(Continued on next page)

Śakti assumes the form of Kundalinī in the human body. From Śambhu in the form of *bindu* arise in order Sadāśiva, Īśa, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā; from the *avyakta bindu* arise in order the mahat-tattva, ahankāra and the other tattvas mentioned in the Sāṅkhya system. Śakti is all-pervading and yet more subtle than the subtlest, she is the Kundalinī coiled like a serpent and manifests herself in the form of the fifty letters of the Sanskrit alphabet (from 'a' to 'ksa').

Before proceeding further some explanation of the six *cakras* which form an important constituent subject of several tantras is needed. There are said to be six *cakras* (centres) in the human body viz. Ādhāra or Mūlādhāra (at the base of the spine), Svādhīsthāna (near the generative organ), Manipūra (near the navel), Anāhata (near the heart), Viśuddha (near throat), and Ājñā (between the brows). Besides these, there is Brahma-randhra figured as the pericarp of the thousand-petalled lotus

(Continued from last page)

of चक्रानिर्णयण in which plate I shows the positions of the six *cakras* also called lotuses (*padma*), plates II to VII facio p. 336, 365, 370, 382, 392, 414 illustrate the six *cakras* from Mūlādhāra to Ājñā together with their colours, numbers of petals, letters, the devatās in each and other details. These are drawings used by the Yogis. Plate VIII facing p. 430 illustrates 'śaṣṭrāra'. Vide C. W. Leadbeater's work on 'the chakras' (Adyar, 1927), in which the author claims that the illustrations of the *cakras* represent them as they actually appear to those who can see them and on p. 56 he furnishes a table of the colours of the lotus petals as observed by Leadbeater and his friends, and as described in चक्रानिर्णयण, शिवसंहिता and गुरुपुराण. The Rudrayāmala (17th Patala, verse 10) speaks of Kundalinī as 'Ātharvavedacakrasthā Kundalinī paradevatā', verses 21-24 speak of Kundalinī passing from Mūlādhāra-cakra and reaching the crown of the head that has the thousand-petalled lotus, that when united with Śiva he (sādhaka) drinks nectar there. Rudrayāmala (27 58-70) dilates on the six *cakras* and the Śaṣṭrāra together with the *dalas* (petals) and letters assigned to each. A stern warning has to be given that none should try to experiment about the *cakras* by reading books or try to rouse the Kundalinī except under the guidance of a real Master in Yoga, as otherwise very dangerous consequences would follow. Even as regards wrong methods of Prāṇāyāma and Dhāraṇā, the Vāyupurāṇa (chap. XI 37-60) states that Yoga practices by ignorant men result in dullness of intelligence, deafness, dumbness, blindness, loss of memory, premature old age and disease and it specifies certain remedies to cure these defects. The present author knew a person who practised prāṇāyāma continuously for long periods becoming stooped, though otherwise he was strong and muscular, and an expert in car diseases declared on examination that there was no possibility of his recovery by the methods of modern medical science.

within the crown of the head. The cakras are often identified with the nerve plexuses of modern physiology, but the descriptions in Sanskrit works of the Kundalini and the cakras are meant to refer not to the gross body but rather to what is situated in the subtle body that vanishes when a man dies. The idea of the relevant Sanskrit texts is that the Kundalini Śakti ('Kundalin' means a serpent) is asleep in the Mūlādhāra-cakra coiled like a serpent and has to be roused by the practices of Yoga and deep meditation.¹⁷¹⁶ The Śāradātīlaka asks in an eloquent stanza the sādḥaka to meditate upon the Kundalini which when roused passes from the Mūlādhāra-cakra by means of the Susumnā-nāḍī (which is in the centre of the spinal column) through all the six cakras, unites with Śiva in the Sahasrāra (thousand-petalled) cakra and then returns to Mūlādhāra. Each of the six cakras is said to have a certain number of petals viz. 4, 6, 10, 12, 16, 2 (50 in all) in order from Mūlādhāra to Ājñā (vide Rudrayāmala, 17th Pātala, verses 55-56). The letters of the alphabet also are 50 (from 'a' to 'ksa') and they are assigned in groups to the six cakras as follows: ha and ksa to Ājñā, 16 vowels to Viśuddha in the throat, letters ka to tha (12 in all) to Anāhata, letters Da to Pha (10) to Manipūra, ba to la (6 in all) to Svādhisthāna, letters va to sa (4) to Mūlādhāra. Some tantras state the colour of each of the six cakras and identify them with the five elements and the mind. These speculations of the Yoga and Tantras are

1716. देवीभागवत XI 1. 43 Is आधारे लिङ्गनामिकद्वितद्वये तालमूले ललाटे ह्ये पथे पीडशारे द्विदशदशदलद्वादशार्धे चतुष्के। नासान्ते वालमध्ये लफकटसहिते ऋण्डदेशे रसपाणा ह श्वं तत्पार्ययुक्त सकलदलगत वर्णरूप नमामि॥; that nectar flows over कुण्डलिनी when it reaches सहस्रार is stated in verse 47 of the same 'प्रकाशमाना प्रथमे प्रयागे प्रतिप्राणेष्व्युद्युतायमानाम्। अन्तः पद्व्यामनुसञ्चरन्तीमानन्दरूपामवली प्रपद्ये॥, मूलोन्मिद्वयुजङ्गराजमहिषी यान्तीं सुषुम्नान्तरे निष्वाधारसमूहमाशु निलसत्सौदामिनी-सखिभाम्॥ त्रयोमाग्भोजयतेन्दुमण्डलगतद्विष्ट्याद्युतोषुता सम्भाष्य स्वगृह गता पुनरिगे सञ्चिन्तयेत्कुण्डलीम्॥ शारदा 25 65, vide *ibid.* 25. 78 for the वर्ण assigned to the six चक्र मूल and स्वगृह in (verse 65) mean the मूलधारचक्र and सुजङ्गराजमहिषी means कुण्डलिनी. Vide पदचक्रनिरूपण verse 53 also, for the stream of nectar flowing over कुण्डलिनी in सहस्रारपद्म. Vide मन्त्रमहोदधि IV 19-25, ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र (24 45-54), महानिर्वाणतन्त्र V. 113-115, for the number of petals in cakras, their colours, the letters assigned to each and their identification with the five elements and mind and सौन्दर्यलहरी verse 9 'मही मूलधारं...सप्तारं पथे सप्त रक्षसि पत्न्या निरक्षसे॥' for identifying the five elements and the mind with the six cakras. In 'Sarasvatibhavana Studies' Vol II, pp 83-92 Pandit Gopinath Kavirāja describes the system of cakras according to Gorakṣanātha. The रत्नयामल (36. 6-168) sets out 1008 names of कुण्डलिनी, all of which begin with the letter क.

developments of the ancient Upaniṣad theories briefly noticed below.¹⁷¹⁷

Letters form words and words form mantras, that are the power incarnate of Śakti. Then the Śāradātilaka describes āsana, mandapa, kunda, mandala, pithas (on which images of gods are to be placed), dikṣā (initiation), prānapratisthā (vivifying images), production of sacrificial fire. The Śāradātilaka (I. 109 and V. 81-91), the Varivasyārāhasya (II. 80), the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra (I. 4, 'Sat-trimśat tattvāni viśvam') and other Tāntrik and Āgamic works enumerate 36 tattvas (including those of the sāṅkhya system). From chap. VII. to XXIII mantras of different deities, their formation, use and results, abhiśekas and mudrās are described. Yantras are dealt with in chap. XXIV and Yoga in chap. XXV. It must be said to the credit of the Śāradātilaka that it treats of only mantras and mudrās and hardly anywhere treats of the other makāras. The Śāradātilaka has been profusely quoted as an authoritative Tantra by medieval Dharmasāstra writers like Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Kamalākara, Nilakantha, Mitrāmīśra and others. In J. G. J. R. I. vol. III. pp 97-108 M. M. Gopinath Kavirāja contributes a learned paper on nāda, bindu and kalā and takes great pains to elucidate these and hopes that his exposition will make the meaning of these words clear (p. 103). But the author feels grave doubts whether most readers will find the meanings clear.

Many tantras speak of the five makāras as the means of worshipping Devī, as enabling a man to possess miraculous

1717. From the times of the Upaniṣads the heart is likened to a lotus and it is said "There are hundred and one Nādis (arteries or veins) of the heart, one of them penetrates the crown of the head, moving upwards by it a man (who is emancipated) reaches immortality" Vide 'अथ यदिदमस्मिन् ब्रह्मपुरे दहरे शुद्धरीक वेदम दहरोस्मिन्नन्तराकाशस्तस्मिन् यदन्तस्तदन्वेष्टव्यं तद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति । छा. उप. VIII 1. 1. . तदेव श्लोक । शतं चैका हृदयस्य नाड्यस्तासां दूर्धानमभिनिःसृतैका । तयोर्व्यापकसूतत्वमेति विष्वङ्ङन्या उत्क्रमणे भवन्ति । छा. उप. VIII 6. 6 The same verse (शतं चैका) is कठोप. VI 16 and compare यज्ञोप. II 1 6 for a similar statement; compare वे. सू. III 2 7 'तदभावे नाडीषु तच्छ्रुतेरात्मनि च' and IV. 2 17; in the भाष्य on IV. 2 17 शङ्कराचार्य quotes the verse 'शतं चैका' &c. The nibā. on ya. III. 108-109 refers to इन्द्रा, पिङ्गला, सुषुम्णा and ब्रह्मरन्ध्र and the कद्वयामल (VI. 49) speaks of ten nādis of which the three Idā &c represent Soma, Sūrya and Agni नैऋत्युपनिषद् VI. 21 is. अथान्यत्राप्युक्तम् । ऊर्ध्वगा नाडी सुषुम्णाख्या प्राणस्तथाग्निं तावन्तविच्छिन्नाः । The word is written sometimes as सुषुम्णा. The बृह उप. II. 1. 19 speaks of 72000 nādis that start towards Puritāt from the heart and ya. III 108 also says the same,

powers and as leading to final liberation. The Kulārṇava states 'the great Bhairava has prescribed that in the Kaula system Siddhi (perfection) results from those very substances by (resorting to) which (ordinarily) men incur sin'. That means that the Kaula system eradicates poison by poison or, to employ modern terminology, its principles are like those of Homeopathy.¹⁷¹⁸

The Tantras seem to be not unaware that in prescribing the five *makāras* as leading to mukti (final liberation) they were playing with fire. The Kulārṇava itself remarks (II. 117-119 and 123) 'If by merely drinking wine a man were to attain siddhi (miraculous powers, perfection), then all wretched drunkards may attain siddhi. If, by merely eating meat a holy goal were to be secured then all meat-eaters in the world would be holy men. If by mere intercourse with a woman (called *śakti*) mokṣa was to result, then all men in the world may attain liberation. To follow the path (of Kula) is indeed more unattainable than walking on the edge of a sword, than clinging to a tiger's neck, than holding a serpent (in one's hand)' The Kulārṇava prefaces the preceding dicta by the words 'Many, who are devoid of traditional knowledge and who profane (the *śāstra*) by false ideas, imagine that the Kaulika doctrine is this and that, relying on their (poor) intellect' (II. 116)

The Devībhāgavata provides (XI. 1. 25) that so much of tantra as is not opposed to the Veda is undoubtedly authoritative (*vedāvirodhi cet tantram tat pramāṇam na saṁśayaḥ*), but what is opposed to Veda is not authoritative.

There appears to have been great rivalry between the Hindu and Buddhist tantras. The Śaktisāṅgama-tantra, one of the most popular and most exhaustive works on tantra, states that Devī manifests herself for the destruction of Bauddha and other heretical sects, for the removal of the confusing admixture of

1718 येरेव पत्तनं द्रव्यै सिद्धितैरेव चोदिता। श्रीकौलदर्शने चापि भैरवेण महारम्भा। कुलार्णव V. 48, vide ज्ञानसिद्धि (Buddhist tantra) I 15 'कर्मणा येन वै सत्त्वाः कल्पकोटिज्ञानाव्ययि। पश्यन्ते नरके घेरे तेन योगी विहस्यन्ते॥' and compare मञ्जोपायः (Buddhist) V. p. 23 verses 24-25 'जनयित्री स्वसारं च स्वदुर्वी भागिनैयिकाश्च। कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लब्धुं सिद्ध्येत साधकः॥' (both works in 'Two vajrayāna texts,' G O S) Bagchi in 'Studies in tantras' (pp 36-37) shows that according to some Tāntrik works the words जनयित्री, स्वहृद्, भागिनैयी have esoteric meanings and not the ordinary meanings. But in the context in which they are employed in the two vajrayāna texts, it is rather difficult to hold that they are employed in any esoteric or symbolic sense.

different cults, for the establishment of the (true) cult, for the protection of what the brāhmanas stand for and for the perfect attainment of mantra-śāstra.¹⁷¹⁹ The Bauddha tantras, on the other hand, were not slow to retaliate.

It would not be entirely out of place if a few words were devoted to the Bauddha Tantras, particularly of the Vajrayāna. It has already been shown above (pp. 943-44 note 1516) that all Buddhists, whether of the *hīnayāna* or *mahāyāna* type, were required to observe strict rules and regulations such as those of *pañcāśīlas* and of taking refuge with Buddha, Dharma and Sangha and of *dāśāśīlas* (for monks). The goal of nirvāṇa (particularly under Mahāyāna doctrines) could be reached only after a very long time or after several births. As luxuries viz. flesh, fish, wine and women had been banned, the general mass of the people and probably monks also were tired of the strict mode of life and long waiting for the goal. Buddhist Tantras like the Guhyasamāja (that belongs to the Vajrayāna school) provided an easy process by which liberation and even Buddhahood could be secured in a short time and even in¹⁷²⁰ one life and averred that Bodhisattvas and Buddhas attained the seat of *dharma* by enjoying all objects of pleasure as they¹⁷²¹ pleased. The word Vajra means both 'diamond' and 'thunderbolt'. The first meaning appears to have been principally meant in the Guhyasamāja but the 2nd meaning also must have been sometimes intended. Vajra denotes anything which is hard like a diamond. In the Guhyasamājatāntra the word Vajra, either singly or in compounds, occurs hundreds of times. Kāya (body), Vāk (speech) and citta (mind) are called 'trivajra' (Guhya, pp. 31, 35, 36, 43). Numerous other things¹⁷²² are called 'vajra'.

1719. आर्विर्भवति द्वेवेति दिव्यौषधद्वारतः शिवे। बौद्धपाण्डनाशार्थं संप्रदायार्थमेव च। संप्रदायसङ्ग्रहाणां विनाशार्थमिहेश्वरि। संप्रदायस्थापनार्थं ब्राह्मण्यरक्षणाय च। मन्त्रशास्त्रस्य सिद्धयर्थमाविर्भवति पार्वति। शक्तिसङ्ग्रहः, कालीखण्ड I. 17-19.

1720. तद्विद्वैव जन्मनि शुद्धसमाजामिरतो बोधिसत्त्वः सर्वव्यागतानां बुद्ध इति संख्यां गच्छति। शुद्धसं p 144; vide ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 4 ये तु सत्त्वाः समाहृताः सर्वसङ्कल्पवर्जिताः। ते स्पृशन्ति परा बोधिं जन्मनीद्वैव साधकाः॥ and also प्रज्ञोपायः V. 16.

1721. सर्वकामोपभोगैश्च सेव्यनानैर्यथेच्छतः। अनेन खलु योगेन लघु बुद्धत्वमाप्नुयात्॥ दुष्कारैर्नियमैस्त्वित्रैः सेव्यनानो न सिध्यति॥... बुद्धाश्च बोधिसत्त्वाश्च मन्त्रचर्यामचारिणः। प्राज्ञा धर्मास्तत्र भ्रेष्ट सर्वकामोपसेवनैः॥ शुद्धस 7th पटल p. 27.

1722. Vide Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature' (English tr.) vol. I, p 388 for the application of the word 'vajra' to many things. It may

(Continued on next page)

such as the *sūnya* (the Absolute of the Mādhyamaka school) and also *Vijñāna* (consciousness), which is the sole reality according to the Yogācāra school, and the *Mahāsukha* (Bliss) added by the Śāktas. It also means the male organ in the mystic language of Śāktas. Though the original Buddhist rules insisted on *ahimsā*, *Guhyasamāja* permitted several kinds of flesh, such as that of elephants, horses, dogs and even human¹⁷²³ flesh. Early Buddhism insisted upon truthfulness and continence (*brahmacharya*); *vajrayāna*, being an innovating revolt, allowed the killing of all animals, speaking untruth, intercourse with women (including even incest with the mother, sister¹⁷²⁴ and daughter) and appropriating wealth not donated by any one. This was called *vajramārga* (the path of vajra), which is said to have been the doctrine of all Buddhas.

The *Prajñopāya* (I. 20) describes the state reached by the *Vajrayāna* method as follows. 'It is neither duality nor non-duality, it is full of peace, beneficent, present everywhere, to be realised by one's own self, steady (unchanging), undisturbed and full of *Prajñā* (wisdom) and *Upāya* (activity with compas-

(Continued from last page)

be noted that the *Jñānasiddhi* II. 11 (Buddhist work) states 'स्त्रीनिर्घं च यथा परं वज्रं पुसेत्पुंर्य तथा॥' *शून्यता* is called *वज्र* because it is *हृदं सारमसो* (सै!) *शीर्षमच्छेद्याभेद्यलक्षणम्*। अदादि अविनाशि च *शून्यता* वज्रमुच्यते॥ अद्वयवज्रसमग्रं (G. O. S. pp. 23, 37) This is somewhat like the doctrine of *Brahma* and *Ātman* in the *Bhagavadgītā* II. 23-25 (नेन हिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि &c.). *ज्ञानसिद्धि* p. 76 explains: सर्वसत्त्वेषु महाकरुणामाणाञ्जित बोधित्वित्त वज्र इत्यर्थः। I e. वज्र and बोधित्वित्त (Enlightenment) are synonymous च द्वयं नाद्वयं ज्ञानं त्रिवं सर्वत्र सत्स्थितम्। प्रत्यात्मवेद्यमचलं प्रज्ञोपायमनाकुलम्॥ प्रज्ञोपायः I. 20; प्रज्ञापायमिता सेव्या सर्वथा मुक्ति-काशिमिः।...ललनारूपमास्थाय सर्वत्रैव व्यवस्थिता। अतोर्थं वज्रनाथेन प्रोक्ता बाह्यार्थसम्भवा॥ प्रज्ञोपायः V. 22-23.

1723. मासाहारविहृत्यार्थं महामासं प्रकल्पयेत्!...हस्तिमांसं हयमांसं श्वानमांसं तथोत्तमम्। भक्षेदाहारकृत्यार्थं न चाप्यद्भु विभक्षयेत्। म्रियो भवति बुद्ध्याना बोधितसत्त्व-धीनमात्। अनेन खलु योगेन लब्धं बुद्धत्वमाप्तयात्। *युग्यसमाज* 6th पटल p. 26; vide *ज्ञानसिद्धि* of इन्द्रमुनि I. 12-14 for similar verses, प्राणिनश्च त्वया घात्या वक्तव्यं च सुधा वच। अदत्तं च त्वया ग्राह्यं सेवनं योपितामपि॥

1924. अनेन वज्रमार्गेण वज्रसत्त्वान् प्रचोदयेत्। एषो हि सर्वबुद्धानां समयः परम-ज्ञानवतः॥ *युग्यस* 16th पटल p. 120, ये परब्रह्माभिरुता नित्यं कामरताश्च ये।...मातृभगिनी-पुत्रीश्च कामयेयस्तु साधकाः। स सिद्धिं विभुला गच्छेत् महायानाग्रधर्मताम्। *युग्यस* 5th पटल p. 20, 'सर्वबुद्धकृतिताया वा न कुर्याद्वचनानाम्। त्रिवं सर्वकुलोत्पन्ना पूजयेद् वज्रधारिणीम्। चण्डालकुलसम्भूता बोधिका वा विशेषतः। सुमुपित्तकुलोत्पन्ना सेवयन् सिद्धिमाप्नुयात्।' *ज्ञानसिद्धि* I 80 and 82 Vide Dr. Guenther's exposition of this passage and of a similar one from *Prajñopāya*, V. 25 in 'Yuganaddha' pp. 106-109, Vide Dr. S. B. Das-Gupta in 'Introduction to Tāntrik Buddhism' p. 114.

sion) and it further provides (V. 22-23) that 'by those who hanker after liberation perfection of wisdom must be sought (resorted to or adored) in all ways. This perfection of wisdom is everywhere present assuming the form of woman'. Prajñā was linked up with an intense state of emotion called Sukha or Mahāsukha (great bliss). "It being of the nature of endless bliss is designated mahāsukha; it is beneficent all round, most eminent and conduces to complete enlightenment' (Prajñopāya. I, 27) and 'this all Buddha knowledge which is by its nature to be experienced by one's inmost self is called Mahāsukha (great bliss) since it is the most eminent of all pleasures' (Jñānasiddhi VII, 3). The word Prajñā is feminine in gender and therefore some Vajrayāna writers identified Prajñā with woman; by erotic symbolism and far-fetched analogies the cult of woman was started.

Dr. H. V. Guenther has published a book styled 'Yuganaddha' propounding the Tāntrik view of life based only on Buddhist Tantras and endeavours to prove in that work (of about 190 pages) that the Buddhist Tāntrikas try to restore life in its entirety, which is neither an indulgence in passions nor a rejection and escape, but a complete reconciliation to the hard facts of life, that the sexual aspect of the Tantras is but the corrective against the one-sided intellectualism and rationalism of mere philosophy which is unable to cope with the problems of everyday life and that the symbol of Yuganaddha points to the unique harmony and interpenetration of masculinity and femininity, of blunt truth and symbolic truth, of intellect and humanity. It is not possible even to summarize this work or criticize it here. The core of the doctrine of the Vajrayāna tantras is found in the passages quoted in notes 1720-21, 1723-24. The argument is: according to these Tantras perception of wholeness is the most joyous of all human experiences and man's experience will not be full but only partial if he has no experience of femininity i. e. of everything female. He may experience femininity through all female members of his family. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at, says Dr. Guenther, that 'this experience so often has an incestuous character'. Then he offers (on pp 106-112) a lengthy explanation of what he means which, the present author has to confess, is not quite clear to his moderate mental abilities. Dr. Guenther appears to be steeped in all the latest theories of modern psychologists like those of Freud and tries to expound that Buddhist authors of the 8th century A. D. like Anangavajra and Indrabhūti had plumbed the depths of the

psychical life on the lines of modern psycho-analysis. Granting for a moment all that Dr. Guenther says about bi-sexuality, about sexual partnership being the best expression for the most intimate relation between two opposites, about woman being for the male a material object and a goddess, the present writer feels that one question appears to have been not satisfactorily answered or explained, viz. why did not the Buddhist Tātrikas simply exhort the sādḥaka to understand the emotions, viewpoints and value of woman as a mother, sister, wife, daughter or as a woman in general and why did they frequently and blatantly harp upon sexual intercourse of even an incestuous kind as a quick method of realizing the goal?

The Guhyasamāja-tantra puts forward a quick and short method for realising Buddhahood and for the attainment of miraculous powers (siddhis) through the processes of Yoga. The siddhis are said to be of two kinds, Samānya (ordinary,¹⁷²⁵ such as becoming invisible) and Uttama (highest i. e. attaining Buddhahood). Four means for securing ordinary siddhis are mentioned and they are called *Vajra-caluska*. It is further provided that the best siddhi is acquired by the nectar of knowledge due to the six angas¹⁷²⁶ of Yoga (and by no other way) viz Pratyāhāra, Dhyāna, Prāṇāyāma, Dhāraṇā, Anusmṛti and Samādhi. It is worthy of note that the first three angas of yoga mentioned in the Yogasūtra viz. *yama*, *niyama*¹⁷²⁷ and *āsana* are omitted and a new one, Anusmṛti, is added. Yama could not be included because to the Guhyasamāja it did not matter if the sādḥaka ate flesh, or indulged in sexual intercourse or told lies, while in Yogasūtra *yamas* are *ahiṃsā*, *satya* (truthfulness), *asteya* (not appropriating anything that does not belong to one), *brahmacarya* (sexual purity) and *aparigraha* (non-acceptance of gifts). Niyamas could not be included because among the five

1725. अन्तर्धानादयः सिद्धाः (सिद्धयः) सामान्या इति कीर्तिताः। सिद्धिचक्र-मित्याहुर्बुद्ध्या शुद्धत्वसाधनम्॥ चतुर्विधसुखाय तु बोधिवज्रेण वर्णितम्।...सेवाविधानं प्रथमं द्वितीयसुखसाधनम्। साधनं तु तृतीयं वै महासाधनं चतुर्थकम्॥ सामान्योत्तमभेदेन सेवा तु द्विविधा भवेत्। वज्रं चतुष्केण सामान्यसुखं ज्ञानासृतेन च॥ शुद्धसमाज. 18th पटल p. 162.

1726. उत्तमं ज्ञानासृते चैव कार्यं योगपदद्वयम्। सेवा पदद्वययोगेन कृत्वा साधनसुखम्। साधयेद्वयथा नैव जायते सिद्धिरुत्तमा। प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणा। अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च पदद्वयं योग उच्यते। शुद्धसमाज pp 163. All these six are defined on pp. 163-164. अनुस्मृति is defined as 'स्मिर तु वज्रमार्गेण स्फुरयित स्वधाहुतु। विभाग्य पदद्वयस्या तदाकारं तु संस्मरेत्'। अनुस्मृतिरिति ज्ञेया प्रतिभासोऽत्र जायते॥ शुद्धसमाज p. 164

1727. For *yam* and *niyam* vide note 1525 above and the eight angas of yoga are: यम-नियम-आसन-प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधयोऽष्टाङ्गानि। योगसूत्र II. 29

niyamas are svādhyāya (Veda study) and (Īśvarapranidhāna) devotion to or surrender to God. Many Bauddhas reviled the Veda and acknowledged no Supreme Deity. The Guhyasamāja introduced Yogic practices for quickly securing Buddhahood. The idea of allowing flesh and sexual intercourse seems to have been that the Yogin is to be indifferent as to what he does so long as he is striving for the goal of Buddhahood, for development of his psychio life and that he may disregard all social conventions and rules.¹⁷²⁸ Another innovation of the Vajrayāna was the introduction of *upāsana* of Śakti for liberation through Yoga. The Guhya-samāja provides that if even after making efforts for six months, the sādḥaka has no realisation, he may repeat his efforts for three times more and if even after that he has no enlightenment he should resort to Hathayoga and then he would attain correct knowledge through Yoga. A further innovation was the theory of the five Dhyāni-buddhas,¹⁷²⁹ emanating from the Bhagavān, who represent the five Skandhas or fundamental principles of which the whole creation is composed and each of whom was associated with a female Śakti. The teaching of the Guhyasamāja is that if psychical power and miraculous siddhis are to be developed females must be associated with those who undertake Yogic exercises to achieve their ends. Thus the prophecy of the founder of Buddhism pronounced, when yielding to the pressure and entreaties of his favourite disciple Ānanda for allowing women to be members of the *saṅgha* and to be nuns, that on account of this innovation his system would stand fast only for five hundred years, though otherwise it would have lasted for a thousand years, was literally fulfilled (vide Cullavagga

1728. भद्राम्बयविनिर्मुक्त. पेयापेयविचर्जित.। गम्यागम्यविनिर्मुक्तो भवेद्योगी समाहितः॥
ज्ञानसिद्धि 1. 18, गम्यागम्यादिसङ्कल्पं नात्र कुर्यात् कदाचन। मायोपमादियोगेन भोक्तव्यं सर्वमेव हि॥ वज्रोपाय० p 23 v. 29.

1729. Vide Dr. Bhattacharya's Introduction to Guhyasamāja-tantra p. XIX and his Intro. to B. E. pp. 32-33, 70, 80-81, 121, 128-130 for the theory of Dhyāni-buddhas, their śaktis, kulas, the meaning of kula &c. On p. 32 of B. E. Dr Bhattacharya observes 'we have already mentioned that Buddhism was a challenge to and repudiation of earlier Brahmanism. It was now the part of Tāntrik Buddhism to challenge the authority of Buddha and repudiate the original Buddhism. All kinds of worldly enjoyments were forbidden (by Buddha), especially wine, women, fish, meat and exciting food. All these the Tāntrikas of the later age introduced into their religion and even went so far as to declare that without these emancipation was impossible'.

X. 1. 6 in Vinaya Texts, vol. III. S. B. E. XX, p. 325). If we accept 483 B. C. as the date of Buddha's Parinirvāṇa (as many scholars hold) or 477 B. C. (as A. Foucher holds) 500 years therefrom would bring us to the first century A. D. and it is clear that by a century or two after that time much of Buddha's teaching appears to have been almost completely swamped by doctrines of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Tantras. By a strange irony of fate Buddha's 'dharma-cakra-pravartana' came to be transformed into 'adharma-cakra-pravartana' by many of his so-called followers of the Vajrayāna. In the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta V. 23 (S. B. E. vol. XI, p. 91) the Buddha was very strict and warned bhikkhus not to see bhikkhunis, not to talk to them if they could not avoid seeing them, and to be wide awake if a nun talked to them. Buddha severely rebuked one of his disciples for showing his miraculous powers (vide p. 1037 and n. 1672 above), but Guhyasamāja and other Buddhist tantras make provision for endowing the sādḥaka with miraculous powers, such as causing rainfall in case of drought (Guhyasamāja p. 84), killing an enemy by magical rites over an effigy of the enemy (*ibid.* p. 96). Besides, the Guhyasamāja knows the six cruel or terrible magic acts (called 'satkarmāni'), viz. *Sānti* (rite for averting disease or black magic), *rasikarana* (bewitching women and men and even gods), *stambhana* (stopping the movements or actions of others), *vidvesana* (creating enmity between two friends or two persons who love each other), *uccāṭana* (making a person or enemy flee from the country, town or village), *mūrana* (killing or causing permanent injury to living beings). The Guhyasamāja mentions these six (putting 'ākarsana' for 'vidvesana') respectively at pp. 168, 165, 96, 87 (Ākarsana), 81, 130. Vide Sādhanamālā pp. 368-369 for the same and for the shape of mandalas and times for each of the six cruel rites. Even the rather sober Śāradātīlaka-tantra mentions these six (23. 122), defines them (23. 123-125), provides that Rati, Vāṇī (speech or Saraevatī), Rāmā, Jyesthā, Durgā and Kālī are respectively the six deities of these six cruel acts and must be worshipped at the commencement, that six periods of ten *ghaṭikās* from sunrise are respectively appropriate to these six and so also are certain seasons (23. 126-139). It is most astounding that the Prapañcasāra (23. 5) ascribed to the great advaita teacher Sankarācārya describes at length a mantra called Trailokya-mohana for accomplishing the above six cruel acts.

Both Hindu and Buddhist Tantras¹⁷³⁰ lay great emphasis on the importance and qualifications of the *guru*. The Bauddha Tantras have the highest praise for the guru. The Jñānasiddhi (13. 9-12) prescribes high qualifications and the Prajñopāyavinīścaya-siddhi (III. 9-16) contains a grand eulogy of the guru, identifying him with Buddha and calling him omniscient and so on. The Advayasiddhi of Lakṣminkarā (about 729 A. D.), who started the astounding doctrine that one should offer worship to one's own body wherein all gods reside, says that in the three worlds there is none higher than the ācārya. In the Nityotsava of Umānanda-nātha, pupil of Bhāsurānanda-nātha (i. e. Bhāskaraṛāya as he was called before he took dikṣā) the guru Bhāskaraṛāya is praised in the following hyperbolic terms¹⁷³¹ 'to whom no part of the earth was unseen (owing to his yogic sight), there was no king who was not his slave, to whom no śāstra was unknown; why use more words, whose form was the highest Śakti herself.' But the Jñāna-siddhi and Kulārṇava (XIII. 128) warn against gurus who falsely pretend to know the truth and give instruction in dharma from greed for money. The Kulārṇava (*ullāsa* XII and XIII) are devoted to the qualifications and greatness of guru. The Śāradātīlaka also sets out the qualifications of the tāntrika guru (II. 142-144) and of the disciple (III. 145-152).¹⁷³² The guru among other matters 'must know the essence of all Āgamas and the principles and meaning of all śāstras, he must be one whose words come out true, who has a quiet mind, who has profoundly studied the Veda and its meaning, who follows the path of Yoga and whose bearing is as beneficent as that of a deity.' Among the many requirements about a disciple,¹⁷³³ one is that he must keep secret the mantra and pūjā imparted by his guru. The disciple places the guru's feet on his head and surrenders his body, wealth and even life to

1730. आचार्याव्यतरं नास्ति त्रैलोक्ये सत्त्वाचरे। यस्य मसादात्माप्यन्ते सिद्धोऽनेकधा दुयैः। Intro. to साधनमाला vol. II, p. LXIV-LXV.

1731. यस्यादृष्टो नैव भूमण्डलांशो यस्यादासो विद्यते न क्षितीशः। यस्याज्ञातं नैव ज्ञातं किमन्यै. यस्याकारः सा परा शक्तिरेव॥ Introductory verse 4 of the नित्योत्सव. Dr. B. Bhattacharya in his Intro. to the शुद्धसमाजः p. XIII has completely misunderstood this verse when he translates it as 'the Parā Śakti is she to whom no part of the wide universe remains unseen &c.'.

1732. सर्वगमना सारज्ञः सर्वज्ञाश्चर्यतत्त्वविद्।...अमोघवचनः शान्तो वेदवेदार्थपारगः। योगमागद्विस्मयायी देवताद्वयपङ्क्तः। शारदा II. 142-144.

1733. मन्त्रपूजारदस्यानि यो गोपयति सर्वदा। शारदा II. 151.

the guru. The necessity of a guru for the acquisition of esoteric philosophy is stressed by the Upanisads also. For, example the *Aitareya Upaniṣad*¹⁷³⁴ says 'this knowledge cannot be obtained by instruction, it can be understood well only when expounded by another'; the *Chāndogya* (IV. 9. 3) says 'Sir, I have heard from men like you that only knowledge that is learnt from a teacher leads to real good'. The *Lingapurāṇa*¹⁷³⁵ and others say that guru is identical with Śiva and the rewards of devotion to Śiva and to the guru are the same. The *Kulārṇava* (XI. 46) emphasizes that the order of the succession of gurus, the Āgamas, *Amṛta*, *mantra* and practices—all these when learnt from the lips of a guru become fruitful and not otherwise. The *Prapañcāsāstra*¹⁷³⁶ says 'the disciple should consider in his mind that guru, *śakti* and *mantra* are one and should repeat a hundred times the *mantra* that he received by the favour of the guru.'

The *Tāntika* system requires for its understanding high intellectual and moral attainments and could be followed by only a few gifted souls. It is claimed that *Tantras* provide a system which assists men of ordinary intellect and which controls mental and physical processes for the attainment of spiritual experience, for the development of psychic forces and for the quicker attainment of liberation by such practices as the repetition of *mantras*, *mudrās*, *nyāsa*, *mandalas*, *cakras* and *yantras*. The respect for the guru sometimes reached amongst *Tāntrik* writers to extreme and disgusting lengths as the note below will indicate.¹⁷³⁶

1734. नैवा तर्केण मलिन

1735. सो ऽहम् स किं

विद्या तथा

शक्तिमयो

हृदयेन परं

ब्रह्माण्ड

यत्किं प

कारिणः

कुलः

as

(१)

तं

हि

हि

सुज्ञानाय मेढ । कठ II, 9.

उ. स्तुतः । यथा शिवस्तथा विद्या तथा
सद्वर्णं फलम् । सर्वत्रैवमयो देवि सर्व-

गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।

; in the ललितोपाख्यान in the

: स्वयम् । सान्निध्योद्यमार्थम्

. । अत्रतुर्वदनो ब्रह्मा श्रीगुरुः

are the same as

to both. The question

de. The शारदातिलक

मणमेव दण्डवत्प्रणम्यो ऽहम्

प्राणं च सर्वं तस्मै

कर्म सम्भावयन्

देवेशि तस्य पुण्यं न

the guru. The necessity of a guru for the acquisition of esoteric philosophy is stressed by the Upanisads also. For, example the Kathopanishad¹⁷³⁴ says 'this knowledge cannot be obtained by ratiocination, it can be understood well only when expounded by another'; the Chāndogya (IV. 9. 3) says 'Sir, I have heard from men like you that only knowledge that is learnt from a teacher leads to real good'. The Lingapurāna¹⁷³⁵ and others say that guru is identical with Śiva and the rewards of devotion to Śiva and to the guru are the same. The Kulārṇava (XI. 46) emphasizes that the order of the succession of gurus, the Āgamas, Amṇāya, mantra and practices—all these when learnt from the lips of a guru become fruitful and not otherwise. The Prapañca-sāra provides 'the disciple should consider in his mind that guru, *devatā* and mantra are one and should repeat a hundred times the mantra that he received by the favour of the guru.'

The Vedānta system requires for its understanding high intellectual and moral attainments and could be followed by only a few gifted souls. It is claimed that Tantras provide a method which assists men of ordinary intellect and which utilizes visual and physical processes for the attainment of spiritual experience, for the development of psychic forces and for the quick attainment of liberation by such practices as the repetition of mantras, mudrās, nyāsa, mandalas, cakras and yantras. The respect for the guru sometimes reached amongst Tāntrik writers to extreme and disgusting lengths as the note below will indicate.¹⁷³⁶

1734. नैवा तर्केण मतिरापनेया मोक्तान्येनैव सुज्ञानाय प्रेष्ठ। कठ II. 9.

1735. यो गुरुः स शिवः मोक्तो यः शिवः स गुरुः स्मृतः। यथा शिवस्तथा विद्या यथा विद्या तथा गुरुः॥ शिव-विद्यागुरोस्तस्माद् भक्त्या च सद्वृत्तं फलम्। सर्वदेवमयो देवि सर्व-शक्तिमयो हि स॥ लिङ्गपुराण I 85. 164-165; गुरुमन्त्रा गुरुविष्णुगुरुदेवो महेश्वरः। गुरुदेव परं ब्रह्म तस्मै श्रीगुरुवे नमः॥ देवीभागवत XI 1. 49; in the ललितोपाख्यान in the ब्रह्माण्डसु it is said 'महर्ष्यन्वमेणा बद्धं साक्षात्परशिवः स्वयम्। साष्टिण्याहमहर्षीव गूढं पर्यटति क्षितौ॥ अत्रिनेत्रः शिवः साक्षाद्वत्सुर्वाहुरस्युत। अन्वत्सुर्वाहो ब्रह्मा श्रीगुरुः कथितं म्रिये॥' 43. 68-70 These verses from ललितोपाख्यान are the same as कुलार्णव XIII. 54 and 57 and several verses are common to both. The question as to who is the borrower is very difficult to decide. The शारदातिलक (V. 113-114) has 'गुरुविद्यादेवतानामैक्यं सम्भावयन् धिया। प्रणमेद् दण्डवद्भूमौ गुरुं तं देवतात्मकम्॥ [तस्य पादाम्बुजद्वन्द्वं निजे मूर्धनि योजयेत्। शरीरमर्थं प्राणं च सर्वं तस्मै निवेदयेत्॥; गुरुणा समग्रमुद्दिष्टं मन्त्रं सद्यो जपेच्छतावृत्त्या। गुरुदेवतामनूनामैक्यं सम्भावयन् धिया क्षिण्यः॥ प्रपञ्चसार VI. 122.

1736. भगिनीं वा सुतां भार्यां यो दद्यात्कुलयोगिने। मधुमत्ताय देवेक्षि तस्य पुण्यं न गण्यते॥ q by तारामक्तिमुधार्णव IV. p. 116.

supposed to possess wonderful powers is introduced and he says (while representing that he was somewhat tipsy) 'owing to the favour of our guru we know nothing about mantras or tantras or meditation. We drink wine, dally with women and yet, being devoted to the Kula path, we reach *mokṣa*. A fierce strumpet is given *dikṣā* and made a lawful wife, wine is drunk and flesh is consumed, our food is got by begging for alms, our bed is a piece of hide. To whom would the Kauladharmas not appear attractive? Even gods headed by Viṣṇu and Brahṃa declare that liberation is attained by meditation, Veda study and performance of Vedic sacrifices; only one God, the husband of Umā, perceived that *mokṣa* (can be attained) by dalliance with women and by wine'. The Yaśastilaka-campū (composed in 959 A. D.) after referring to the Dakṣiṇa and Vāma paths of Śaivāgama quotes a verse of the great poet ¹⁷³⁸ Bhāsa "a person should drink wine, look at the face of the woman dear to him, wear a dress naturally charming and free from being odd; may the adorable Śiva be long-lived, who (first) discovered such a path to *mokṣa*!" The Daśavatāra-carita of Kṣemendra (3rd quarter of 11th century A. D.) states in one verse what the Tāntrik gurus and their followers did 'Gurus declare that liberation follows by the drinking of wine from the same goblet by various craftsmen such as washermen, weavers, workers in hides, *kāpūḥkas*, in the procedure of cakrapūjā, and by dalliance with women without the least scruple and by always leading a life of festivities."¹⁷³⁹ The Rāja-taranginī (middle of 12th

(Continued from last page)

tāntrik authors who favoured the mahāras, Acc. to Intro. (p. XII) to पारानन्दसूत्र, the work was composed probably between 900 to 1200 A. D. The परशुराम कल्पसूत्र (I 40) provides that after dīkṣā the guru is to give a name to the disciple ending in आनन्दनाथ. The महाविवर्ण (X. 182) also says the same thing.

1738 इममेव च मार्गनाश्रयभादि भासेन महाकविना । पेया सुरा म्रियतमासुख-
भीक्षणीयं श्राव्यः स्वभावललितोऽविकृतश्च वेद्यः । येनेदमीदृशमदृश्यत मोक्षवर्त्म दीर्घादुरस्तु
भगवाद् स पिनाकपाणिः ॥ यज्ञास्तिलकचम्पू p 251. This is verse 7 in the मत्तविलास-
प्रहसन of पल्लव king महेंद्रविक्रमवर्मन् put in the mouth of a कपाली This creates
a puzzle. Either the Yaśastilaka committed a mistake in naming the author
or the verse is one from Bhāsa's genuine dramas not yet found and bodily
taken by the author of the मत्तविलास which, being a parody, was after all not
a serious matter I incline to the latter view

1739. चक्रास्थितौ रजक-बायक-चर्मकार-कापालिकग्रहसंश्लिपिभिरकपात्रे । पानेन
शक्तिमविकल्पपरतोऽस्येन वृत्तेन चोत्सवता शरवो वदन्ति ॥ p. 162 of दशवतारचरित
चक्रपूजा will be referred to a little later

century A. D.) has several references to the Tantrikas and their doings. In V. 66 Kalhana says that during 1740 the reign of Avantivarma of Kashmir, *siddhas* (persons possessed of miraculous powers like *amra*) such as Bhatta Kallata were born for the benefit of the world. In describing the effects of the rule of a good king Yasakara (939-948 A. D.), Kalhana 1741 remarks that during his reign were not seen housewives figuring as divinites at the rite of gurdikṣa and shaking their heads for detracting from the eminent character (attributed to) of their husbands. King Kalasa of Kashmir (1063-1089 A. D.) became a pupil of Pramadakāntha, son of Amarakāntha who was a good brāhmana, but Kalasa, who by nature was evil-minded, was instructed in evil practices by his guru Pramadakāntha and the latter made the former ignore the distinction between women who are approachable and who are not. In this connection, Kalhana bitterly 1742 bewails "what other unscrupulousness of this guru (of Kalasa) should be described by me, when, leaving aside all scruples, he committed incestuous intercourse with his own daughter." This establishes that in the 11th century A. D.

1740 *अवन्तिवर्मः कालः कालः* 'कालः कालः' is a great name in Kashmiri Saivism. It may be noted that the Vajrayāna cult of Buddhism speaks of 84 *śiddhis* that descended from the 7th to the 9th century A. D. Vide Intro to E. B. p. 34 and Bhikṣu Rāhula Śāstrī's paper on 'the origin of Vajrayāna and the 84 *siddhas*' in J. A. vol 225 (1934) pp 209-230 in which at pp. 220-225 there is a detailed list of the 84 *siddhas* from Lūpa to Bhaṇḍa with their castes and status, place of origin and names of the contemporaries of some of them from the 8th century A. D. onwards. *महेश्वर* is said to be the same as Lūpa; vide I H. Q. vol. XXXI pp. 362-375 for Dr. Karambelkar's paper on 'Maṣṭendranātha and his Yoginī cult'.

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in Kashmir there were Tāntrik gurus that literally carried out what the Guhyasamājatantra quoted in note 1724 apparently recommended to Buddhist Yogis. In the drama called Moha-parājaya by Yaśahpāla under king Ajayadeva, successor of Kumārapāla, among the *dramatis personae* is a *kaula* who declares his doctrine to be eating flesh every day, drinking wine without any qualms and allowing the mind free scope.¹⁷⁴³ Aparārka quotes a verse which shows that, in the midst of numerous cults, it was difficult to be consistent: "A person may be at heart a Kaula (follower of the Kula doctrine), in outward appearance he may look a Śaiva, and he may follow Vaidika rites in his usual practices. One should live grasping what is essential like the cocoanut¹⁷⁴⁴ fruit". It appears that great scholars and poets had a sneaking admiration for Tāntrika worship. The great writer Vidyapati of Mithilā appears to be a Vaiṣṇava from his devotional songs, but wrote the Śaivasarvasvasāra (so he may be called a Śaiva), and wrote also Durgābhaktitaranginī (and thus appears to have been a Śakta) and composed also a Tāntrik¹⁷⁴⁵ work. The very first verse of Vidyapati's 'Purusa-parikṣā' contains an invocation of Ādi-Śakti. Bengal and Assam were the strongholds of Śakta doctrines and even now Kālī worship is still in vogue there, but it was the great Bengal

1743. In मोहराजपराजय (G. O. S.) p. 100 the कौल says 'खायते मांसमनुदिनं पियते नद्यं च दुक्तसङ्कल्पम् ! अनिवारितमनःसतर एष धर्मा मया दिष्टः' (Sanskrit rendering of a Prākṛit verse). The drama was written between 1172-1175 A. D.

1744. अन्त-कौलं बहिः क्षेत्रं लोकाचारे तु वैदिकम् । सारमादाय तिष्ठेत् नारिकेलफलं यथा ॥ अपराकं p. 10 I prefer the reading of one the mss noted in the foot notes. The printed text reads अन्त-क्षेत्रं बहिः-कौलं लोकाचारे etc. The cocoanut fruit presents three aspects, first there is the hard outside shell, then there is the soft and tasty kernel inside the hard shell and thirdly there is water in addition to the soft kernel. The कुलार्णवसूत्र has 'अन्त कौलो बहिःक्षेत्रो जननये तु वैष्णवः । कौलं ह्युपोषयेद्देवि नारिकेलफलं शुभम् ॥ XI 83. One ms reads अन्त कौला बहिःक्षेत्रः जमायां वैष्णवा मता. and this last is often quoted. The कौलावलीनिर्णय (X. 84-95) reads अन्तःशाक्ता बहिःक्षेत्रा....मता. । नानाविधशरः कौला विचरन्ति मदीतले ॥ The sect mark of both Śaivas and Śaktas is *tripundra* (three parallel lines of holy ashes on the forehead from one eye to the other, drawn with three fingers other than the thumb and small finger). Vide बृहज्जावाटोपनिषद् IV. 10-11, देवीमागवत XI. 15. 17-23.

1745. Vide a paper of D. C. Bhattacharya in J. G. J. R. I. vol. VI pp. 241-247 on Vidyapati's work on Tantra. The first verse of बुधपरीक्षा (Darbhanga ed. of 1888) is 'ब्रह्मादि यां नीति हृत साराणां (साराणां ?) यामचित्तोत्पत्त्य-यन्तीन्द्रमुत्तिः । यां ध्यायति ध्यानमत्तोपि विष्णुस्त्वामादिशक्तिं हिरता मयदे ॥'

king Ballālasena who discarded Devīpurāṇa as an authority in his encyclopaedic work on gifts called *Dānasāgara*.¹⁷⁴⁶

It is possible that the founders of the Tāntrik or Śākta cult of the five *makāras* threw defiance at the terrible aspect of God or the Highest Spirit, that rules the destinies of men and things and that made men sometimes suffer terribly even if they led lives of virtue, to do the worst for their disregard of conventional morality and social practices and hoped by their Yoga exercises to attain to high psychical powers and bliss.¹⁷⁴⁷ There is another possible motive also. Masses of common people were being drawn towards Buddhism. The founders of Hindu Tāntrik cults wanted to retain them within the Hindu fold. As common people drank wine and ate meat, they were told that they would attain higher spiritual levels even while indulging in meat and drink provided they followed Tāntrik gurus and practices. The idea was that Śakti was all and was for all; *bhoga* (enjoyment) need not be given up, as man is part of Devī or Śiva. *Bhoga* should be sublimated, that is all that is required in Kaula-śāstra. The Tāntrikas¹⁷⁴⁸ substitute a yoga of enjoyment (*bhoga*) for the yoga of abstinence and asceticism. When indulging in the left-hand path practices the *sādhaka* is supposed or held to be destroying the egoistic elements of the soul.

The Mahānirvāṇatantra and a few others endeavour to stem the tide of sexual immorality and promiscuity. For example, Rāmeśvara, the commentator of Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, says that one that has not conquered his senses has no *adhikāra* for Kaulamārga (p. 153). This is in direct conflict with what even the Mahānirvāṇatantra says that all men from brāhmanas to the untouchables have *adhikāra* for Kula practices. Modern apologists for Tāntrism emphasize that the instructions embodied in the Guhyasamāja, the directions for the mode of life to be led by followers of Vajrayāna, apply only to the Yogis who have attained some degree of yogic perfection. But the obvious

1746 नानाविशधरा कौला कुलाचारेषु निश्चलाः। सेवन्ते त्वां कुलाचारेर्नहि तादृ बाधते कलिः ॥ महानिर्वाणतन्त्र IV. 63.

1747. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Intro to Guhyasamāja p. XXII for the above sentiments.

1748. यत्रास्ति भोगो न च तत्र मोक्षो यत्रास्ति मोक्षो न च तत्र भोगः। श्रीसुन्दरीसेवन-तत्परणां भोगश्च मोक्षश्च करतल्य एव ॥ quoted in हंसविलास (from कौलरहस्य) p. 104 ; विनायकचरणपद्मा द्विपदा येऽत्र भूतले। ते सर्वेऽस्मिन्कुलाचारे भवेयुरधिकारिणः ॥ महानिर्वाण 14. 184.

reply is 'who is to decide that a particular person had attained the minimum spiritual level except the man himself and, supposing that all the directions were meant for Yogis, why was it necessary to say in a blatant manner and language that a Yogi practising Vajrayāna may engage in what common and less sophisticated people deem to be incest? This is not the place to reply to all apologists for ancient and medieval Tantrik works. But a few must be dealt with because they are liable to create misunderstandings, if allowed to go uncriticized. In his Preface to 'Principles of Tantra' Part 2, Sir John Woodroffe states (p. IX.) that the use of flesh, fish and wine was common in the Vedic age and that the Mahābhārata and some Purānas like the Kalikā, Mārkaṇḍeya and Kūrma refer to consumption of wine, meat and fish. This looks like special pleading and is misleading. The question is: was *surū* offered to the gods in every day or periodic sacrifices as an offering in the R̥gveda or any other Veda. In the Vedic age wine may have been known and even drunk, but what is material to recognize is that there is a difference made between Soma and *surū*. Vide Śat. 17th Br. "Soma is truth, prosperity, light and *surū* is untruth, misery and darkness" (V. 1. 5. 28). While Soma is mentioned hundreds of times in the R̥gveda, has the 9th mandala of the R̥gveda specially reserved for its praises and was offered to gods, the word *surū* occurs only six times in the R̥gveda and it is nowhere expressly stated that it was offered to any god as a religious offering; on the contrary, in a hymn to Varuna, *surū* is put forward as leading to the commission of sin just as anger and gambling do (R̥g. VII. 86. 6 'na sa svo dakṣo Varuna dhṛutih sū *surū* manyur-vibhidako acittih). In his zeal for the vindication of Tantrism Arthur Avalon is injudicious enough to misinterpret simple words. In the Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' p. VII he quotes R̥g. I. 166. 7 "arcantyarkam madirasya pītaye" and translates "worshipping the Sun before drinking *madirū* (wine)." The word here is *madira* (and not '*madirū*'), it is an adjective and means "oxhilarating". The word "*Madirū*" never occurs in the R̥g while "*madira*" as an adjective, occurs at least sixteen times and qualifies Soma, Indu, Amsu, Rasa or Madhu, generally expressed (and rarely implied). There is no word for "before." That quarter means 'they (the worshippers or Maruts) worship (Indra) who is worthy of praise (and a friend of the Maruts) in order that he may come for

drinking the exhilarating (Soma)' The word *madirā* (for wine) hardly ever occurs in any genuine work of Vedic times. Its earliest occurrence is probably in the *Mahābhārata*. Reference is also made by modern apologists to the offering of *surā* in the *Sautrāmanī* ¹⁷⁵⁰ in honour of Indra. But the circumstances are peculiar. *Sautrāmanī* is only one out of numerous sacrifices and the occasions for performing it were rare i.e. it was performed at the end of *Rājasūya* and also at the end of *Agnicayana* and when a priest who had drunk too much of soma vomited. The most important fact, however, is that the remnants of *surā* offered in *Sautrāmanī* were not drunk by the priests engaged in it but a *brāhmana* had to be hired for drinking the remnants and if no *brāhmana* could be secured then the remnants were to be poured over an ant-hill (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1226 for details). The *Kāthakasamhitā* ¹⁷⁵⁰ contains an interesting passage "Therefore an elderly person and a youngster, the daughter-in-law and the father-in-law, drink liquor and remain babbling together; thoughtlessness is sin; therefore a *brāhmana* does not drink *surā* with the thought that 'otherwise (if I drink it) I may be tainted by sin'; therefore this is for *ksatriya*; one should say to a *brāhmana* that *surā*, if drunk by a *ksatriya*, does not harm the latter." These passages show that not only the priests did not drink *surā* even in *Sautrāmanī* but that it had become difficult to hire a *brāhmana* for drinking it by the time of the *Kāthaka-samhitā*. The passage of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* 19.5 relied on at p. VII (of Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' part II) also refers to *Sautrāmanī* and to no other sacrifice. The mantra is "Brahma *ksatram* pavate teja indriyam *surayā somah suta āsuto madāya*" and means that "Soma when mixed with *surā* becomes a strong drink and leads to intoxication." The *Chāndogya* V. 10. 9 (q above p 1578 n. 943) counts the drinker of *surā* among the five grave sinners. Therefore, there is hardly any analogy between the offering of wine in *Sautrāmanī* and the teaching about offering wine to Devī as provided in the Tantras. Similarly, the reference to the *Atharvaveda* as containing magical rites does not help at all. Society had advanced far beyond that stage and *Manu* XI. 63 looked upon *abhicāra* (i.e. performance of a magic rite like *Śyenayāga* for killing a person) and *mūlakarma* (i.e. bringing

1750 तस्माज्ज्यायांश्च कनीयांश्च स्तुवा श्वसुरश्च सुरां पीत्वा सह लालपत आसते । पाप्मा वै सार्वभौमः तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः । सुरां न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्सैरुज्या इति तदेतत् श्रुत्वा यथा ब्राह्मणं दूयात्तैर्न सुरा पीता दिनस्ति । काठकसंहिता XII. 12.

under one's control a person or a woman by herbs and mantras) as a sin, though a lesser one (an upapātaka). The reference to the Mahābhārata (Udyogaparva, 59.5 ff) is again misleading. Wine was drunk by people in the Mahābhārata times, but not as part of a religious ritual as in the Tantras. Vide pp 964-966 of H. of Dh. vol. III for a note on 'intoxicating drinks.' The reference to Mārkaṇḍeya and other purāṇas is of no avail as evidence, since at least the present author holds that these parts of the Purāṇas were written and interpolated after Tāntrik rites had taken a firm hold on some sections of the Hindu society. The reference to sexual intercourse in the Mahāvraṭa¹⁷⁵¹ is most misleading. In the Tantras like the Kulārṇava and the Guhyasamāja it is the sādhaṇa himself who is to practise *maithuna* as one of the ways of securing marvellous powers and higher spiritual attainments. But in the Mahāvraṭa the sexual intercourse is by strangers to the sacrifice (and not by the *yajamāna* nor by any of the priests), is a purely symbolical act and bears no analogy to a sādhaṇa himself engaging in maithuna as a religious rite to placate the Devī. Even a late reformist work like the Mahānirvāṇa (VIII. 174-175) expressly says that those of the five tattvas which a sādhaṇa can secure, such as flesh and others, should have recited over them the mantra 'ām, hrim, krom, svāhā' a hundred times, that he should reflect that everything is a product of *brahma*, should close his eyes, should offer those to Kālī and should himself drink and eat them. As the Tāntrik prescriptions of the *maithūnas* for attainment of miraculous powers and of liberation had shocked people and had brought the tantras into great disrepute, later Hindu Tāntrik works like the Śaktisamgamatantra (between 1555-1607 A.D.) began to offer symbolic interpretations. They¹⁷⁵² say that the

1751. Vide H. of Dh. Vol II pp 1243-1245 for the Mahāvraṭa, which is the last day but one in a *sattra*.

1752. शुद्धाङ्कुरतो देवि शुद्धा तु प्रथमा सता । विष्णोर्न लवणं देवि द्वितीया परिकीर्तिता । लक्ष्मिं तिस्रिं चैव तृतीया परिकीर्तिता । गोधूममापसम्भूता सुन्दरी च चतुर्थिका । शम्भुलोकपञ्चमी स्वात्म्यं शुद्धा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ शक्तिसङ्ग्रह, ताराखण्ड, 32, 13-15, vide नहानिर्योगतन्त्र VI 9-10 where products of grains of rice, barley or wheat with ghee or fried grain are called शुद्धा. न मर्द्यं माधवीमध मर्द्यं शक्तिरसोद्भवम् । सुधुम्ना शङ्खिनी शुद्धा उन्मन्यद्युत्तमं रसम् ॥ सामरस्यासुतोद्भासं मैथुनं च सदाशिवम् । महाकुण्डलिनी शक्तिसद्योगार्थं महेश्वरि ।.. संयोगाद्युत्तयौगेन कुण्डलसुखानकारणात् । शक्तिसङ्ग्रह, ताराखण्ड 32, 25-27, 32. Vide 'Śakti and Śākti' pp. 339-340 where *madya*, *māmsa*, *matsya* and *maithuna* are interpreted esoterically for a 'divyabbāva' following Yoginītaetra (chap. VI) and from Āgamasāra. One verse from the former may be quoted
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words '*madya*, *mudrā*, *maithuna*' &c. are not used in the ordinary popular sense but in a special esoteric sense. For example, *mudrā* has several senses, viz. a mixture of jaggery and ginger, or of salt and oil-cake or garlic and tamarind fruit, or wheat and *māsa* beans, that *madya* (wine) is not what is prepared from *mādhavi* (spring flower) but it springs from the joyful experience (or *rasa*) of Śakti, when effort is made to awaken the Kundalinī. It may be admitted that some Tāntrik works and writers divide men into three classes, *paśu* (the bestial ones), *vīra* (those that have made great progress on the path of spiritual discipline) and *daiva* (those who are godlike). As regards these three, the five *makāras* are assigned by some apologetic writers different meanings. D. N. Bose in his work '*Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets*' boldly asserts (p. 110) that the real significance of the five *makāras* has been deliberately perverted by vicious people and explains (p. 111) that *madya* is the nectarine stream issuing from the cavity of the brain where the soul resides, *matsya* means suppression of vital airs, *māmsa* means 'vow of silence,' '*maithuna*' means 'meditation on the acts of creation and destruction.'

The Tāntrikas clothe their practices in bombastic and high-sounding words. The five *makāras* are called *pañca-tattvas*, *kuladravyas* or *kulatattvas*. *Maithuna* is generally referred to as *pañcamatattva*, the woman with whom sexual intercourse is to be had or who was at least to be associated with a male in Tantra worship is called Śakti (vide *Kulārṇava* VII 39-43 and *Mahānirvāṇa* VI. 18-20) or *prakṛti* or *latā* and this special ritual is called '*Latāsādhana*' (*Mahānirvāṇa* I. 52). Wine is called *tīrthavārī* (holy water) or *kārana* (VIII. 168 and VI. 17). The *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*, though a reformist work and in certain cases asking the king to punish drunkards (XI. 113-121),

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'सहस्रोपरि विन्दौ कुण्डल्या मेलनं द्विवि । नैशुनं परमं द्रव्यं यतीनां परिकीर्तितम् ॥ Substitutional द्रव्य are also variously mentioned for पशु, who is the lowest kind of the worshippers of Śakti. The *कौलाचलनिर्णय* V. 113-123 suggests various substitutes viz. a ब्राह्मण may employ honey in a copper vessel or cow's milk or the water of cocoanut fruit in a bell-metal vessel, that, in the absence of flesh, garlic and ginger may be used for flesh, milk of buffalo or sheep for fish, roasted fruits and roots for *maithuna*. It will be, however, noticed in the above and also later on that the explanations do not all completely agree and therefore raise doubts about their veracity.

waxes eloquent over wine and praises it as Tārā in the form ¹⁷⁵³ of a fluid substance, as the saviour of individual souls, as the mother (or producer) of bhoga (enjoyment) and moksa (liberation) and as the remover of misfortunes and diseases and after some further praise of wine winds up by saying that those men who drink wine according to the rules and with a well-controlled mind are gods on earth (XI. 108). For the worship of Śakti the five tattvas are absolutely necessary (Mahānirvāna-tantra V. 21-24 quoted in note 1695 above and ¹⁷⁵⁴ Kulārṇava V. 69 and 76). Some tantras say that the meaning of tattva differs according as the person concerned is Tāmasika (a paśu kind of worshipper), Rājasika (a vīra as he is called), sāttvika (a divya, a person who is godlike). Madya means according to various Tāntrik Texts real wine as well as a substitute like coconut water or any other liquid; it also means that intoxicating knowledge that comes of Yoga practices, whereby the worshipper becomes senseless as regards the external world. Mūṃsa is the act whereby the sādḥaka surrenders himself and his action to Lord Śiva. Matsya (fish, of which the first part 'mat' means 'mine') is that psychical state by which the worshipper sympathizes with the pleasure and pain of all beings. Maithuna is the union of the Śakti Kundalini (the woman inside a man's body) in the Mūlādhāra-cakra with the supreme Śiva in the Sahasrārācakra in the highest centre of the brain and is the stream of the sweet juice that drops from the Sahasrāra. Preparation of hemp (called vijayā or 'bhūṅg') is madya for some. The Mahānirvāna says (VIII. 170 and 173) that 'madhura-traya' may be substituted for wine and for 'Maithuna' meditation on the feet of the (image of) Devī and japa of the desired mantra may be substituted. The Kaulāvalīnirṇaya (III 111) boldly states that if a man, after partaking of vijayā (bhūṅg) engages in meditation, he sees directly before him the form of the goddess as described in the Dhyānamantra. Some Tantras like the

1753. सुरा द्रवमयी तारा जीवनिस्तारकारिणी। जननी भोगमोक्षाणां नाशिनी विषदां कजाम्॥ महानिर्वाणः XI. 105.

1754. कुलद्रव्यैर्विना कुर्याज्जपपूजतपोव्रतम्। निष्कलं तन्द्रादेव देवि भस्मनीव यथा द्रुतम्॥ मन्त्रपुत्रं कुलद्रव्यं सुरदेवार्पितं विदे। ये विचरन्ति जनास्तेषां स्तन्यपानं न विद्यते॥ कुलार्णव V. 69 and 76 The words स्तन्य... विद्यते mean that he is not born again. The कुलार्णव (V 79-80) ordains 'सुरा इक्ति' शिरो मांस तन्द्रोक्ता भैरव स्वयम्। तयोरेवय-समुत्पन्न आनन्दो मोक्ष उच्यते॥ आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो रूपं तच्च देहे व्यपस्थितम्। तस्याभिव्यक्तं मयं योगिभिस्तेन पीयते॥.

Kaulajñānanirnaya and Bhāskararāya¹⁷⁵⁵ in his commentary on Lalitāsahasranāma say that when Kundalini is roused by a yogin and it reaches the thousand-petalled cakra (Sahasrāra) from which (that has on its pericarp the moon) drops nectar which is figuratively spoken of as *madya* (vide notes 1716, 1752). The Kulārṇava at first asserts (I. 105-107) 'Mukti does not result from the study of the Veda nor by the study of śāstras, it results from (correct) knowledge alone, that the āśramas are not a means of mokṣa nor are the darśanas the means, nor all the śāstras, that it is knowledge alone that is the cause, that it is the knowledge imparted by the teaching of the guru that confers *mukti*, all (other) vidyās are mockery.' Then in the Vedāntic strain it affirms (I. 111-112) "two words (respectively) lead to bondage or liberation viz. (this is) 'mine' or 'nothing is mine'. A person falls in bondage by the thought 'this is mine' and becomes liberated by realising 'nothing is mine' and that that is proper action that does not lead to bondage and that is real lore that leads to liberation." After these high thoughts the same Tantra (II. 22-23 and 29) proceeds to Kaula doctrine. 'If a man is a yogin he does not (ordinarily) enjoy life, while one who enjoys life does not know yoga; but the Kaula doctrine combines both *yoga* and *bhoga* and is superior to all (other doctrines); in the Kaula doctrine *bhoga* turns into *yoga* directly, what is sin (acc. to ordinary people) becomes meritorious, *samsāra* turns into mokṣa. Kaula knowledge enlightens him whose mind is purified by the mantras of Śaiva worship, Durgā worship &c."

The Kulārṇava appears to be in two minds to ordinary men like the present writer. While in one breath as shown in note 1718 it frankly recommends the drinking of wine and eating of flesh to the followers of Kaula doctrine, it also endeavours to give an esoteric meaning to the *makāras* as follows (V. 107-112): Frequently reaching the *brahmarandhra* from the *mūlādhāra*, there arises the bliss of the union of the Kundalini-Śakti with the moon in the form of Intelligence (*cit*, Śiva); the person who is intent on tasting the nectar oozing from the lotus in the

1755. सा (कुण्डलिनी) हि मूलाधाराख्ये चक्रे सार्धं निवलयकारेण सुप्ता सती योगिनिश्चाप्य पदचक्राणि ब्रह्मविष्णवादिग्रन्थैश्च भेदयन्ती सहस्रारं नीता सती तत्कणिकारूपचन्द्रमण्डलादसूतं प्रावयति। p. 52 of भास्करराय's comp सौभाग्यभास्कर on ललितसहस्रनाम on verses 87-91 कुलामृतैकरसिका ... सद्विचाराम्बुजाब्दा सुधासारभिर्दधिणी। ... महासक्तिः कुण्डलिनी विसर्गवृत्तौ यसी॥ (Nir. ed. of 1935). Compare कौलज्ञाननिर्णय VI. 18-19 p. 16.

crown of the head is said to drink *sudhū* (nectar, wine); other people drink mere wine. When the adept ¹⁷⁵⁶ in Yoga cutting the beast (ego) doing good or evil actions with the sword of knowledge (of reality) makes his mind merge in the Highest, he is said to be eater of *pala* (the Highest, flesh). The (Yogin) who restraining the several senses by his mind concentrates them on the Self, becomes 'matsyāśī', ¹⁷⁵⁷ others are only killers of living beings. The Śakti (the woman associated with a sādha) of a beastly man is unenlightened but that of the Kaulika is enlightened; he who honours (or resorts to) such a Śakti is really a worshipper of Śakti. When a man is filled through and through with the bliss due to the union of the Highest Śakti with the Self (Śiva), that is called Maithuna (copulation); all other men are merely licentious persons.

The apologists for unpopular Tantrik practices offer explanations of the five 'makāras' more or less on the lines of the Kulārānava. For example, in his Introduction to the 'Principles of Tantra' (part II) Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) gives (pp. CVII-CVIII) an esoteric explanation of the word 'drinking' used in such a verse as that in the Pārānandasūtra, 'Having drunk again and again, having fallen upon the earth, then having got up and again drunk (wine) there is no rebirth.' ¹⁷⁵⁸

1756. आसूलाधारमानन्दारम्भं गत्वा पुनः पुनः । चिच्छन्दकुण्डलीशक्तिसामरस्य-
सुरोदयः ॥ श्योमपङ्कजनिर्यन्दसुधापातरतो नरः । सुधापानमिदं मोक्षमितरे मद्यपानि ॥
पुण्यापुण्यपङ्क्तुं हत्वा ज्ञानखड्गेन योगवित् । परे लय नयेद्विस्तृ पलाशी स निगद्यते ॥ मनसा
चेन्द्रियगण संयम्यात्मानं योजयेत् । मत्स्याशी स भवेद्देवि शेषाः स्युः प्राणिर्द्विसकाः ॥ अमहुद्धा
पशीः शक्तिः प्रबुद्धा कौलिकस्य च । शक्तिं तां सेवयेद्यस्तु स भवेच्छक्तिसेवकः ॥ पराशरप्राप्त-
मिश्रनसंयोगानन्दनिर्भरः । य आस्ते मैथुनं तत् स्यादपरे स्त्रीनिषेवकाः ॥ कुलार्णव V. 107-112
The 4th *tattva* is *Mudrā*, but the latter word is often applied to the Śakti associated with a sādha.

1757. 'Palāśī' means 'eater or enjoyer of Pala'. Pala means 'flesh', and pala stands for Para (Highest) 'as' 'r' and 'l' are often interchangeable in Sanskrit and the root 'as' may mean 'to reach' as well as 'to eat'. Matsyāśī literally means 'eater of fish', but in the esoteric interpretation 'matsya' stands for 'manas' (mind) plus 'sya' representing 'samayama' (restraint).

1758. जीवन्मुक्तः पिबेदेवमन्यथा पतितो भवेदिति । पुनः पीत्वा पुनः पीत्वा पतितो
धरणीतले । उक्त्याय च पुनः पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥ पारानन्दसूत्र p 17 sūtras 81-82,
the Intro to 'Principles of Tantra' (part II) p. CVIII. It reads the first half of the verse as पीत्वा पीत्वा पुनः पीत्वा पीत्वा पतति भूतले. But there is hardly any difference in the literal meaning. Vide कुलार्णवतन्त्र VII. 100 which reads पीत्वा पीत्वा ... यावत्पतति भूतले । रामेश्वर, commentator of परब्रह्मसूत्र
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He explains 'Being thus awakened Kundalinī enters the great road to liberation (mukti), that is, the Sushumnā nerve, and penetrating the centres one by one, ascends to the Sahasrāra and there coming in blissful communion with the Lord of Lords, again descends down through the same passage to the Mūlādhāra Chakra. Nectar is said to flow from such communion. The sādḥaka drinks it and becomes supremely happy. This is the wine called Kulāmṛta, which a sādḥaka of the spiritual plane drinks ... In reference to a sādḥaka of the spiritual (ādhyātmika) class the Tantra says 'Pitvā pītṛvā...vidyate'. During the first stage of Sat-cakra-sādhana the sādḥaka cannot suppress his breath for a sufficiently long time at a stretch to enable him to practise concentration and meditation in each centre of Power. He cannot therefore detain Kundalinī within the Sushumnā longer than his power of Kumbhaka permits. He must consequently come down upon the earth i.e. the Mūlādhāra, which is the centre of the element earth, after having drunk of the heavenly ambrosia. The sādḥaka must practise this again and again and by constant practice, the cause of rebirth i.e. *vāsanā* (desire) is removed." This explanation sounds very profound and highly psychical, but it is not at all convincing. Similarly, the present author wonders how many writers on Tantras and how many Tāntrikas understood the theory of sublimation put forward in 'Tantras as a way of realization' (Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV. pp. 233-235) by way of explaining the insistence on five makāras. The first question is: why was it necessary to employ vulgar language to describe a state of profound bliss? Supposing the explanation of madya offered by Woodroffe is accepted, what is the explanation about offering flesh and fish? One cannot easily get out of 'matsyāśī' and 'māmsāśī' the esoteric sense required by the apologists. The Kulārṇava, the Pārānanda-sūtra and several

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quotes पीत्वा ... पतति घृतले, and takes it in a literal sense by citing a passage आगलान्तं पिबेद् द्रव्यं (on V. 22 p. 213) from कुलार्णव VII. 99. कौलावलीतन्त्र (VIII. 164-165) has this verse but reads पतित्वा च महितले. The next verse in this last work is: अलिमीनाङ्गनासङ्गे यत्सुखं जायते दृणाम्। तदेव मोक्षो विदुषामनुष्ठानं च पातकम्। VIII 165-166. Verses 213-214 refer to the fifth makāra in *cakrapīṇḍ* and verses 223-225 justify promiscuous intercourse in Śrīcakra and verse 226 says 'it is the sinful *vāsanā* that is reprehensible, but to the pure-hearted everything is pure (*omnia sancta sanctis*)'. The कालीविलासतन्त्र (ed. by A. Avalon, 1917 Tantrik Texts, vol VI.) has the verse पीत्वा पीत्वा ... घृण पीत्वा घृणन् सत्यसंमतम्। (VI. 25).

other works almost always employ the words *madya*, *māmsa* and fish in the ordinary sense. They rarely, if at all, drop the hint that words like *matsya* and *māmsa* are being used in an esoteric sense and proceed to deal with realities of *madya* and flesh. The *Kulārṇava* quotes (II. 126) the verse of Manu IX, 93 (*surā vai malam-annānām &c.*), provides for the preparation of the three kinds of *surā* (V. 15-21), and says (V. 30) that *surā* is the 12th kind among intoxicants and that there are eleven other kinds of intoxicants made from jack-fruit, grapes, dates, sugar-cane &c (V. 29). In XI. 22-35 the *Kulārṇava* dilates upon the etiquette to be observed in drinking wine as part of Kaula practice. It proceeds (V. 44) to divide flesh into three classes viz. of animals that fly in the sky (birds), of aquatic animals and of those that move on the earth. The ¹⁷⁵⁹ *Svacchandatantra* (a work of great authority in Kashmir Śaivism) prescribes that various kinds of fish and meat and other food that can be licked and drunk should be poured in front of Śiva (image) and one should not stint for money. Quotations from *Pārānanda-sūtra* (notes 1698, 1703-4) make it perfectly clear that the words *madya*, *māmsa*, and *maithuna* are employed therein in the ordinary sense. *Pārānandasūtra* (on pp. 80-81, paragraphs 69-70 and pp 82-83 para. 76-80) describes such obscene details of the *sādhaka's* sexual intercourse that it is not possible to set them down here. The ordinary worship of *Devī* was elaborate enough, containing as it did 16 *upacāras* (vide p. 164 note 420 above). Where was the necessity of bringing in wine, meat and *maithuna* as an absolutely necessary part of the worship of *Devī*? The *Kulārṇava* and other *tantras* praise the *Vedas*, employ *vedic mantras* and quote ¹⁷⁶⁰ *Upaniṣad* and *Gītā* passages. For example, *Mahānirvāṇa* V. 197 ff employs *Vedic mantras* (as noted on p. 1058) for sanctifying the five *makāras*, the three mantras 'Āpo hi ethā' Rg. X. 9. 1-3 in *Nāmakarana* (*ibid.* IX. 150-152), 'Tac-oakṣur' Rg. VII. 66. 16 in *Niskramana* (*ibid.* IX. 163), 'Viṣṇuryonim' Rg. X. 184. 1 in *Garbhādhāna* (*ibid.* IX. 96), 'Ayam te yonir' Rg. III. 29. 10 in the worship of *Agni* (*ibid.* IX. 21) and the verse 'Kālī Karālī' (*Mundakopaniṣad* I. 2. 4)

1759. मत्स्यमासाभ्यनेकानि देवपेयानि यानि च । अयमापुरवेष्टमोर्वित्तशालं
विभजितं ॥ स्वच्छन्दतन्त्र II (पटल) 135 (Kashmir S. series with the com उद्योत
of क्षेमराज); मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यानन्यानि च वरानने । साचारश्च निराचारोऽङ्घ्रिनी न
क्षुत्यस्तयेत् । *ibid.* V. 48

1760. कुलार्णव XII. 33 cites the verse यद्रूप देवे &c (which is श्वेताश्वतरोप
VI. 23); vide महानिर्वाण II. 44-45 for adopting ते उप 'भीषास्माद्वातः पक्षे
भीषोदिति धृयः । ... द्रुत्युर्धावति पञ्चमः ।

in the worship of the seven tongues of Agni. The Mahānirvāna (VIII. 214-215) prescribes Gītā IV. 24 (brahmārpanam brahma havir) as the mantra to be recited by the leader of the Tattva-cakra in offering the five *tattvas* and in sanctifying them. In spite of all this lip service to the Veda the tantras ignore the great moral dangers involved in their persistent teaching of five *makāras* and also pay no heed to the impressive advice of the Gītā (III. 21) that whatever a great or honoured man does or holds as authoritative is followed by all common people. There are several late medieval works about the Kaula cult that speak of drinking wine, eating flesh and maithuna in the vulgar sense as means of Devī worship and yet assert that by doing so *mukti* (liberation) would be secured. Two verses from a ms of a tāntrik work called Kaularahasya (containing one hundred verses) will bring home to the reader how common people understood the cult of the *makāras*.¹⁷⁶¹

Prof Heinrich Zimmer in the 'Art of Indian Asia' (vol. I pp. 129-130) observes 'such living forms are suggested to the Indian artist by a dynamic philosophy that is intrinsic to his religious and philosophical tradition, for the worship of the life-force pouring into the universe and maintaining it, manifesting itself no less in the gross matter of daily experience than in the divine beings of religious vision constitutes the very foundation of Indian religious life. According to this doctrine which was particularly influential in the great periods of Indian art, release from the bondage of our normal human imperfection can be gained not only through the world-negating methods of asceticism (*yoga*) but equally through a perfect realization of love and its sexual enjoyment (*bhoga*). According to this view which has been eloquently expressed in the so-called Tāntic symbols and rituals of both the Hindu and Buddhist traditions, there is intrinsically no antagonism between *yoga* and *bhoga*. The role played by the guru, the spiritual guide and teacher in the stern masculine disciplines of *yoga*, is

1761. निधाय धारा वदन्ते सुधायाः श्रीचक्रमन्त्रस्य कुलकमेण। आस्वाद्य मयं पिशितं
सुगाक्षीनालिङ्गं च मोक्षं सुधियो लभन्ते॥ आस्वादयन्तः पिशितस्य खण्डमाकण्डपूर्णं च सुधा
पिबन्त। सुगक्षणासङ्गतमाचरन्तो मुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वयं ब्रजाम॥ verses 4 and 7 of
कौलराहस्य, D C ms. No. 959 of 1884-87 copied in संवत् 1790, i.e. in 1734
A. D. This may be compared with the doctrine of the नीलपददर्शन quoted
above (p. 1073) There is a ms. in the BORI at Poona (D C. No. 994 of
1891-1895) called एतन्कारशोधनविधि, which describes the sanctifications of
five *makāras* with Vedic mantras on the same lines as the महानिराणतन्त्र
cited above.

taken over in the initiations of bhoga by the devout and sensual helpmate. The initiating woman plays the part of Śakti while the male initiate assumes that of Śiva and both attain together to the realisation of the immanence within themselves of the consubstantiality of the Goddesses and the God.¹⁷⁶² It has already been stated (p. 1054) that Prof. Zimmer is wrong in thinking that the Tantrik rites were systematically disparaged as 'vāmamārga' by the Indian partisans of Yoga. He is also wrong (p. 130) when he says that 'throughout the first millenium A. D. they (Tantric rites) were a basic element of normal Indian experience.' There is really very little evidence to substantiate this claim. He makes this sweeping generalisation as an art critic and historian of Indian Art from the few tantric sculptures on the Puri and other temples in Orissa and some other places in India. Vide the well-known work 'Bengal Lancer' by F. Yeats-Brown (London, Golancz, 1930) pp 236-237, where the superintendent of the temple of Jagannātha justifies the obscene frescoes on the ground that until a man is master of his gross body he cannot see the Godhead and feels sure that future ages will look on Tantrik psychology with understanding.

One or two very peculiar notions and practices of the Tantrikas may be briefly mentioned here. The offering of flesh, wine and mudrā to the *devatā* with the recital of three *bijas* 'ān, hrīm, krom' and the mantras 'om Ānanda-bhairavāya namaḥ' and 'om Ānandabhairavayai namaḥ' was technically called *suddhā*.¹⁷⁶² The Mahānirvāna and Tantrarāja-tantra state that to drink wine without *suddhā*.¹⁷⁶³

1762. हृदि विना मद्यपानं केवलं विषभक्षणम्। चिररोगी भवेत्तन्त्री स्वल्पाद्युत्थितैः चिरात्॥ महानिर्वाणः VI. 13 Sir John Woodroffe offers the rather amusing explanation that wine without food produces greater injury and that *japa* of mantra and the performance of other rites were believed by the sādhanas to remove the curse from wine and that the sādhanas meditates upon the union of the Goddess and God Śiva in the wine, the latter being itself a *devatā* सत्यवेताद्वापरेषु यथा मद्यादिसेवनम्। कलावपि तथा कुर्यात् कुलकर्मास्तुतः॥ कुलमार्गेण तत्त्वानि ज्ञोयितव्यानि च योगिने। ये द्रव्यः सत्यवचसे नहि तान् वाचते कलिः॥ महानिर्वाणः IV. 56-60.

1763. The कुलार्णव (17 25) defines वीर as 'वीतरागमदङ्गेशकोपमात्सर्यमोहतः। रजस्तनोविद्वत्त्वाहीर इत्यभिधीयते॥'. In spite of these requirements of high qualities the रुद्रयामल (in 28. 31-36) provides that a वीर should honour the beautiful wife of another (or 'his own wife or another's') wearing charming ornaments whose body is suffused with erotic passion and who has become

(Continued on next page)

was like swallowing poison, that the person doing so would suffer from diseases for a long time, would soon die prematurely and that wine was to be drunk even by one who has attained some perfection only up till the mind has reached an ecstatic state of absorption (in thoughts of Devī) and that if he drinks beyond that stage he at once becomes a sinner (vide also Kulārnava VII. 97-98 for the last proposition).

A most revolting rite from the view-point of all unsophisticated people is what is called 'cakra-pūjā' (worship in a circle). An equal number of men and women without distinction of caste and even near blood relations secretly meet at night and sit in a circle (vide Kaulāvalinirṇaya VIII. 76). The Goddess is represented by a *yantra* (diagram). There is a leader of the cakra. The regulations were that only persons who had attained the status of *Vīra* (defined above in n 1763) were to be admitted¹⁷⁶⁴ and *pasus* (ordinary men with beastly passions not curbed) were to be excluded. What assurance was there that the leader of the cakra himself possessed the noble qualities mentioned in the verse quoted above and would choose only men possessed of similar qualities? The women assembled cast their bodices in a receptacle and each of the assembled men secured a female companion for that night by lot i. e. by taking a bodice out of those contained in the receptacle. The practice of

(Continued from last page)

day with wine 'अथ वीरो यजेत्कान्ता परकीयामथापि वा । ... महानलतसाङ्गीमासवानन्द-
विद्यताम् । &c. The महानिर्वाणः I. 57 refers to the three categories of साधकसः viz.
पद्म, वीर and दिव्य, the last being defined as दिव्यश्च देवतामायः छुद्धान्तःकरणः सदा ।
द्वन्द्वानीतो धीतरागः सर्वभूतसमः क्षमी ॥ (ibid. I 55) The Tantras contain con-
flicting views on these three bhāvas. The Kālivilāsa-tantra says that men
of divya type existed only in Satya-yuga and Tretāyuga, Vīra only in Tretā
and Dvāpara and these two were non-existent in Kali and Paśu-bhāva
remained in Kali (VI. 10 and 21).

1764. Vide 'Sakti and Śākta' p. 354, Farquhar's 'Outlines of the
religious Literature of India' p. 203, महानिर्वाणतन्त्र VIII. 204-219 औचक्र-
पूजान्तं शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम् । कदाचित्तैव वक्तव्यमित्याह्ना परमेस्वति ॥ कुलधर्मादिकं सर्वं
सर्वोत्सवाह सर्वदा । गोपयेच्च प्रयत्नेन जननीजाराभवेत् । वेदशास्त्रपुराणानि स्पृष्टानि गणिका
इव । इयं तु शाम्भवी विद्या गुप्ता कुलवधुरिव ॥ कुलार्णव XI. 79, 84, 85. In the महानि-
र्वाण (IV 79-80), however, Śiva is made to say that the Kaulika-śādhana
should be made openly and that what he said in other tantras about the
concealment of Kaulikadharmā not being blamable was not applicable when
the Kali age became powerful

Śricakra must have given rise to great obloquy and unpopularity for the Tāntrikas. Therefore, the Kulārṇava¹⁷⁶⁵ advises that cakrapūjā should be *sub rosa*. 'What happens at Śricakra, whether good or bad, should never be uttered (in public); this is the order (of God); one should never give out information about what happens at Cakrapūjā'. The 18th century Mahānirvāṇatantra, which is reformist in character, states that, since in the Kali age (in which people are weak and the influence of sinful age is very strong), for the last tattva (i. e. maithuna) one's own wife is alone to be the Śakti because in that case no fault can be found or some substitute like red sandalwood paste may be employed. In the author's youth whispers floated about that in some towns in Mahārāstra cakrapūjā was practised, that even great Pandits thought that their learning was due to the favour of Devī, that they, though very orthodox in other respects, took once a year in Devipūjā a thimbleful of wine as *prasāda*. The learned Achyutarāya¹⁷⁶⁶ Modak of Nasik composed at Nasik a work called 'Avaidika-dhikkṛti' (condemnation of non-vaidika practices) wherein he severely handled the cult of the five makāras.

Naturally common people, who could not appreciate or understand the abstruse and subtle philosophy of Śakti, Nāda, Bindu and so forth, seized with avidity upon the apparently easy path of worship of Śakti by the five makāras and the mantras, bijas, cakras and the like taught by the Tantras and it has been seen above (pp. 1073-76) to what depths some persons professing to be gurus, Śāktas and Tāntrikas descended in course of time.

The path of the Tantras was in its higher level one of *Upāsana* or *Bhakti*, though it very often degenerated into magic and moral depravity. The deity worshipped viz. Parameśvarī

1765; शेषतस्तु महेशानि निर्वाहं प्रयत्ने कलौ । स्त्रीया केवला ज्ञेया सर्वदोषविपजिता ॥
अथवा स्वयम्भादि कुसुमं प्राणवल्लभम् । कथितं तत्पतिनिधौ कुसीदं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ महाविष्णुः
VI. 14-15, अत्र means 'in offering शेषतस्तु' (i. e. the 5th). The com.
explains 'कुसीदं रक्तचन्दनम्'. Women that could be śaktis were of three
classes, स्त्रीया (one's own wife), परकीया (wife of another) and साधारणी (a
woman who is a *śākyā*).

1766. Vide for Achyutarāya Modak 'Taraporevala Commemoration
volume' of the Deccan College Research Institute, pp 214-220. The work
was finished at Pāñcavati in śaka 1736 Phālguna bright half 10th (i. e.
in 1815 A D)

presented three aspects to the *upāsaka*¹⁷⁶⁷ (devotee) viz. gross (sthūla), subtle (sūkṣma) and para (highest). The first aspect is represented by the form of Devī with hands, feet and other limbs, which is fit for worship with the hands and the eyes of the devotee; the second aspect consists of mantras, which are fit for apprehension with the organs of hearing and speech by those who have the good fortune to receive the mantras from a worthy guru. The third aspect (*para*) is one to be apprehended by the mind of the sādṛhaka and described as all-pervading consciousness and the like (in Nityāsodāśikā VI. 49-50).

Some modern writers have been somewhat unjust to the whole Tāntrik literature in labelling it all as black magic or as full of obscenities. The present writer is not one of those who sometimes hold that what is not understood is either false, absurd or non-existent. He is prepared to believe that the end and aim of a few of the higher minds among Tāntrikas and of some of the works on Tantra was the attainment of high spiritual powers by Yoga practices, the Realization of the Supreme Tattva (Principle) variously designated as *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva* or *Devī*, and Liberation (mokṣa). He is aware that many of these claim to be based on Vedic traditions, teachings and practices and to have further developed the conceptions underlying Vedic teachings and ritual and that even the magic rites contained in several Tāntrik works had their counterparts, though on a much smaller scale, in the R̥gveda, the Atharvaveda, Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa and other Vedic works. The present author, though he has carefully studied many of the Tantras and the Yogasūtra of Patañjali with the bhāṣya and commentaries thereon, has to admit that he has had no mystic experience, but he is not prepared to deny that prophets, saints, poets and others might have mystic visions and experiences. Man's psychic powers are vast

1767. अथात्रोपास्यायाः परमेश्वरार्त्तलीणि रूपाण्युपास्तियोग्यानि स्थूलं सूक्ष्मं परं चेति । तत्रार्थं करचरणाद्यवयवशीलं मन्त्रसिद्धिमत्ता चक्षुरिन्द्रियपाणीन्द्रिययोग्यम् । ततः पद्मनिभां देवीं बालाकैकिरणाख्याम्, इत्यादिना बह्व्यमाणम् । द्वितीयं मन्त्रात्मकं पुण्यवर्ता अवपेन्द्रिय-पाणीन्द्रिययोग्यम् । .. तृतीयं वासनात्मकं पुण्यवर्ता मनसो योग्यं — चैतन्यमात्मनो रूपम् — इत्यादिना पठे पदले बह्व्यमाणम् । एतावन्नितयातीतं तु वाङ्मनसातीतं सुकैरहतयाऽद्भुत्यमानमखण्डं रूपम् । सेतुबन्ध on नित्यायोदशिका pp 7-8 The words चैतन्यमात्मनो रूपम् occur in नित्यायोदशिका VI 50 p 213. नित्या is 'श्रीपरमेशिवाभिन्ना शक्तिरेव तावन्नित्य-एवमुच्यते ।' सेतुबन्ध on p 25. The नित्यायोदशिका (I 138-160) contains a finely worded description of the gross aspect of Devī beginning with the half verse 'ततः पद्मनिभा देवीं बालाकैकिरणाख्याम्.'

and unknown as propounded in Alexis Carrell's work 'Man the unknown' and in 'Invisible influence' by Dr. Alexander Cannon (15th impression, Rider and Co., London, 1935). He knows that some of the Tāntrik works made a distinction between the rules of ordinary social life and conventions (*samāja-dharma*) and the peculiar forms of Tāntrik worship, in which, while it lasts, no distinction is made on the ground of caste or sex (vide notes 1711 and 1713). It may further be conceded that the Tantra works placed women on a footing of equality with men, gave them an exalted position and that they endeavoured to provide a common platform (as shown in n. 1704 above) for differing and wrangling sects of Vaisnavas, Śaivas and others by putting forward Devī as the object of worship for all; but they had not much success as is shown by the facts that Vaisnavas and Śaivas still carried on their quarrels and that the Tāntrik texts themselves fell into five classes, viz. Śaiva, Śākta, Vaisnava, Saura and Gānapatya and that there are differing doctrines among the Tāntrikas called Kādimata, Hādīmata &c.

The matters that distinguish Tāntrik works from other religious literature in Sanskrit are the ¹⁷⁶⁸ promise of the attainment of miraculous powers, the Realization of the one Supreme Principle in a short time by means of the Tāntrik *sādhana* 'method or procedure' (vide Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' p. XIV), by their insistence on the worship of Devī with makāras alone as yielding the desired results (as in Mahā-nirvāṇa V. 24 'pañcatattva-vihīnāyām pūjāyām na phalod-

1768, Sir John Woodroffe remarks (in the Introduction to his 'Principles of Tantra' part 2, pp. XII-XIV) that the one topic that appears to differentiate Tantras from other religious works is the constituent parts of its ritual such as the mantras, bijas, mudrās, yantras, *bhūtaśuddhi* and that it is mainly by these items rather than by anything else that the tāntrik character of a work is established. Vide also 'the Śāktas' by E. A. Payne p. 137 for a similar view. Sir John Woodroffe, while reviewing Payne's work (in JRAS for 1935 at p. 387), himself agreed that what distinguished the Śākta ritual is the mantra and magical sections and that part of it which deals with the secret ritual, that, while there is ordinarily no *bhoga* (enjoyment) where there is *yoga*, in the Śākta doctrine a man may have both *yoga* and *bhoga* and that this is a distinct and profound characteristic of that doctrine. Even the Buddhist Vajrayāna Tantras purport to aim at the attainment of *bodhi* (vide *Gṛhyasamāja* p. 154, *Sādhana-mālā* I. p. 225 and II. p. 421) and ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 4 ये तु सत्त्वाः समास्तुः सर्वसद्बलवर्जिताः ते स्वकृन्ति परं बोधिं जन्मनीहेव साधकाः ॥

bhavaḥ') and on their peculiar ritual of mantras, bījas (syllables meaningless to ordinary men), nyāsas, mudrās, cakras, yantras and similar things for attaining their goal. The condemnation poured on Tāntricism is principally due to their insistence on wine, meat and sexual unions as the best and the only means for the effective worship of Devī, their theory that by merely repeating some mantra or mantras over wine, meat and other tattvas, by offering them to Devī and by meditation on her, one may drink wine or eat meat, when in the same breath they say emphatically that partaking of wine and meat is sinful without this ritual. This antagonizes those who are not *kaulas* and who hold that this persistent teaching is very dangerous for the common run of men and savours of hypocrisy.

Some of the Tantras practically inculcated what appears to non-tāntrikas unbridled licence. The Kaulāvalī-nirnaya (IV. 15 ff) asserts: 'The Śāktas have no higher means of happiness and liberation than the fifth tattva (i. e. maithuna); a sādḥaka becomes *siddha* only by the (practice) of the fifth tattva. If he resorts only to the first (i. e. wine) he becomes only Bhairava, if only to the 2nd (meat) he becomes Brahmā, by the third (fish) he becomes a mahābhairava, by the 4th (mudrā) he becomes foremost among sādḥakas.¹⁷⁶⁹ The same Tantra goes further and frankly says 'all women are fit for intercourse to a (Śākta) worshipper except the wives of his guru or of those Śāktas who have attained to the status of *Vīra*, that for those who have reached the stage of *advaita* there is no prohibition nor is anything enjoined. To the pure everything is pure, it is only the hankering that is blamable.' In this connection that work advances certain puerile and obscene arguments (in VIII. 223-225) about illicit or incestuous intercourse that cannot be set out here. That tantra does not stand alone in such statements. For example, the Kālivilāsatāntara (X. 20-21) allows adulterous intercourse to a 'Śākta' devotee pro-

1769. अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि पञ्चतत्त्वविनिर्णयम् । पञ्चमास्तु परं नास्ति ज्ञात्तानां सुख-
मोक्षयोः । केवले. पञ्चमेव सिद्धौ भवति साधकः । केवलेचाद्ययोगेन साधको भैरवो भवेत् । &c.
कौलावलीनिर्णय IV. 15-16, गुरुवीरवधूत्यवत्त्वा रम्या- सर्वाश्च योषितः । एता वज्र्याः प्रयत्नेन
सन्निग्धाना च सयदा ॥ अद्वैतानां च कुत्रापि निषिद्धौ नैव विद्यते । ... अत एव यदा यत्न
वासना कुत्सिता भवेत् । तदा दोषाय भवति नान्यथा इष्टार्थं कश्चित् ॥ कौलावलीनिर्णय VIII.
221-222, 226; पवित्रं सकलं चैव वासना कुत्सिता भवेत् । ibid. XVII. 170 दीक्षितः
परनारीषु यदि मेधुनमाचरेत् । न बिन्दोः पातनं कार्यं कृते च ब्रह्महा भवेत् । यदि न प्रपतेद्
बिन्दुः परनारीषु पार्वति । सर्वसिद्धींश्चरो भूत्वा विदेरेद् भूमिमण्डले ॥ कालीविलासतन्त्र X.
20-21.

vided it is not carried to the last stage of emission and avers that, if he observes the condition in the proviso, he would become the master of supernatural powers in spite of adultery. It should be noted that the author of this work has unabashed hardihood to make Śiva tell this to Pārvatī. About wine that work remarks 'just as drinking of soma¹⁷⁷⁰ is prescribed for brāhmanas is solemn Vedic sacrifice, similarly wine should be drunk at proper times (or according to the practice of Kaulas), since it confers enjoyment as well as mokṣa; drinking wine is blamable in the case of those who hanker after benefits or who are egoistic; but in the case of those that are free from egoism there is neither prohibition (of drinking) nor the enjoining of it. One who is free from the fetters of making distinctions should practise drinking wine for the purpose of remembering the meaning of the mantras and for making his mind fixed (on worship) but he who resorts to wine, and other tattvas merely for pleasure is sinful' The teachings of works like the Kaulāvalī-nirṇaya about drinking wine and sexual intercourse with all sorts of women as the highest means of Śakti worship by persons professing to be *advaitins* led to great depravity and sexual immorality and orgies as indicated by the criticism in medieval works cited above (pp. 1073-76) that regarded Tāntrik teachings as execrable, though some medieval Hindu works admitted into religious practices nyāsa, mudrā, yantra and the like, which were deemed to be innocuous and which would be described in this work later on. The mere intention of doing good if certain conditions were fulfilled is not enough excuse, when it is most likely that the means proposed for attaining a high spiritual level and for liberation would have the opposite effect on most people. Taking all things into consideration, the present author is constrained to observe that medieval and recent writers who severely criticized Tāntrik works were on the whole largely justified in their condemnation of Tāntrik practices as enunciated in many Tāntrik works and of the works themselves. For one man that attained super-normal powers, high spiritual level and great mystic experience there must have been hundreds of hypocrites, charlatans, and licentious men who deluded trustful and ignorant men and particularly women.

1770. यथा कहुषु विमानां सोमपानं विधीयते । मद्यपानं तथा कार्यं समये भोगमोक्षदम् ॥
फलार्थनामहङ्कारवता दूषणमेव हि । निरहंकारिणां चैव न निययो न वा विधिः ॥ कौलावली
VIII. 90-91. मन्त्रार्थस्मरणार्थं तु मनसः स्थिरहेतवे । भेदपादाविनिर्मुक्तौ मद्यपानं समा-
चरेत् । सेवेत यः सुखार्थाय मद्यादीनि स पातकी ॥ *ibid.* VIII. 74.

Only a few Purānas like the Devīpurāna, the Kālikā, the Devīmāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya provide for the employment of some of the condemned makāras (madya, māmsa, matsya) in the worship of the Great Goddess. From about the 6th or 7th century A D. Purānas began to incorporate the special ceremonial characteristics of the Śāktas and Tāntrikas. Aparārka quotes a passage¹⁷⁷¹ from the Devīpurāna wherein the qualifications of a *Sthāpaka* (one who performs Devapratiṣṭhā) are set out, viz. he would be the best *Sthāpaka* for establishing images of Devī and the Mātr̥s, who knows the *vāma* (left or opposite) and the *dakṣiṇa* (right) path of worship, who has thoroughly mastered the veda relating to the Mātr̥s (the Mother Goddesses), who is clever in the interpretation of Pañcarātra works and is proficient in the Tantras of the Mātr̥s &c. The Kālikā-purāna devotes many chapters (54 ff) to the description of mantras, kavacas, mudrās, nyāsas &c. The Bhāgavatapurāna also and Agni¹⁷⁷² 372 34 expressly say that the worship of gods and of Viṣṇu also is either *vaidiki*, *tāntriki* or *mīśrā*, the first and third being for the three higher varṇas and the *tāntriki* for śūdras. The Bhāgavatapurāna refers to the worship of Keśava laid down in the Tantras for him who desires to cast out the knot (bondage or grief) of the heart. It (Bhāgavata) also mentions¹⁷⁷³ Vaidiki and Tāntriki dīksā (in XI. 11. 37) and refers to the Tāntrik method of the angas, upāngas, āyudhas and decorations in the worship of the Lord of Lakṣmī.¹⁷⁷⁴ Some of the Purānas and medieval nibandhas, however, fully utilized what Tantras had to say about mantras, jāpa, nyāsa, mandala, cakra, yantra and

1771 यदपि देवीपुराणे—वामदक्षिणवेत्ता यो मातृवेदार्थपारंगः। स भवेत्स्थापकः
श्रेष्ठो देवीनां मातरा(वृका?) सु च। पञ्चरात्रार्थकुशलो मातृतन्त्रविशारदः। &c अपरांति p.16,
who then quotes Matsya 265. 1-5 for the qualifications of sthāpaka in which
there is no reference to वाम, दक्षिण or तन्त्र. This and the quotations from
the Bhāgavata indicate that the Matsya was composed some centuries
before the देवीपुराण and भागवतपुराण

1772. वैदिकस्तान्त्रिकी मिश्रो विष्णोर्वै त्रिविधो मन्त्रः। त्रयाणामीप्सितेनैकविधिना हरि-
मन्त्रयेत्। अग्नि 372 34.

1773. य आशु हृदयग्रन्थि निर्जिहार्तुः परात्मनः। विधिनापञ्चरेद् देवं तन्त्रोक्तेन च
केशवम्॥ लब्धायुग्रह आचार्यात्तेन सन्निहितगमः। पिण्डं विशेष्य संन्यासकृतरक्षोर्चयेद्धरिम्॥
भागवत XI. 3 47 and 49. Here पिण्डशोधन refers to the भूतशुद्धि prescribed in
such तान्त्रिक works as महाभिर्वाणतन्त्र (V. 93-105) and taken over in late
medieval works like the पूजाप्रकाश pp. 129-133 and न्यास also is mentioned
as a means of protection against evil.

1774. तान्त्रिकाः परित्थार्यां केवलस्य श्रियः पतेः। अङ्गोपाङ्गायुधाकल्पं कल्पयन्ति
परैरपि। भागवत XII. 11. 2.

similar matters. This will be illustrated later by some examples. Even for such a simple and common topic as the 16 upacāras of worship, the Varsakriyā-kaumudī (p. 156) and Ekādaśī-tattva (p. 59) quote the Prapañcasāra-tantra (VI. 41-42).

The Purāṇas and some smṛitis proscribe short mantras of five, six, eight, twelve, thirteen and more syllables as very efficacious for securing all objects. A few of them are set out in the note ¹⁷⁷⁵ below. Medhātithi or Manu says that the word mantra primarily means a part of the Veda comprising Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, treated as such by those who have studied the Veda, and that expressions like "Agnayo svāhā" ¹⁷⁷⁶ employed in rites like Vaiśvadeva are called mantras in a secondary sense by way of praise. The vedic conception was that a mantra has great potency and that it must be correctly repeated to secure the desired result, that a mantra defective as to accent or as to a letter or wrongly applied did not convey the meaning intended and that becoming a thunderbolt in the form of a word or words it destroys ¹⁷⁷⁷ the *yajamāna*. Vedic mantras are

^{1775.} Vide शारदालिख I. 73 ff for references to mantras of five or more letters. A pañcākṣara mantra is नमो शिवाय (in लिङ्गपुराण I. 85); the same becomes a mantra of six letters when 'om' is prefixed. Other mantras of six letters are: ओं नमो विष्णवे (in ब्रह्मसंहिता VI. 213), ओं नमो ब्रह्मणे (in ऐमात्रि on सूत vol I, p. 227), श्रीरामरामरामेति (vide note 219 above) and two more on p. 434 under 'Sadaśāstramantra'. 'Khakholkāya namah' is a sadāksara mantra of Āditya quoted from भविष्यपुराण in ऐमात्रि (सूत II. p. 521) and in Kalpataru on vrata p 9 and 199 (in the latter it is called मूलमन्त्र under Nimbāsaptamī, the description of which is taken from Bhavishya, Brāhma-parva, chap 215 and 216), mantras of eight letters are. ओं नमो नारायणाय (in नारदपुराण I. 16. 38-39, ब्रह्मपुराण 60 24, पराशर 120, 7), ओं नमो वासुदेवाय (in वैष्णवसंहिता सूत्र IV. 12, नरसिंह 63 6, 7 by अपराजित, मत्स्य 102. 4 q. by रुद्रसिंह I. p. 182 as मूलमन्त्र); a mantra of twelve letters is ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय (in नारद 1. 16 38-39, नरसिंह 7. 43); for a mantra of 13 letters about शत, vide note 219 above), mantras of 16 letters are गोपीजनपद्मचरणं शरणं प्रपद्ये (in नारद 11. 59. 44) and ह्रीं गौरी रुद्रदेविते योगेश्वरि हूं कन्द राणा (in शारदा IX. 99).

¹⁷⁷⁶ मन्त्रशब्देन देवतोद्देशशब्दनाम्न रसादकासन्तोषाग्रे रसादेश्यमस्मिन्निमित्ते न ह्यन्ये मन्त्रा दैव्यदेवेषु विनिश्चितास्तेषु च मन्त्रत्वं प्रज्ञेयमिति । न ह्यस्वाध्यायैः श्रुतिनां मन्त्रत्वमिति । स्वाध्यायैकदेशः कश्चित्पठ्यते सामान्यो वेदाध्यायिर्भिन्नश्च इति व्यपदिष्टे । पयसास्तत्रैव पद्यार्थमनन्तम् । मेधातिथि on मनु III 121 (in Dr Jha's edition)

^{1777.} Vide II of Dh. vol. II. p. 347 and note 860, where verse 52 from the Pāṇinīyāsikrā is quoted and the story of the result of wrong accentuation of the word 'Indraśatruḥ' is briefly set out from Tnī, S. II. 4. 12 1 and Snt, Br I. 6. 3. 8-16.

of four classes viz. *rk* (which is metrical), *yajus* (which has no restriction as to metre but which must be a sentence), a *sāman* (which is sung) and *ṛgāda* (i.e. *praiṣa*, meaning words that are addressed by one person to another calling upon the latter to do a certain act, e.g. the words 'srucaḥ sammrddhi, proksanīr-āśādaya'. *Nigadas* are *yajus* in form but are distinguished from *yajus* by the fact that the former are loudly uttered, while a *yajus* is ordinarily recited in a low voice.¹⁷⁷⁸ The most sacred mantra is the *Gāyatrī* (Rg. III. 62. 10 'tat-savitur' &c). The *Atharvaveda* (XIX. 71. 1) calls it *Vedamātā* (the mother of the Veda). The *Bṛahadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (V. 14) contains a grand eulogy of the *Gāyatrī*.¹⁷⁷⁹ *Om* is a very sacred syllable, a symbol of *brahma* and may be called in the language of the Tantras a *bija*. There are only a few syllables such as *om*, *phat*, *vasat* in the Vedic literature that on the face of them have no meaning but are like *bija* mantras in the Tantra sense. There is a *Bijānghanṭu* (a dictionary of *bija* mantras) printed in 'Tāntrik texts' Vol. I. pp. 28-29 (where monosyllabic *bijas* such as *Hrim*, *Śrim*, *Kṛim*, *Hum*, *phat*, are set out and described in symbolic words indicated in note 1708 above. It is stated about a dozen times in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* viz. it is the perfection of sacrifice when it is *rūpasamrddha* (perfect as to its form) i.e. when the *rk* verse pointedly refers to the sacrificial act that is being performed.¹⁷⁸⁰ The *Nirukta* (I. 15-16) starts a lengthy discussion on Kautsa's view that mantras have no sense (or are purposeless). There is a long discussion in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* (I. 2. 31 ff) on the same lines as in the *Nirukta*. Jaimini states that there is no difference in the meanings of words employed in the Veda and those employed by people and Śābara adds in his *bhāṣya* (on P. M. S. I. 2. 32) that mantras are recited in sacrifices only for the purpose of conveying or manifesting the meaning.¹⁷⁸¹ It is difficult to

1778. Vide Jat. II 1. 35-45 and H of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 983-984 and note 2232 for further details about these

1779. Vide H of Dh Vol. II pp 302-304 for the meaoiog and eulogies of *Gāyatrī* in various Sanskrit works and pp. 301-302 for the eulogy of 'om', which is called 'pranava'.

1780. एतदेव यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमुपनिबदति। ऐ. वा III, (अध्याय), 5 (खण्ड)

1781. The *Nirukta* (I 16) quotes this *Brāhmaṇa* passage but reads *यद्ययुर्गमिवदतीति* in its discussion on the question whether Vedic mantras are significant. The words of the Ait. Br. 'yat karma kriyamānam ṛgabhivadati'

(Continued on next page)

define what a vedic mantra is and it is generally understood, as said by Śabara, that passages or verses are mantras that are recognised as such by the learned¹⁷³². The whole Veda is divided into five categories viz. *Vidhi* (hortatory passages as in 'Agnihotram juhuyāt'), *mantras*, *nāmadheya* (names such as *Udbhid* in 'Udbhida yajeta' or 'Viśvajit' as in 'Viśvajitā yajeta'), *niśedha* (prohibition as in 'nānrtam vadet') and *arthavāda* (explanatory or laudatory passages as in 'Vāyu is a deity that is swiftest'). The *Nirukta* (I 20) embodies the ancient view that the sages had an intuitive perception of Dharma and they transmitted the mantras by oral instruction to those that came after them and that had no intuitive perception of Dharma. The *mantras* and *stotras* were supposed even in the Rg. to induce the gods to come to the sacrifices and to bestow on those who recited them protection, valiant sons, cattle, wealth, victory and all sorts of things (e. g. vide Rg. I 102. 1-5, II. 24. 15-16, II. 25. 2, III. 31. 14, IX. 20. 7, IX. 72. 9, X. 78. 8, X. 105. 1). It has been shown above p. 920 (in notes 4167-4168) how the Purāṇas prescribed their own mantras for many religious acts but those mantras also are significant and not meaningless.

Mantras are the very heart and core of Tantrasāstra so much so that the sāstra is often spoken of as mantrasāstra. The theory of Tāntrik writings such as the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka* about mantras may be briefly stated as follows: In the human body there are ten nādis, the three principal being *Idā* (on the left side from the left testicle to the left nostril), *Susumnā* (in the middle of the body in the spinal chord) and *Pingalā* (on the right side from the right testicle to the right nostril). The *Kundalinī* lies asleep coiled like a snake in the *Mūlādhāra-cakra*. It is a form of the *śabda-brahma*. The *Devī* (or *Śakti*) assumes the form of *Kundalinī*, all gods reside in *Devī* and all mantras are Her forms (Śāradātilaka I. 55-57). It has already been stated how from contact with light (*Jyotiḥ*) *Śakti* becomes conscious and has a desire to create, then it solidifies and appears as a *bindu*. Through the instrumentality

(Continued from last page)

contain the same doctrine that the PMS and Śabara emphasize viz mantras are 'arthapratyāyaka' or 'arthaprakāśaka'. शबर on अविशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थ. (पू मी सू I. 2 32) says 'अर्थप्रत्यायनार्थमेव यज्ञे मन्त्रोच्चारणम्'

1782 अनाम्नातेषु मन्त्रत्वमाप्नोतेषु हि विभागः। पू मी सू II 1 34 on which Śabara remarks अनाम्नातेषु मन्त्रत्व न स्यादभिधायकेष्वपि। नाभिधायकत्व मन्त्रत्वे हेतुः किं तर्हि। अभियुक्तमयोग। येऽभियुक्तेर्मन्त्रा इति नोच्यन्ते न ते मन्त्राः॥

of Kāla (Time) bindu divides itself into three, gross (i. e. bija), subtle (sūkṣma i. e. nāda which is bijabindu) and para (i. e. bindu which is kāryabindu). This last is of the nature of an unmanifest sound and is called *śabdabrahma*^{1782a} by the sages (Śāradatīlaka I. 11-12, Prapañcasāra I. 41 ff). Śabdabrahma exists in all things as consciousness; it exists in the bodies of living human beings in the form of Kundalinī and then appears as letters in prose, poetry and so forth, being carried by Vāyu (air) to the throat, palate, teeth &c. The sounds thus produced are called *aksaras* and when written they are spoken of as *varnas* (letters of the alphabet, mātṛkā, which are 50 from *a* to *ksa*). The impulse to sound production arising in mūlādhāra-cakra is called 'para' (vāk),* it is called *paśyantī* when it reaches 'svādhīsthāna-cakra, madhyamā in the heart and *vaikhari* in the mouth. Both aksara and varna are Kundalinī made articulate in speech and visible in writing. All the *mantras* (some say they are nine crores) are evolved from the *varnas* of the alphabet that are deemed (by Tāntrikas) to be living conscious sound powers. It is the bija mantras like hrīm, śrīm, krīm that make visible the form of the Devatā (Mahānirvāna V. 18-19).¹⁷⁸³ It is wrong to suppose that mantras are mere letters or words or language. They assume different forms, such as bija-mantras, kavaca, hrdaya &c. The bijamantras like Hṛīm (representing Tribhuvaneśvari or Māyā), Śrīm (representing Lakṣmī), Krīm (representing Kālī) cannot possibly be called language, since they convey no meaning to ordinary men. They are the Devatā (Iṣṭadevatā of the

1782a. देवी is described in शारदातिलक I. 56-57 as शब्दब्रह्मस्वरूपिणी and पञ्चाक्षरार्णरूपिणी

1783. ताराया कमलाद्या च वार्यभवाद्या यथाक्रमम् । ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियाविशं सावित्री फथिता कलौ ॥ ... द्विजादीनां प्रमेदीयं द्यूदेयः परमेश्वरि । सन्धेयं वैदिकीं प्रोक्ता प्रागेवाह्निक-कर्माणम् ॥ सप्तनिर्वाणः VIII 87-88. ओम् is called तार, श्रीं is कमलाबीज and ऐं is वार्यभवाबीज About गायत्री the शारदाः (XXI 1-3) says 'अथो वदयामि गायत्री तत्त्वरूपां त्रयीमयीम् । यया प्रकाश्यते ब्रह्म सच्चिदानन्दलक्षणम् । प्रणवाद्यो व्याहृतयः संत स्युस्तत्पदादिकाः । चतुर्विंशत्यक्षरात्मा गायत्री शिरसान्विता ॥ सर्ववेदोद्भूतः सारो मन्त्रोयं समुदाहृतः ॥ For the seven व्याहृतिसः, vide H of Dh vol. II p. 301 note 713. Each is to be repeated preceded by om. The शिरस् of गायत्री is ओमापो ज्योती रतोऽमृतं ब्रह्मधूर्ध्वः स्वरोम् । The विष्णुप्रभोत्तर I 165 says about गायत्री 'अभिचारेषु तां देवीं विपरीतां प्रयोजयेत् ॥ कार्पा व्याहृतयश्चात्र विपरीताक्षरास्तथा । विपरीताक्षरं कार्यं शिरश्च मन्त्रेश्वर ॥ आदौ शिरः प्रयोजन्यं प्रणवाने च यादव । स्वाहास्थाने च फट्कारं साधयनामसमन्वितम् । गायत्री चिन्तयेत्तत्र क्षीतानलसममभाम् ... अभिचारे च होतव्या राजिका विपनिश्चिताः ॥ स्वरकमिथं होतव्यं कटु तैलमथापि वा । अन्त्यागसि न कर्तव्यमभिचारं तथैव तु ॥ महापरार्थं चलितं देवब्राह्मणकण्टकम् । अभिचारेण यो हन्यान्न स दोषेण लिप्यते ॥ verses 55-63,

sādhaka, the worshipper) imparted to the *sādhaka* by the qualified guru at the time of *dīkṣā* (initiation). They are not efficacious if merely learnt by reading books. A mantra according to Tāntrik works is the sound body of Śakti charged with the vibrations of the spiritual personality of the original Tāntrika seer of the *mantra* and endowed with a perpetual store of power by the Tāntrik seer. What is needed to awaken Power in the disciple and to reap the full effect of the mantra is the touch of the *guru*, the imagination and concentrated will power of the *sādhaka*. The deity willed that certain letters uttered by the seer should as sound or sounds convey such and such a meaning and should have a certain potency. The sounds represented by the letters are forms of Śivaśakti i.e. *śabdabrahma*. From this last the whole world proceeds in the form of sounds (*śabda*) and the objects (*artha*) which sounds or words denote. The Devatā, the mantra and the guru are the essentials of *sādhana* (procedure that leads on to Siddhi, laid down in Tāntrik works); the disciple has to revolve in his mind that the three are non-different. Mantra is not the same thing as a prayer. For a prayer a person may employ any words that he may choose, but in the case of a mantra definite letters are considered necessary, which are deemed to be the forms in which Śakti manifests Herself to the worshipper. A mantra may be in the form of words that have an obvious meaning or in the form of letters arranged in a particular order and that have no meaning to the uninitiated. It is recognised in some of the works on this śāstra that thought has creative power, that each person is Śiva, and can attain to higher and higher spiritual levels depending upon his ability to realise himself as Śiva. Thoughts are real, kind thoughts will do good to ourselves and to those around us, evil thoughts and wishes of others may cause us suffering.

Tāntrik works have their own mantras and they also employ Vedic mantras. For example, the mantra 'Jātavedase sunavāma' (Rg. I. 99. 1), though addressed to Agni, is employed in later works for invoking Durgā, the mantra 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Rg. VII. 59. 12) is addressed to Rudra, but is called *Mrtyunājaya*-mantra or *mṛtasañjivinī* mantra in Tāntrik works and is prescribed for purifying the mind (*cittaśuddhi*) in the *Mahānirvāṇa* (VIII. 243). Similarly, the *Gāyatrī* mantra (Rg. III. 62. 10) is employed by the Tāntrikas. Vide *Śāradātīlaka* XXI. 1-8 and 16 (latter for *dhyāna* of *Gāyatrī*) and *Prapañcasāra*, which

devotes the whole chapter 30 to the explanation of *om*, the *vyākṛtis* and the words of the Gāyatrī and Gāyatrī-sādhana). The Mahānirvāṇa prescribes the performance of Vaidikī *sandhyā* to be followed by the Tāntrikī *sandhyā*. The Tāntrikī Gāyatrī is 'Ādyāyā vidmahe Paramēśvāyā dhīmahi tan-nah Kālī pracodayāt' (Mahānirvāṇa V. 62-63). Even Śūdra Tāntrikas were to recite this last, while the three higher classes were to repeat the vedic Gāyatrī employing *om*, *śīm* and *aim* before it respectively. The importance of guru, mantra and devatā is emphatically brought out in the following verse 'the person, who considers guru as a mere mortal, a mantra as mere letters and images (of deities) as mere stones falls into Hell'¹⁷⁸⁴ The Rudrayāmala says 'If Śiva is angered, Guru can save (the pupil), but if Guru is angered, no one can save (the pupil)'.

The Paraśurāmakaṣpāsūtra, Jñānārnavatantra, the Śāradātilaka and almost all Tāntrika works say that mantras possess wonderful and inconceivable powers,¹⁷⁸⁵ that a follower of Tantra secures all powers by following the practices of the school of his guru traditionally handed down and by faith, that mantras are the means of securing the fruits desired, that the authoritativeness of Tantrasāstra depends mainly on the faith of the followers of the sāstra, that the sādḥaka should come to feel that guru, mantra, the deity, his own soul, mind and life-breaths are all one and then he will possess the knowledge of the Highest Self. Some of the Tāntrik works contain most exaggerated praises of mantras, particularly the śrividyaṃmantra of sixteen letters; e. g. Jñānārṇava says 'Even crores of Vājapeyas and thousands of Āśvamedhas are not equal (in merit) to even the utterance of Srividya and so also gifts of crores of Kapilā cows cannot be compared to one utterance of *Śrividya* (24th

1784. गुरौ मज्ज्यद्विं च मन्त्रे चाक्षरद्विकम् । प्रतिमासु शिलाद्विं कुर्वाणो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ कुलार्णव XII. 45, यौलालीनिर्णय X. 12-13, चन्द्रामल (II. 65) says 'गुरुः पिता गुरुर्माता गुरुर्देवो गुरुर्गतिः । इति कृते गुरुस्माता गुरौ कृते न कश्चन ॥' This verse occurs in कुलार्णव 12. 49 (reads गुरुर्देवो महेश्वर.)

1785 मन्त्राणामचिन्मयशक्तिः । संमदायविश्वात्म्यां सर्वसिद्धिः । विश्वासश्रुतिं प्रमाण्यम् । गुह्यमन्त्रदेवतात्मनः पवनानामैक्यनिष्कालनादन्तरात्मवित्तिः । परशुरामकल्पसूत्र I. 7-11, अकारादिकारान्ता मातृका पीठरूपिणी । ... ककारादिकारान्ता वर्णास्तु शिवरूपिणी । पञ्चाक्षरार्णवेण शब्दाख्यं वस्तु ज्ञयते । ... ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र I p. 1, मातृकावर्णभेदेभ्यः सर्वे मन्त्राः भजन्ति । मन्त्रविद्याविभागेन त्रिविधा मन्त्रजातयः ॥ ... शुभन्त्रा ह्युत्कृष्टन्ताः स्याद्द्विदन्ताश्च त्रिविधो मता । त्र्यसृका नमोन्ताः स्युरित्युक्ता मनवसिद्धिः ॥ शारदा II. 57 and 59 vide p. 118 note 305 where the verse 'चिन्मयस्य &c.' is quoted, राघवभट्ट quotes it on शारदा II. 59.

patala, verses 74-76). Vide Agnipurāṇa 125. 51-55 for mantras employed in killing an enemy, chapters 134 and 135 for Trailokyavijayavidyā and Sangrāmavijayavidyā respectively.

Numberless mantras are contained in the Tantras made from different arrangements of the constituent parts of a mantra. The Mahānirvāṇa first gives a mantra of ten syllables as noted below and then by different arrangements of the letters and by addition of certain other syllables and words like 'Kālīke' it forms twelve mantras, remarks that there are crores of mantras and that the mantras contained in all Tantras are all mantras of the Great¹⁷⁸⁶ Devi.

The word *mantra* is explained as derived from 'man' to think and 'traī' or 'trā'. Yāska's Nirukta (VII.12) derives it simply from 'man'. The Kulārṇava says 'mantra' is so called since it saves from all dangers, as the *sādhaka* thereby is led to ponder over God of immeasurable refulgence that is the only principle (in the world). A similar derivation is given by Rāmapurva-tāpanīya Upanisad, by the Prapañcasāra and other Tantras.¹⁷⁸⁷ Numerous varieties of mantras called Kavaca, Hṛdaya, Upahṛdaya, Netra, Astra, Rakṣā and so forth are specified in the Tāntrik texts, one or two of which may be illustrated in the note below and the rest are passed over for reasons of space.¹⁷⁸⁸

1786. The mantra of ten syllables in महानिर्वाणः V. 10-13 is श्रीं श्रीं श्रीं परमेश्वरि स्वाहा Then it proceeds: 'तत्र मन्त्रा एतस्यैवासा कोटिकोट्यर्धुदात्तया।' येयु येयु च तन्त्रेयु ये ये मन्त्रा प्रकीर्तिता । ते सर्वे तत्र मन्त्रा स्तुत्यमाया प्रकृतिर्यतः ॥ महा-निर्वाणः V 18-19.

1787. कृपाकर्मण्यकर्तृणामर्थ मन्त्रो बद्धयथ । मननात् नागनामन्त्र सर्ववश्यं वाचकः ॥ रामपूर्वतापिनीय-उप I. 12; दद्याच्च द्विष्यमावं क्षिण्वाद्दुष्टिताप्यतो भवेद्दीक्षा । मननात्तत्त्वपदस्य ज्ञायत इति मन्त्रमुच्यते भयतः ॥ मपञ्चसार V. 2. मननात्तत्त्वपदस्य देव-स्यामिततेजसः । ज्ञायते सर्वमयतस्तस्मान्मन्त्र इतीरितः ॥ कुलार्णव 17. 54.

1788. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III. 33 provides for a मन्त्र of ten syllables, 'गोपीजन-वल्गुमाय स्वाहा'; together with ऋषि, छन्दस्, देवता and विनियोग 'गोपीजनपदपुराणे वल्गुमाय सञ्जयेत् । स्वाहान्तोयं महामन्त्रो दशांगो मुक्तिमुक्तिदः ॥ सदाशिवस्वर ऋषि पद्मकिञ्चद उदाहृतम् । देवता कृष्ण उद्दिती विनियोगोऽस्यिलातये ॥' verses 3-4 Then the कवच called त्रैलोक्यविजय is described in verses 5-27 beginning with त्रैलोक्यविजयस्याय कवचस्य प्रजापतिः । ऋषिः छन्दश्च जगती देवो राजेश्वरः स्वयम् । त्रैलोक्य-विजयमाप्नोति विनियोगः प्रकीर्तितः । अणवो मे शिरः पातु श्रीकृष्णाय नमः सदा । पायात्कपाल-कृष्णाय स्वाहेति सततं नमः ॥ कृष्णेति पातु नेत्रे मे कृष्ण स्वाहेति तारकाम् ।... क्लीं कृष्णाय नमः कर्णौ पातु कल्पतरुर्मम । श्रीं कृष्णाय नमः पातु नित्यं मेऽधरसुखमकम् ।... इति ते कथितं रूपं सर्वोत्तमविनाशनम् । त्रैलोक्यविजयं नाम कवचं परमेशितम् । &c For a comparatively modern कवच of आचार्य कालिका, vide महानिर्वाणतन्त्र VII. 56-65, and नारदपुरा 11. 56 48-50 for a कवचमन्त्र beginning with पूर्व मां पातु गोविन्दो... दत्ते पातु वाराह-स्तयोर्वै च त्रिविक्रमः ॥ (in four दिशाः, 4 कोणदिशाः, पाताल and ऊर्ध्व with different names of विष्णु)

The Śāradātilaka divides mantras into male, female and neuter; masculine mantras end in 'hum' and 'phat', female mantras in 'svāhā' and neuter mantras end with 'namah'. This is stretched further so as to apply to letters viz. the vowels \bar{r} , \bar{l} are said to be neither and the rest are said to be not neuter but only short and long (Śāradātilaka, VI. 3 and Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon). Śāradātilaka (from chap. VII to XXIII) is devoted to mantras of Sarasvatī, Laksmī, Bhuvanēśvari, Tvaritā and others, Durgā,¹⁷⁸⁹ Tripurā, Gaṇapati, Candramas. Many of the mantras are to be repeated thousands of times or *lakhs* of times in order to secure full effect. For example, in X. 105-107 the Śāradātilaka prescribes that a certain mantra should be repeated five lakhs of times and then fifty thousand āhūtis of ghee should be made and worship of the Devī with the procedure prescribed should be performed. The worshipper then secures whatever he may desire and can make kings subservient to his will. Another noticeable feature is that the mantras are treated like the mantras of the Veda and mention is made in the manner of the Anukramanīs of the sage, the metre, the deity and the viniyoga (or purpose for which it is to be used or employed). Though the Śāradātilaka is a sober work free from the sexual practices of Vāmamārga, still it does contain mantras for magical purposes such as bringing women under control (IX. 103-104, X. 76),¹⁷⁹⁰ bringing about the paralysing or the death of an enemy by mantras (XI. 60-124, XXI. 95 XXII. 1 ff).

The Buddhist Tantras did not lag behind the Hindu Tantras in the matter of the potency of mantras. The Sādhnamālā¹⁷⁹¹

1789. The दुर्गागन्त्र is 'ओं ह्रीं हुं दुर्गायै नमः' (शारदा° XI 1-2) and then the work proceeds कृपिश्च शारदच्छब्दो गायत्रं देवता मनोः। दुर्गा समीरिता सङ्गिर्दुरिता-पक्षिवाणि॥ (XI. 3). दुरितापक्षिवाणि refers to the विनियोग; about the monosyllabic mantra 'hriim' these are set out as follows, बीजमेतच्छ्रियः मेकं चिन्तामणिरिवापरः। कृपिर्गुणैर्नृच्छन्दो देवता श्रीः समीरिता॥ शारदा° VIII. 2-3.

1790. मूलमन्त्रं जपेन्मन्त्री नित्यमष्टसहस्रकम्। सप्ताह्वाह्वाञ्जितां नारीमाहरेत्स्मर-पिप्पलायम्। शारदा° IX 103-104, सिद्धं मन्त्रं जपेन्मन्त्री सहस्रं शयनस्थितः। यां विचिन्त्य स्त्रियं राज्ञौ सा समायति तक्षणात्। *ibid* X. 76 मूलमन्त्रं would be ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं

1791 किमस्त्यसाद्य मन्त्राणां योजितानां पद्याविधिः। साधनमाला p. 575; ओं आः ह्रीं हुं ऐ एः अयं मन्त्रराजो शुद्धत्वं ददाति किं पुनरन्या सिद्धयः। *ibid*, p. 270. याह किं बहु यचनीयं परमतिदुर्लभं दुष्कलमायि तेषां पाणिपलावलीनयदरकफलमिवावतिष्ठति। *ibid*, p. 62. ओम् चन्द्रचल चिलिचिलि शुल्लुल्लु कुलकुल्लु शुल्लुल्लु हुहुहुहुहुं फन्फन्फन्फन् पद्महस्ते स्वाहा दिने दिने पञ्चलाहम् त्रिसप्तत्यसृष्टारवेत्। गदंभोपि ग्रन्थशतत्रयं शुक्लति। *ibid* p. 87; the

asserts that there is nothing that cannot be accomplished by mantras if proper procedure is followed. For example, it says that a certain mantra that is a prince among mantras confers Buddhahood, what need is there to say about other siddhis, that by another mantra even Buddhahood which is extremely difficult to attain is like a jujube fruit placed on the palm of the hand and that a certain mantra (of unmeaning words) if repeated five times at three periods in the day viz. the morning, noon and evening, makes even a fool (lit. an ass) master of three hundred works. The Buddhist Tantras also prescribe repetition of mantras for a lakh¹⁷⁹² of times (vide *Sādhana-mālā*, vol I, No 165

(Continued from last page)

सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकसूत्र chap. 21 (B I. series ed by Dr. Nalhoaksha Dutt, 1952) contains several धारणास (Talismanic sentences), one of which may be cited here (p 267) 'अथ खलु बोधिसत्त्वो इमानि धारणीमन्त्रपदानि भाषते स्म। तद्यथा। ज्वले महाज्वले उक्ते हुक्के मुक्के अडे अडाविति वृत्त्ये इद्विनि विद्विनि .. वृत्त्यावति स्वाहा'

1792. ओं मणितारे हूं। लक्षजापेनार्या अग्रत उपतिष्ठति। यदिच्छति तत्सर्वं ददाति। विना मण्डलकसनानोपवासेन केवलं जापमात्रेण सिध्यति सर्वं कार्यं च साधयति। साधनमाला vol I, p. 221. आर्या here means Goddess Tārā. The most famous mantra among Buddhists is 'Om Maṇipadme hūm' where 'maṇipadme' is vocative (and probably refers to Tārā deity, who has a jewel lotus). Vide Dr. F. W. Thomas in JRAS for 1906 p. 464. It is often rendered as 'Hail, the jewel lotus'. While these pages were passing through the press the present author received a work called 'Foundations of Tibetan mysticism' according to the Esoteric Teachings of the Great Mantra 'Om Maṇi Padme Hūm' by Lama Aogarika Govinda (pub by Rider and Co London, 1959). It is impossible to deal with this work in this note. He states that the Mantra 'Om' &c. is dedicated to Avalokiteśvara (a fine photographic plate of whom occurs as the Frontispiece). None who is not a confirmed Tibetan Buddhist scholar or monk will accept his interpretations of the words of the mantra. On p. 27 he states that the mantra is pronounced in Tibet as 'Om Maṇi Peme Hūm' and that the complete formula is 'Om .. Hūm, Hrīh' (p. 230), on pp. 84 ff. he scouts the idea that tantra is a Hinduistic reaction taken over by later Buddhist schools. He offers different esoteric meanings of the words of the mantra e.g. on p. 130 he says 'om is the ascent towards universality, Hūm is the descent of the states of universality into the depth of the human heart', on p. 131 'Om is the infinite, but Hūm is the infinite to the finite, the eternal to the temporal' &c., on p. 230 'To the Om, we experience the *Dharmakāya* and the mystery of the universal body, to 'maṇi' the *Sambhogakāya*, in the Padma we experience the *Nirmāṇakāya*, to the Hūm we experience the *Vajrakāya* as synthesis of the transcendental body of the three mysteries, to the Hrīh, we dedicate the totality of our transformed personality to the service of Amitābha, on p. 256 'thus Om.. Hūm embodies the happy tidings of liberation, of the love towards all living beings and of the way that leads to final realization'. The present author is constrained to say that by similar arbitrary interpretations the words of any mantra may be made to yield similar senses.

p. 336 and No. 108, p. 221). Some of the mantras embody the doctrines of Mahāyāna with the addition of syllables like om, phat, svāhā (such as 'om śūnyatā-jñānavajrasvabhāva-tmakoham' in *Sādhana-mālā* vol I, p. 62). The *Prapañcasāra*, which is ascribed to the great advaita teacher Śāṅkarācārya and on which Padmapāda is said to have written a commentary (both published by A. Avalon in *Tāntrik Texts*, vol. XVIII-XIX, 1935), contains a mantra called Trailokya-mohana for the purpose¹⁷⁹³ of the six cruel magic rites and (in 34. 33) describes a *yantra* (diagram) by worship of which a sādha can make a woman smitten with passion for him and draw her to him. This, among other matters such as ungrammatical forms, raises grave doubts as to whether the work was really composed by the first Śāṅkarācārya. It may, however, be stated that the learned Raghavabhaṭṭa in many places in his commentary on the *Śāradatilaka* (such as I. 7, 8, 12) quotes the *Prapañcasāra* (I 42, 44) as the great ācārya's work and several later writers do the same. It has to be borne in mind, however, that about 400 works are ascribed to the great advaita Ācārya and that Raghavabhaṭṭa was separated by at least seven centuries from the great Ācārya and his ascription therefore cannot be accepted with implicit faith without more evidence.

Several Purāṇas are affected by the theory about the power of mantras of the Tāntrika type. The *Garuda-purāṇa* (I. chap. 7 and 10) employs many monosyllabic unmeaning mantras like hrām, kṣaum, hrīm, hum, huh, śrīm, hrīm and says (I. 23) that 'om Khakholkāya Sūryamurtaye namaḥ' is the mūlamantra of the Sun and this mantra is employed for sun-worship in an early digest like the *Kṛtyakalpataru* on *vrata* (p 9 note). The *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (Brāhma-parva 215 4) gives 'Khakholkāya namaḥ' as the mūlamantra in Sun worship. The *Bhaviṣya* (Brāhma 29 9-15) provides that 'gam svāhā' is the mūlamantra of Gaṇapati worship, cites the mantras for *hrdaya*, *sikhā*, *kavaca* &c. and a *Gāyatri* suited to Gaṇapati.¹⁷⁹⁴ *Garuda* I. 38 contains a long prose mantra of Cāmunda. The *Agnī-*

1793. मरणोच्चादनद्वेष्टस्तम्भाकर्षणकाक्षिणः । भजेयुः सर्वथैवेनं मन्त्रं त्रैलोक्यमोहनम् ॥ प्रपञ्चसार २२XIII. 5. Vide शक्तिसङ्ग्रहमन्त्र VIII 102-105 and जयारूपसंहिता 26th पदल, verse 24 for the same *Agnī-purāṇa* Chap 138 deals with the six cruel acts.

1794. गत्वाहा मूलमन्त्रोऽयं मण्डलेन समन्वितः । गा नमो हृदयं सेव्यं गी शिरः परिकीर्तितम् । शिखा च गू नमो ज्ञेयं ग नमः कवचं स्तुतम् । गौ नमो नेत्रसहितं ग. फट् कामाक्ष्यसुच्यते । भविष्य (भाष्य 29 9 ff) The गायत्री is महाकर्णाय विदमहे यस्तुष्टाय धीमहि । तन्न । दन्ति प्रचोदयात् ॥ (*ibid* 29 15).

purāna also contains many mantras of the Tāntrik type. Chap. 121 verses 15-17 provide¹⁷⁹⁵ for a mantra whereby enemies are brought under control (as noted below) and verses 17-19 speak of a mantra for paralysing (*stambhana*) of an enemy. Chap. 133-135 of the Agni contain several mantras of the Tāntrik type. Chapter 307 contains several mantras of bringing under control the three worlds.

A mantra called Mahāśvetā is spoken of in the Bhavisya-purāna which is mentioned in the Kṛtyakalpataṛu on vrata (p. 9) and in Ekādaśitattva p. 40 and it is 'hrām hrīm sah' and the japa of that mantra on Sunday with fast is said to yield what one desires.¹⁷⁹⁶

The later medieval digests on Dharmasāstra adopt the Prānapratisthā-mantṛa evolved by the Śāradātīlaka (XXIII, 71-76). The Devapratisthā tattva¹⁷⁹⁷ (pp. 506-507) quotes these verses from Śāradātīlaka, sets out the mantra and explains the verses at length. The Divyatattva also (pp. 609-610) does the same. The Vyavahāramayūkha (p. 86) sets out the same mantra for the consecration of the image of Dharma in the ordeal of Dharma without expressly naming the Śāradātīlaka. The Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 349-350) has an elaborate rite of the Prānapratisthā of images full of Tāntrik elements like the words vasat, hrīm, and phat and employs the same procedure as the one prescribed by the Śāradātīlaka without expressly mentioning the latter. The Śāradātīlaka appears to follow earlier works like the Jayākhyasamhitā (Patala XX) and Prapañcasāra-tantra (35. 1-9 ff).

1795. पार्थिवे चाष्टर्हिकार मध्ये नाम च दिक्षु च ॥ ह्रीं हुत पार्थिवे दिक्षु ह्रीं दिक्षु लिखेद्वस्त्रम् ॥ गोरोचनाकुङ्कुमेन धूर्जे वस्त्रे गले धृतम् ॥ राज्ञो वक्षमायास्ति गन्धेनानेन निश्चितम् ॥ अग्नि 121 15-17

1796. उपवासं च ये कुर्युः सावित्रस्य दिने तथा । जपन्ति च महाश्वेता ते लभन्ते यथे-
स्मितम् ॥ महाश्वेतामन्त्रस्तथागते । ह्यामिस्तुक्त्वा ततो ह्रीं हु सकारश्च विसर्गवान् । महाश्वेतामन्त्र-
मन्त्रार्थं भागोत्पलक्षर इति ॥ ए त p. 40 The verse उपवासं च is quoted by हे
on व्रत vol. II, part 2 p 520.

1797. तेनार्यं मन्त्रं । आ ह्रीं क्रौं चं र ल शं पं सं ह्रीं हंसः असुष्य प्राणा इह प्राणाः ।
असुष्य जीव इह स्थितः । असुष्य सर्वैर्दिश्यानि । असुष्य वाङ्मनश्चक्षुःश्रोत्रमागमाणा इहागम्य
सुखं चिरं तिष्ठन्तु स्वाहा । देवप्रतिष्ठातृ च pp 506-507. असुष्य refers to the name of
the divinity whose image is to be established. If it is a Goddess then the
words असुष्या or अर्यै are to be substituted. The तन्त्रराजतन्त्र (XIII 62-68)
sets out the प्राणमतिष्ठाविद्या of 40 letters from असुष्य to स्वाहा in the technical
language of Tāntrik works

Reasons of space preclude further illustrations of the use of Tāntrik mantras by medieval digests on Dharmaśāstra. One matter of contrast between Vedic mantras and some Tāntrik mantras may be noticed. A Vedic mantra, according to Jaimini (I 2. 32), was significant, but the Tantras go so far as to teach the repetition of mantras that have no meaning or that contain the letters of the mantra in reversed form. For example, the Kalivilāsatāntra (XXII. 21) says that the reverse of the three letters of the mantra 'om Durge', as 'rgeḍu om' yields all desires ('rgeḍu om tryaksaram mantram sarvakāmaphala-pradam'). The Sad-dharmapundarika¹⁷⁹⁸ (a standard work of Mahāyāna Buddhism) chap. 21 (text edited by Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, 1912 and translated in S. B. E. vol. XXI. pp 370-375) contains spells (called Dhāranipādāni). It should not be supposed that spells were peculiar to Hindus or Buddhists. Many ancient peoples believed that words and letters have magic power and that belief led on to another belief that it did not matter even if the letters and words had no sense. E. J. Thomas in 'History of Buddhist thought' (reprint of 1953) states that spells similar to Hindu and Buddhist types exist in old English, Old High German and Keltic (p. 186).

The repetition of mantras, Vedic as well as Tāntrik, is called 'Puraścārana'¹⁷⁹⁹ (which literally means 'performing or carrying out before'). The Mahānirvāṇa (VII. 76-85) sets out various modes of puraścārana (brief as well as elaborate). One way is to bring together five *tattvas* on the 14th tithi of a dark fortnight or on a Tuesday or Saturday, then the Devī is to be worshipped and the worshipper is to repeat ten thousand times with single-mindedness the mantra in *mahāṃśā* (midnight), then he is to feed persons devoted to *brahman* and becomes one who has carried out puraścārana. Another way is that he should repeat every day one thousand times the mantra beginning on a Tuesday up to (including) the next Tuesday, so that by repeating the mantra in all eight thousand times on eight days,

1798 A very brief spell from the सङ्ख्येयुषहरीक may be set out here by way of sample: ज्वले महाज्वले उक्ते हेक्ते अहे अहवति . स्वाहा। p. 372 of SBE vol XXI which is quoted above in note 1791. All the words excluding स्वाहा are in the vocative उक्ते, for उक्ते, ज्वले for ज्वाले

1799. Puraścārana of a mantra has several constituent elements viz. dhyaṇa (meditation on the form of the deity to be worshipped), worship, japa of the mantra, homa, tarpana, abhiseka and feeding brāhmanas. In a brief puraścārana the first three alone are included. Tarpana means satiating with water the deity and the pitrs

he will be deemed to have performed *puraścaraṇa*. Sometimes, it is prescribed¹⁸⁰⁰ that a mantra such as 'Śivāya namaḥ' (this is five-lettered mantra) or 'Om Śivāya namaḥ' (a *sadaksara* mantra) should be repeated 24 lakhs of times and the *sādhaka* should offer into *Agni* twenty-four thousand *ahutis* of *pūyasa*. Then the mantra becomes perfect and confers on the *sādhaka* whatever he desires. The *Kulārṇava* states that *Puraścaraṇa* is so called because by the five-fold *upāsana* the deity desired (as if) moves¹⁸⁰¹ before the worshipper for conferring on him her favour. A mantra like the *Gāyatri* is¹⁸⁰² to be repeated every day 1008 or 108 or 10 times. This requirement is in keeping with what the *Purāṇas* and *Dharmasāstra* works say. For example, the *Nārada-purāṇa* (II. 57 54) provides that a mantra is to be repeated 8, 28, or 108 times. The *Ekādaśī-tattva*¹⁸⁰³ quotes *Devī-purāṇa* for the proposition that the offerings in the *homa* to planets should be 108, 28 or 8 according to one's ability.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on *Śāradātīlaka* (16 56) has a very exhaustive and learned note on the details of *puraścaraṇa* that are common to all mantras. According to the *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā*¹⁸⁰⁴ the perfecting of the procedure of the *mūla* mantra is called *puraścaraṇa*, since it has to be practised before the acts in which it is to be employed. The *Kulārṇava*¹⁸⁰⁵ provides that there are at least five constituent elements of *puraścaraṇa* viz. *pūjā* (worship of the desired deity) three times a day, *japa* (muttering of the mantra), *tarpana*, *homa*, and

1800 हृदयं चरं साक्षिं लान्तानन्तान्वितो मरुत् । पञ्चाक्षरो मनुः प्रोक्तस्तारोऽयं
षडक्षः ॥ .. तस्मिन् जपेन्मन्त्रं वीक्षितं शेषवर्त्मना । तावत्संख्यासहस्राणि जुहुयात्पायसै
सुभैः ॥ ततः सिद्धो भवेन्मन्त्रं साधकाभीष्टसिद्धिदः । शारदा १८ २, १५-१६. The first
verse says that ज्ञिवाय नमः or ओं शिवाय नमः is the mantra of Śivā.

1801. पञ्चाङ्गोपासनेनेष्टा देवता प्रीतिदानतः । पुरश्चरति भक्तस्य तत्पुश्चरणं मये ॥
कुलार्णव १७ ८७

1802 अष्टोत्तारं सहस्रं वा शतं वा दशधापि वा । जपानां नियमो भद्रे सर्वत्राह्निककर्मणि ॥
प्रहलानिर्वाण VIII ७९; compare एकादशीतत्त्व pp ५९ होमसंख्यामाह देवीपुराणे । होमो
ग्रहादिपूजायां शतमष्टोत्तारं भवेत् । अष्टविंशतिरष्टौ वा यथाशक्ति विधीयते ॥

1803 वायवीयसंहितायाम् । साधनं मूलमन्त्रस्य पुरश्चरणमुच्यते । पुरश्चरणीयत्वा-
द्विनियोगाख्यकर्मणाम् । पुरतो विनियोगस्य चरणाद्वा तथोदितम् ॥ राघवभट्ट ७७ शारदा, and
संतुषमंथ of भास्करराय p ९९ reads पुरश्चर्यमाणत्वाद्द्विनियोगाद्धि

1804. संसारे दुःखभूयिष्ठे यदीच्छेत्सिद्धिमात्मनः । पञ्चाङ्गोपासनेनैव मन्त्रजायी ब्रजेत्
सुखम् । पूजा वैकालिकी त्वं जपस्तर्पणमेव च । होमो ब्राह्मणशुक्तिश्च पुरश्चरणमुच्यते ।
यद्यदङ्गं विधीयत तत्संख्याद्विगुणो जपः । कुर्याद् द्विविचतुःपञ्चसंख्या वा साधकः मये ।
सुभोजितेषु विमेषु सर्वं हि सफलं भवेत् । सम्पूज्यसिद्धैकमन्त्रस्य पञ्चाङ्गोपासनेन च । सर्वं
मन्त्राश्च सिध्यन्ति त्वत्पसादात्कुलेऽपि । कुलार्णवतन्त्र XV ७-९ and ११-१२ q by
राघवभट्ट

dinner to brāhmanas, that if any one of these cannot be carried out, then he should perform japa of the mantra twice as many times more as the number prescribed for that constituent, that, in the absence of some constituents, by providing a good dinner to brāhmanas everything becomes successful and that if one mantra is perfected by performing the five constituents mentioned above, then he secures *siddhi* of all mantras. Rāghavabhatta suggests another way of *puraścaraṇa* viz. one should be pure,¹⁸⁰⁵ observe a fast and then in an eclipse of the sun or moon should stand in the navel deep water of a river directly falling into the sea, should recite a mantra with concentration of mind from the time the eclipse begins till its end, thereafter perform homa and the rest in order reducing each to 1/10 of the number of japa recitation, then secure the guru's contentment (by gifts) and that by this method mantra becomes perfect and the deity becomes favourable. The Kaulāvalīnirṇaya describes (14th *pāṭala*, verses 75-260) a terrible *sādhana* whereby in a single night a *sādhaka* secures mantra-*siddhi* viz. by going to a cemetery or other lonely spot after one watch of the night, securing the corpse of a *cāṇḍāla*, or of one who is killed by some one with a sword or one bitten by a snake or a young handsome warrior dying in a battle (not killed by himself), he should wash the corpse, offer worship to it and to Durgā and repeat the mantra ('om Durgē Durgē raksanī svāhā'). If he is not frightened by the terrific sights that he may see and after following a very long procedure he secures *mantra-siddhi*. The Tārābhaktisudhārnava (*taranga* IX pp 345 ff) describes the 'śavasādhana-vidhī' and so does the Kulacūḍāmani-tantra (Tāntrik texts, vol IV.) VI. 19-28

Rāghavabhatta further quotes a passage¹⁸⁰⁶ to the effect that if the *sādhaka* satisfies his guru who is a form of the deity

1805. अथवा न्यप्रकारेण पुरश्चरणमुच्यते। ग्रहणेऽर्कस्य चेन्द्रोर्वा शुचिः पूर्वमुपोषितः। नया सद्ग्रहमिच्छया नाभिमात्रेऽम्भसि स्थितः। ग्रहणादि तु 'मोक्षान्तं जपेन्मन्त्रं समाहितः। अनन्तरं तद्दशाक्षरमाहोमादिकं चरेत्। तदन्ते मन्त्रसिद्ध्यर्थं शुभं संपूज्य तोषयेत्। ततश्च मन्त्रसिद्धिं स्यात् देवता च प्रसीदति। q by राघवभट्ट on शारदा 16 56 and by स्मृति कौस्तुभ (pp 73-74); vide व. कि. कौ pp 109-110 where these verses (with slight variations) are quoted from आगम. Vide शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र (ताराखण्ड) 17. 40-45, some portion of which is 'चन्द्रग्रहे पुरश्चर्या सर्वसिद्धिकरी मता। यद्यदङ्गं विहीयेत तत्साङ्गे हिजभोजनम्। दशांशं हवनं कुर्यात्तर्पणं तद्दशाक्षरम्। मार्जनं तद्दशाक्षरेण तद्दशाक्षरेणाभिषेचनम्। यद्यदङ्गं विहीयेत तत्संख्याद्विगुणो जपः।'

1806. अथवा देवतारूपं शुभं भक्त्या प्रतोषयेत्। पुरश्चरणहीनेपि मन्त्रं सिद्ध्येक संशयः॥ ... पुरश्चर्या तु मन्त्राणां प्रधानं बीजमुच्यते। येषां जपे च होमे च संख्या लोका मनोविभिः।

(Continued on next page)

worshipped, he would secure perfection of mantra even without purāścaraṇa, that purāścaraṇa is the main seed (cause) of (the perfection of) mantras, that where the number of times a mantra is to be recited is not expressly stated, it should be repeated 8000 times. Rāghavabhaṭṭa quotes a verse saying that just as a man in the grip of diseases is incapable of performing all actions a mantra devoid of purāścaraṇa is declared to be in a similar condition

The Agnipurāṇa, Kulārṇava and Śāradātīlaka lay down rules about the places where purāścaraṇa of a mantra is to be practised. The following places are commended¹⁸⁹⁷ for those who are engaged in perfecting a mantra, viz holy places, river bank, caves, mountain top, ground near a *tīrtha*, confluence of rivers, holy forests and parks, the root of a *bilva* tree, mountain slopes, temple, seashore, one's own house or any place where the mind (of the sādḥaka) feels happy. Rules were also laid down as to the food on which the sādḥaka was to subsist during the days of purāścaraṇa viz, food¹⁸⁹⁸ obtained by begging for alms (for *brahmacārīn* and *yātṛ*), *haviṣya* food (prescribed for *vratas*), allowed vegetables, fruits, milk, bulbous roots, barley meal. The Mantramahodadhī (25. 66-71) sets out what is *haviṣya* food in śānti and proper food in the other cruel rites. Rāghavabhaṭṭa (on 16. 56) adds many rules from other sources, such as the sādḥaka performing purāścaraṇa should avoid sexual intercourse, flesh, wine, should not speak with women and śūdras, nor speak untruth, nor pamper his senses, should carry on the *yajña* from morning till noon, should not allow a break, should repeat the mantra the same number of times every day.

(Continued from last page)

तेषामष्ट सहस्राणि सख्योक्ता जपहोमयोः । राघवभट्ट on शारदा० 16. 56. The verse पुर... मुख्यते occurs in कौलावलीतन्त्र XII 108 (reads प्रधानं जीव उच्यते) व्याधियस्तौ यथा देही सर्वकर्मसु न क्षमः । पुरश्चरणहीनीयं तथा मन्त्रोऽपि कीर्तितः । राघव० on शारदा० 16. 56. This mantra is q by नित्याचारपद्धति of विद्याकर p. 454 (but reads जीवहीनो यथा) साधकः साधयेन्मन्त्रं देवतायतनादिकैः । शुद्धशुद्धी शृङ्गे मन्त्रे हरिमीश्वरम् । अग्निः 29. 1.

1807. पुण्यक्षेत्रं नदीतीरं शुद्धा पर्वतमस्तकम् । तीर्थप्रदेशाः सिन्धूना सुद्धम पावनं वनम् । उद्यानानि विविकानि विल्वमूलं तटं गिरिः । देवतायतनं कूलं समुद्रस्य निजं गृहम् । साधनेषु प्रशस्तानि स्थानान्येतानि मन्त्रिणाम् । अथवा निवसेत्तत्र यत्र चित्तं प्रसीदति ॥ कुलार्णव XV. 22-24, शारदा० II 138-140 (except the last half verse), vide अद्वैतचम्पसहिता 20 52-53 for similar provisions

1808. भैक्ष्यं हविष्यं शाकानि विहितानि फलं पयः । मूलं सक्तुर्यनोत्पन्नो भक्ष्यायेतानि मन्त्रिणाम् । शारदा० II 140-141, for हविष्य, vide H. of Dh vol IV p. 149 note 343.

The Jayākhyā-samhitā (19th pātala, verses 13-33) says that, for three years after the sādḥaka begins *puraścaraṇa* of the mantra chosen, various obstacles and disturbances present themselves but if his mind and action are not affected by them, then from the 4th year he comes to be served by disciples that surrender everything to him, that after seven years even proud kings approach him for favour, after the 9th year he notices many wondrous things such as joy, sound dreams, sweet music and fragrance,¹⁸⁰⁹ hears loud vedic recitation, he eats and sleeps little (yet does not become lean), that these are signs of his having reached perfection in the mantra. The same work provides that such signs he should not divulge to any one but his own guru and if he divulges those happy signs to others *siddhis* run away from him (19. 34-37). The same Samhitā (15. 186-188) provides that the syllables *svāhā*, *svādḥā*, *phat*, *hum* and *namaḥ* are to be respectively employed in *homa*, in rites for *manes*, destructive activities, creating hatred among friends and for securing *mokṣa*. All *tāntrik* works emphasize that mantra must be received from a qualified guru and the *sādhana* of the mantra must be done under the guidance of the guru till the disciple himself becomes a *siddha*. As shown above it was believed that mantras would confer the highest spiritual and supernormal powers, would bring to the sādḥaka all desired objects and *mokṣa*. The Kulārṇava states¹⁸¹⁰ 'It is declared in the doctrine taught by Śiva that without *dikṣā* there would be no *mokṣa*, that *dikṣā* cannot be had without an *ācārya* (guru) and that mantras would yield no fruit unless a guru instructs (a disciple) about them'.

1809. The *Yogasūtra* III 36 and *bhāṣya* thereon state that some of the powers developed are that the yoga expert hears divine music and receives the impression of fragrant scents. In 'Bengal Lancer' F Yeats-Brown (London, 1930) narrates (pp. 246-247) how he had the experience that the room in which he and his American friends were sitting was filled by a yogic teacher who wore nothing but his *dhoti* with the perfume of *attar* of roses, then with the scent of violets, musk, sandalwood, with nothing else with him except cotton wool on which he focussed a magnifying glass. The Sv. Up. II, 13 details the first signs of the effectiveness of yoga practices 'लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोष्ठपल्लवं वर्णमसाद. स्वरसीटवं च। गन्ध. छुमो मूत्रपुरीषमल्पं योगमहातिं यथां वदन्ति ॥'.

1810 विना दीक्षां न मोक्षः स्यात्तदुक्तं शिवदासने। सा च न स्याद्विनाचार्यमित्याचार्य-परम्परा ॥ ... अन्तेऽप्योपदेशं नन्वा. स्युर्निष्फला यतः। कुलार्णव XIV, 3-4.

It was further provided¹⁸¹¹ that there was no siddhi (miraculous powers due to mantras) nor moksa for him who had not had diksa performed for him, that therefore a man should by all means receive diksa from a guru and that when one is endowed with the ceremony of diksa the distinctions based on caste vanish and a śūdra and a brāhmaṇa cease to be so (when both have undergone diksa). It was held that, if a person were to engage in the japa of a mantra written in a book, he would not secure siddhi and he would surely meet losses at every¹⁸¹² step.

In the Mahānirvāṇa (II. 14-15 and 20) it is said that Vedic mantras yielded desired results in Satya and other yugas, but in Kaliyuga they are like serpents without poison or like dead ones, that in the Kaliyuga the mantras declared in tantra works yield fruits quickly and are commended for employment in all actions such as japa and sacrifices. There is no such path as the one propounded in Tantras that would lead to moksa or to happiness in this world and the next. The Mahānirvāṇa prescribes that 'om sac-cid-ekam brahma' is the best of mantras (III. 14), that those who perform the upāsana of the highest *brahma* are in need of no other sādhanā and that by the mere perfection of that mantra the individual soul merges in *brahma*.¹⁸¹³ So Moksa was one of the aims. Another aim was the attainment of miraculous or supernormal powers. The Prapañcasāra enumerates¹⁸¹⁴ the eight siddhis and states that one who is endowed with these eight is a liberated soul and is spoken of as a *yogin*. The theory of siddhis is an ancient conception and occurs in the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.¹⁸¹⁵ The eight siddhis are named and

1811. देवि दीक्षाविहीनस्य न सिद्धिर्न च सद्भूतिः। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन शुक्णा दीक्षितो भवेत् ॥ गते शूद्रस्य शूद्रत्वं विप्रस्यापि च विप्रता। दीक्षासंस्कारसम्पन्ने जातिभेदो न विद्यते ॥ कुलार्णव XIV. 97 and 91

1812. पुस्तकाद्धिखितो मन्त्रो येन सुन्दरि जप्यते। न तस्य जायते सिद्धिर्हानिरेव पदे पदे ॥ q. by राघवभट्ट on शारदा IV. 1.

1813. परब्रह्मोपासकानां किमन्यै साधनान्तरे। मन्त्रग्रहणमात्रेण देही ब्रह्ममयो भवेत् ॥ महानिर्वाण III 23-24 The mन्त्र is ओं सच्चिदेक ब्रह्म and it is preceded by ऐं, ह्रीं or श्रीं according as विद्या, माया or श्री is to be worshipped (महानिर्वाण III 35-37).

1814. अणिमा महिमा च तथा गरिमा लघिमोक्षिता वशित्व च। प्राप्तिः प्राकान्य चेत्यष्टैश्वर्याणि योगयुक्तस्य ॥ अष्टैश्वर्यसमेतो जीवन्मुक्त प्रवक्ष्यते योगी। प्रपञ्चसार 19, 62-63. For a personal experience of levitation in modern times, vide 'The invisible influence' by Dr Alexander Cannon (15th impression, 1935) chap II, pp. 39-41. The कल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड pp. 216-17) quotes a long prose passage from the ancient writer देवल who names and illustrates the eight siddhis or vibhūtis (omits गरिमा and adds यज्ञकामारसायित्व).

1815. अथापि सङ्कल्पसिद्धयो भवन्ति। यथा वर्षं प्रजा दानं हरे दर्शनं मनोजयता यज्जान्यदेवं युक्तम्। आप ध. सू II 9, 23 6-7

explained in the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* as follows¹⁸¹⁶: *Animan* (becoming small like an atom, atomization), *laghiman* (levitation), *mahiman* (becoming magnified like a mountain or the sky, magnification), *prāpti* (all objects becoming near to him such as touching the moon with one's fingertip, extension), *prākāmya* (the non-obstruction of his desire such as diving into the earth underground and coming up as if he were in water), *vaśitva* (mastery of the five elements and their products such as a jar), *īśitva* (sovereignty over the production, absorption or arrangement of elements and their products), *yatra-kāmāvasāyitva* (the power to determine things according to his wish or will i. e. he may will that poison should have the effect of nectar and brings about that result). A *siddha* would be one who has secured these eight *siddhis*. The *Gīṭā* (X. 26) says that the sage Kapila is the great one among *siddhas* ('*siddhānām kapilo munih*'). The *Yogasūtra* further speaks of *siddhis* as fivefold viz. proceeding from birth, from drugs, from mantras, from *tapas* (austerities) and from concentration. There were other objects also sought to be achieved by mantras, such as the six cruel rites and making women to have passion for a man. This shows that not only *Tāntrikas*, but those who practised yoga believed in the power of mantras to confer supernormal powers on the yogin. The *Yogasūtra* provides that some of the *siddhis* (as in III. 37) are obstacles to the attainment of *samādhi* and they are *siddhis* only to those who have awakened from trance.¹⁸¹⁷ *Yāj* (III. 202-203) provides that the power to disappear, to enter another body and temporarily to abandon one's body, to create at one's will objects-these and other powers are characteristic signs of the attainment of *siddhis* by Yoga and that when one attains perfection in Yoga one can cast away the mortal coil and be able to become immortal in *brahma*.

A great deal is said about the six cruel rites in the *Tantras* such as *Prapañcasāra* (V), *Śāradātīlaka* (23. 121-145), *Śakti-sangamatantra* (*Kālikhaṇḍa* VIII. 102-106), *Mantramahodadhī* (25th *Taranga*). The *Śāradātīlaka* (23. 137-141) deals with the six methods or arrangements of mantra along with the name of the enemy against whom the six rites were to be practised,

1816. विशुद्धिर्द्विरेष्वर्पणमिमादिकमदधा। अमरकोशः, ततोऽणिमादिमादुर्भावः काय-सम्पद्धौर्नभिधातश्च। योगसूत्र III. 44. जन्मीयधि-सन्त्र-सप-समाधिजाः सिद्धयः। योगसूत्र IV. 1 The भाष्य explains सन्त्रैराकाशगमनाणिमादिसिद्धिः.

1817. ते समाधायुपसर्गां श्रुत्याने सिद्धयः। योगसूत्र III. 37.

viz. the arrangements called *grathana*, *vidarbha*, *samputa*, *rotthana*, *pona* and *pillava*. These are all passed over here. But it appears that even the early Purāṇas were influenced by rites of black magic. For example, the Matsya¹⁸¹⁸ says 'in *vidhāṣṇa* (creating enmity among friends or among those who love one another) and in *abhicāra*, a triangular kunda is recommended and homa should be offered in it by priests that wear red flowers and red sandalwood paste, that wear the sacred thread in the *mr̥ṣa* way, that put on red turbans and red garments, the fuel sticks should be smeared with the fresh blood of crows collected in three vessels and should be offered with the left hand holding the bones of a hawk. The priests should have their hair untied on the head and should contemplate the befalling of evil on the enemy: they should recite the mantra 'durmitri-yaś-asmai tantu' and also the syllables 'hr̥m' and 'phāt' and having recited over a razor the mantra used in *śyenayūga*, the priest should cut into pieces an effigy of the enemy with that razor and throw into the fire the pieces of the effigy. This rite yields results only here (in this world), but no good results in the next world and therefore one (who engages in this rite) should then perform a *sānti*. The Matsya also provides for a rite for bringing a person (or a woman) under control or for *uccāṭana* (chap. 93, 139-148). It is possible that the Tāntrikas and the Matsya both developed their magic rites of six kinds from the Śyenayūga mentioned in the Brāhmanas and Śrauta-sūtras. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 138) also deals with those evil rites. The Abirbudhinya-saṃhitā, though mainly a work of the Pāncarātra cult, is full of lore on mantras.¹⁸¹⁹ In chap. 52 (verses

1818. विद्वेषणमभिचारे च धिक्तेण कुण्डमिष्यते । ... एतं कुर्वन्ततो विमं रक्तमाह्वय-
तेषाम् । निर्वीरलोहितोष्णीया लोहितम्यरधारिण । नवपायसरक्ताद्य पात्रत्रयसन्निता ।
समिधो यामदस्तेन दधेनादिभनलस्तयता । एतेषां शुक्लकेशैस्तु ध्यायद्भिराक्षै रिवै । दुर्मित्रि-
यास्मै सन्तु तथा ह्रं पादोतीति च । इयेनाभिचारमन्त्रेण धुरं समभिमन्त्र्य च । प्रतिरूपं रिपो-
ष्ठया धुरेण परिफाषेत् । रिशुस्वरप शकलान्धयेयामो विनिक्षिपेत् । ... इदं फलदं पुसमेत-
न्नाहुश्च शोभनम् । तस्माच्छान्तिकमेवात्र कर्तव्यं भूतिमिच्छताम् ॥ मत्स्य 93, 149-155. For
'nivita' way of wearing Yajñopavīta, vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 287-289
footnotes 673-674 and 679 In the तै सं सू I. 4. 4. 5 and तै. मा. II. 6. 6. 3 occurs
the mantra दुर्मित्रा न आप ओषधयः सन्तु दुर्मित्रास्मै भूयादृषोऽस्मात् द्वेष्टि य च
परं द्विष्टम्.) इयेन was the name of an *abhicāra* (magic) rite (vide Jaimini I
4.5 and Sābara thereon), was a modification of सोमयाग and in the texts about
इयेन (viz. इयेनेनाभिचरन् यजेत) occur the words 'लोहितोष्णीया लोहितवसना निवीता
भ्रातृभिः प्रचरन्ति' (आप. श्रौ. 22. 4. 13 and 23) q. by śaṅkar on जै. X. 4. 1. Vide
यद्वर्द्धिना-माह्वय II. 8. 2 and 22 for the same passages.

1819. पञ्चरात्रमयी दिव्या सांख्ययोगादिसंनिता । संदितेयं महायुष्मा नामानन्वमपी
परा ॥ अद्विष्टमयसं 59. 70.

2-88) it deals with the linguistic occultism of such mantras as 'om namo Viṣṇave'. It says that mantras have three senses *sthūla* (gross), *sūksma* (subtle) and highest; chap. 51 explains these three about the *Tāra* or *Tāraka* mantra viz. *Om*.

It may be noted here that the Buddhist Tantras also claimed to show the way to the attainment of various objects, from success in love affairs to liberation and all these could be mostly secured by mantras. The Buddhist Tantra writers of the *Vajrayāna* school state that there were 84 *siddhas*, whose names are still cherished¹⁸²⁰ and honoured in Nepal and Tibet. The Buddhists mentioned eight *siddhis* but they were somewhat different from those of the *Yogasūtra*. The *Sādhana-mālā* mentions them as follows: *Khadga* (a sword over which mantras have been muttered whereby the user of it succeeds in battle), *Añjana* (collyrium applied to eyes which enables a person to see buried treasure), *Padalepa* (ointment applied to the soles of the feet enabling a person to move anywhere undiscovered), *Antardhāna* (becoming invisible before the very eyes of persons watching him), *Rasarasāyana* (power of transmuting baser metals into gold or finding out an elixir for immortality), *Khecara* (being able to fly up in the sky), *Bhūcara* (going swiftly anywhere on the earth) and *Pāṭalasiddhi* (diving underneath the earth¹⁸²¹). As the Buddhist monks were to possess no property, they had a craving for wealth and supposed that by means of certain mantras, the lord of wealth (*Kubera*) would confer on them riches that would last for ever.¹⁸²² They also believed that by mantras they would make

1820 Vide Dr. Bhattacharya's 'Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism' pp 84, 96 and 126 for references to 84 *Siddhapurusas* and 'Cultural Heritage of India' Vol IV, pp. 273-279 on 'Cult of the Buddhist *Siddhācāryas*' by Prof. P. C. Bagchi at p. 274 for the names of 84 *Siddhas* according to Tibetan tradition. The tradition of *Siddhas* continued right down to modern times, vide *ABORI*, Vol 19 pp 49-60 for the account of a *brāhmaṇa* called '*Śivayogi*' of *Śrīgārapura* in the *Ratnagiri* District, who went from *Koolana* to a *siddha* at *Rādhā* in Bengal, served him devotedly for a long time, himself became a *Siddha*, returned to his native place and built a monastery there. The *हठयोगप्रदीपिका* (I, 5-8) names about thirty *Mahāsiddhas* from *Ādinātha* (*Śiva*), *Matsyendra-nātha*, *Gorakṣa-nātha*, *Aṭṭama-prabhu* and others.

1821. रत्नाञ्जनपादलेपान्तर्धानरसरायनखेचरभूवरपातालसिद्धिप्रमुखाः सिद्धीः साध्यन्ते। साधनमाला No. 172 p. 350.

1822. एषमन्त्रे सलिलप्रदाने, सन्तुष्टचित्तो द्रविषाधिराजः। ददेद्भूतान्पक्षयवृत्तिभासि वस्तुनाद्यसौ यत्नपरेण साध्यम्॥ साधनमाला No. 296 p 580.

some of the Hindu gods their servants, viz. that they would be surrounded by many *apsarases* (heavenly damsels), that Indra would be their umbrella-bearer, Brahmā would be councillor and Hari door-keeper.¹²²³ They wanted to defeat opponents in public discussions and to acquire proficiency in Śāstras without study through the power of mantras alone (vide *Sādhnamālā* Nos. 151, 155, 256). They were also anxious to cure and avert diseases and remove snake poison. They thought that by mantras they would attain to omniscience and Buddhahood (vide notes 1791-92).

As stated above (notes 1810-11) a mantra had to be received from a guru after initiation (*dikṣā*). Therefore, a few words must be said about *dikṣā*. The Tāntrikas did not discover any new concept in *dikṣā*. From very ancient Vedic times there was upanayana regarded as the beginning of the spiritual birth of a boy and the sacrificer had to undergo a purificatory ceremony before embarking on the performance of a sacrifice, but both were not so elaborate as the *dikṣā* described in some of the Tāntrika works. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1135-1140 for Vedic *dikṣā* (in *Agnistoma*), the observances and references to the Brāhmanas and the Śrautasūtras. The Tai. S. (VI. I. 1-3 and VII. 4. 8) refers to *dikṣā* and the Ait. Br. (I. 3) mentions the main items in Vedic *dikṣā*, such as bath with sacred water on the sacrificer, smearing the face and other parts of the body with butter, applying collyrium to the eyes, purification of the sacrificer's body twice by the *adhvargu* with three bunches of seven *darbhās* each above the navel and then below it with mantras, entering a pavilion specially prepared for the sacrificer, covering him with a garment that envelopes him as a sack envelopes an embryo, dark antelope skin as an upper garment. The Śat. Br. also refers to the details of *dikṣā* and states that thereby the sacrificer becomes one among the gods for the time being (vide III. 1. 2. 10-21, III. 1. 3. 7-28) and for the idea that *dikṣā* symbolizes a new birth for the sacrificer. The Atharvaveda says 'Great truth, formidable moral order, vows of initiation, austerities, prayer (or knowledge) and sacrifice support the earth.'¹²²⁴

1223. किं च मयतो नृलक्षणयापारं उभयचरत्वं विराज्यमासुखीभवति, अनेकात्मनेभिः परितुष्टः दृष्टकृतो विद्याधरस्थाने सदृष्टुत्तमदृष्टवक्षेण निष्ठति, देवेन्द्रश्च यथा भवति, ब्रह्मा च मन्त्रो... इतिः त्रिष्टारः । माघनमात्रा No. 260 pp. 509-510.

1224. The ज्ञतपथ III 2. 1. 19 and 22 is 'देवता न च उपायते यो दीक्षते स देवतामनेको भवति'; सत्यं दृष्टदृष्टयं दीक्षा तपो ब्रह्म यज्ञः श्रुतिर्मा धारयति । अथ XII. 1. 1.

Dikṣā is treated elaborately in some of the Tantras such as Prapañcasāra (V and VI), Kulārṇava (14. 39 ff), Śāradātilaka (4th pātala), Nityotsava (pp. 4-10), Jñānārṇava (24th pātala), Viṣṇusambhitā (X), Mahānirvāṇa (X. 112-119) and in Lingapurāṇa (II. 21). The Nirṇaysāgara Press brought out an edition (in 1935) of a work called Dikṣāprakāśikā of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa, pupil of Satyānandanātha, composed in śaka 1719 (1797 A. D.). Almost all of them derive¹⁸²⁵ the word from the root 'dā' (to give) and 'ksi' to destroy, in various ways. The Kulārṇava defines it as 'the good call it dikṣā because it confers a divine (holy) state and wipes off all sins, thereby freeing a man from the bondage of saṃsāra'; the Śāradātilaka states 'since it confers divine knowledge and destroys sins it is named dikṣā by the teachers that know the Tantras'

The Śaktisāngama-tantra regards an eclipse of the sun or the moon (particularly of the moon) as the best time for undergoing initiation for a mantra from a guru and remarks that when performed in an eclipse, the week day, *tithi*, *nakṣatra* or month or *Yoga* or *Karṇa* need not be considered.¹⁸²⁶ The Kālivilāsatāntra states that if one is fortunate enough to secure Svāti nakṣatra and Friday on the 5th *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna and undergoes dikṣā on that date, that yields the rewards of a crore of ordinary dikṣās (VI. 3-4). The N. S. (p. 67) quotes the Jñānārṇava to the effect that the dikṣā as to a mantra should be on the day of a solar or lunar eclipse or within seven days from an eclipse and adds that the principal time is solar eclipse and quotes Kālotara to the effect that, if the time of a solar eclipse is secured for dikṣā, one need not consider the month, *tithi*, the week day and the like. N. S. also quotes a passage from Yoginitāntra condemning dikṣā on a lunar eclipse. Vide Muhūrtakalpādruma of Viṭṭhala p. 94 verse 6 (Nirn. ed.) for further details about times and places for dikṣā.

1825. दद्याच्च दिव्यभवं क्षिप्याद् दुरितान्यतो भवेद्दीक्षा । प्रपञ्चसार V. 2; दिव्यभाव-प्रदानाच्च क्षालनात्कल्मषस्य च । दीक्षेति कथिता सद्भिर्भवन्धविमोचनात् ॥ कुलार्णव 17. 51 (here क्ष is said to represent क्षालन and not क्षय as in others); दिव्यज्ञानं यतो दद्यात्कृपां त्यागस्य सक्षयम् । तस्माद्दीक्षेति संयोक्ता देहिर्देवैर्गन्धर्वैर्दिभिः ॥ शारदा IV. 2.

1826. चन्द्रसूर्यग्रे दीक्षा सर्वदीक्षाशुभा मता । चन्द्रग्रहे शक्तिदीक्षा सर्वदीक्षोत्तमोत्तमा । न वार-तिथि-क्रक्षादि न मासतियमस्तथा । न योगकरणं वापि न विचारं समाचरेत् । शक्तिसङ्ग्रह, ताराखण्ड 17. 36-38. मन्त्रदीक्षामकारस्तन्त्रे द्रष्टव्यः । दीक्षाग्रहणग्रहदेशस्याप्युपलक्षणम् । युगे युगे तु दीक्षासीदुपदेशः कलो युगे । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रे तीर्थे सिद्धक्षेत्रे शिवालये । मन्त्रमात्रपकथन-उपदेशः स लभ्यते । धर्मसिन्धु p. 32.

The Agnipurāṇa (chapters 27, 81-89 and 304) deals with dīksā at great length and is full of Tāntrik mantras and rites, but reasons of space forbid any treatment of the same here. The Jñānārṇava (24 45-53) provides that at the time of initiation (dīksā) the guru has to instruct the disciple or novice as regards the six *cakras* (Ādhāra up to Ājñā) together with the number of petals in each, the colour of each, the letters of the alphabet assigned to each.

Late Dharmaśāstra works relied for the initiation into mantras on tantra works. For example, the Dharmasindhu (p. 32) expressly says so. There is a difference between Dīksā and *upadeśa*, which latter means the communication of only a mantra in a solar or lunar eclipse, at a tirtha, Siddhakṣetra (sacred region once inhabited by a siddha) or in a Śiva temple. Raghunandana in Dīksātattva (vol II, pp. 645-659) gives a lengthy treatment of dīksā at the beginning of which he remarks that in the Śāradātīlaka and other works numerous topics of dīksā are described but as in his time all those were not being followed he attempts only a brief treatment.

The Mahānirvāṇa states (X. 201-202) that the guru for giving dīksā when the disciple is a Śakta, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura or a Gāṇapatya, should be of the same sect, but a *kaula* is a good guru for every one. The Mahānirvāṇa (X. 112) provides that a person does not become a Kaula by merely drinking wine, but he becomes so only after *abhiṣeka*. Then (in verses 113-193 of 10th ullāsa) the Mahānirvāṇa provides an elaborate procedure of complete *abhiṣeka* somewhat resembling Christian Baptism. There is first on the day previous to the day of *abhiṣeka* worship of Ganeśa, then of eight Śaktis (Brāhmi &c), lokapālas and their weapons. Then the next day (i e the day of *abhiṣeka*) after a bath the neophyte donates sesame and gold for the removal of all sins and approaches a guru with the prayer to perform *abhiṣeka*. Then the guru draws a *śaivatobhadra* mandala on an altar, sanctifies the five tattvas, places an auspicious jar and fills it with wine or with holy water. The principal part consists in the guru's sprinkling with water the disciple to the accompaniment of 21 mantras (X. 160-180) invoking¹⁸²⁷ the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Mātṛs, various Śaktis, the avatāras, the numerous forms of Devī, the dīkṣapālas,

¹⁸²⁷ One अभिषेकमन्त्र may be quoted for sample 'सुखस्त्वामभिषिञ्चन्तु ब्रह्मा विष्णुमहेश्वराः । दुर्गालक्ष्मीभवात्यस्त्वामभिषिञ्चन्तु मातरः ॥' X. 160.

the nine planets, nakṣatras, yogas, weekdays, *karanas*, seas, sacred rivers, nāgas, trees &c. Then the guru gives the disciple a new name ending in Ānandanātha, who honours the guru and other Kaulas present. This ceremony may go on for 9, 7, 5, 3 nights or one night. Vide Tantrarājatantra II. 58-72, Jñāna-siddhi (XVII) for similar procedure of abhiṣeka. Vide the Introduction to the Sekoddeśatikā, a Buddhist Tantrik work (in G. O. S.) edited by Mario E. Carelli, for its resemblance to the Christian rite of Baptism. The Ahirhudhnyasambhita (chap 39) provides a procedure of *Mahābhīṣeka* as one remedy against all diseases, as one destroying all enemies and for the attainment of all desired objects.

There were four kinds of dīksas, Kriyāvati, Varnamayī, Kalāvati and Vedhamayī and there were elaborate rules about *vāstuyāga*, construction of mandapa, kundas and sthāṇḍila, which are all passed over for reasons of space.

CHAPTER XXVII

Nyāsas, Mudrās, Yantra, Cakra, Maṇḍala, etc.

One of the important items in the Tāntrik ritual and worship is *nyāsa*, which means 'mentally invoking a god or gods, mantras and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body in order to render the body a pure and fit receptacle for worship and meditation'. Several works such as the *Jayākhyā-saṃhitā* (Pātala XI), *Prapañcasāra* (VI), *Kulārṇava* (IV. 18 ff) refer to several kinds of *nyāsa*; the *Śaradātīlaka* (IV. 29-41, V. 5-7), *Mahānīrvāṇatantra* (III. 41-43, V. 113-118) describe several varieties of *nyāsa*. Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śaradātīlaka* (IV. 29-41) cites numerous quotations on *nyāsa* from an extensive literature. There are several kinds of *nyāsa* such¹²²⁸ as *Hamsanyāsa*, *Pranavanyāsa*, *Mātrkānyāsa*, *Mantranyāsa*, *Karanyāsa*, *Anganyāsa*, *Pīthanyāsa*. *Pranavanyāsa* is illustrated as 'om āṃ Brahmane namaḥ', 'om āṃ Viṣṇave namaḥ' and so on for all the names set out by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śaradātīlaka* 25. 58. The *Anganyāsa* (*nyāsa* on parts of the body) is illustrated as follows: om *hṛdayāya namaḥ*, om *śīrase svāhā*, *śikhāyāi vasat*, om *kavacāya hum*, om *netratrayāya* (or *netradvayāya*) *vasat*, om *astrāya phat*'. Several Purāṇas contain provisions about *nyāsa*. The *Garudapurāṇa* (I. chapters 26, 31, 32) describes *anganyāsa* as part of worship, *japa* and *homa*. The *Nāradyapurāṇa* (II. 57. 13-14), the *Bhāgavata* (VI. 8, about 40 verses), *Brahma* (60. 35-40) provide for *nyāsa* of the mantras 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya', and 'om Viṣṇave namaḥ'. The *Kālikapurāṇa* (chap. 77) deals with *Mātrkānyāsa*. The *Smṛtimuktāphala* (Ahnika pp. 329-331) quotes several passages dealing with *nyāsa* of the 24 letters of the *Gāyatri* (Rg. III. 62. 10) on several parts of the body, meditation on each of the 24 letters as having certain colours or flowers and as identical with certain gods and *avatāras* and *nyāsa* of the *Gāyatripādas* on limbs. The *Brahmapurāṇa*

1228 राघवभट्ट illustrates हंसन्यास as 'हं पुरुषात्मने नमः, सः प्रहृष्टात्मने नमः, हंसः प्रहृष्टिपुरुषात्मने नमः' on शारदा IV. 29; आत्मनो देवताभावप्रदानाद्विद्येति च । पदं समस्ततन्त्रेषु विद्वन्भिः सहदीरितम् ॥ हृदयक्षित्तोः शिखायां कवचाक्षरेषु सह चतुर्थीषु । नत्वा हृत्वा च वषट् हं वीषट् कवचैः पटङ्गविधि ॥ प्रपञ्चसार VI. 5-6 Compare शारदा IV. 33-35 and मदनविर्वाण III, 142 for similar provisions.

(60 35-39) deals with the nyāsa of the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' on the fingers and also on other parts of the body, and speaks of Karanyāsa and Anganyāsa in 28. 26. Padma¹⁸²⁹ (VI 79. 17-30) describes the nyāsa of the names of Visnu on the limbs of the body from the head to the feet and Padma VI. 85. 26 speaks of Anganyāsa and Karanyāsa with the mantra 'om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya'. The Matsyapurāṇa¹⁸³⁰ provides for the employment in nyāsa of mantras with 'om' prefixed to them Karāṅganyāsa and Anganyāsa of Gāyatrī are dealt with in Devībhāgavata XI. 16. 76-91 and it expressly names nyāsa as part of *sandhyā* worship.¹⁸³¹ Vide also Devībhāgavata XI. 7. 26-38 for nyāsa and Kalikāpurāṇa 53. 36. The Devībhāgavata (VII. 40. 6-8) mentions the nyāsa of certain letters on such parts of the body as the chest, the space between the eyebrows, the head. The Brhad-yogiyājñavalkya¹⁸³² contained

1829. The passage of पद्म VI 79. 17-30 begins and ends as follows: शिखाया श्रीधरं चर्यय शिखाया श्रीकरं तथा। हृदीकेशं तु केशेषु मूर्ध्नि नारायणं परम्॥ एवं न्यासविधिं कृत्वा साक्षान्नारायणो भवेत्। यावन्न न्याहरेत्किञ्चित् तावद्विष्णुमयः स्थितः ॥

1830. ओङ्कारपूर्वका ह्येते न्यासे बलिनिवेदने। मन्त्राः स्युः सर्वकार्याणां वृद्धिपुत्रफल-प्रदाः॥ मत्स्य 266. 29,

1831. अथ न्यासविधिं वक्ष्ये सङ्ख्याया अङ्गसम्भवम्। XI. 16. 76. The संस्काररत्नमाला, a comparatively modern work, remarks (p. 229) that Nyāsa has no Vedic authority and hence some do not perform it 'एषोङ्गन्यासः। एतमेकं नेच्छन्ति स ह विधिरवैदिक इति'। The षडङ्गन्यास of गायत्री takes the form 'तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धियो यो नो नेत्रत्रयाय बौषद्, प्रचोदयात् अस्त्राय फट्। इति षडङ्गन्यासः कार्यः। न वा कार्यं न्यासविधेर्वैदिकत्वादिति मूलपरिक्षिते स्पष्टम्। तेनाक्षरन्यासपादन्यासादीनां शुद्धादिविधेः ज्ञापनोच्चनादिविधेश्च तान्त्रिकत्वेनावैदिकत्वादावावश्यकत्वं वेदितव्यम्। धर्मसिन्धु III p. 272 The passage quoted by Aparārka is interesting and a few verses are cited here 'अप्स्वशौ हृदये सूर्ये स्थण्डिले प्रतिमासु च। वदस्तेषु हरेः सम्यगर्चनं शुनिभिः स्मृतम्। अग्रे क्रियावतां देशो दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम्। प्रतिमास्त्वप्यङ्गुलीनां योगिनां हृदये हरिः॥ आनुष्टम्ब्य सूक्तस्य त्रिष्टुप्चतस्य वेचता। पुरुषो यो जगद्बीजमृषिर्नारायणः स्मृतः॥ प्रथमा विन्यसेहामे द्वितीया दक्षिणे करे। तृतीया वामपादे तु चतुर्थी दक्षिणे न्यसेत्। ... अङ्गोः पञ्चदशो चैव षोडशी मूर्ध्नि विन्यसेत्। अपरार्के pp. 140-141. आनुष्टम्ब्य सूक्तस्य refer to the पुरुषसूक्त (अ X 90), the first fifteen verses of which are in Anuṣṭubh metre and the 16th (last verse) is in त्रिष्टुप् metre. The verses from अप्स्वशौ to नारायणः स्मृतः are नरसिंहपुराण 62 5-8 (with slight variations).

1832 अङ्गुष्ठे चैव गोविन्दं तर्जण्यां तु महीधरम्। मध्यमायां हृदीकेशमनामिष्यां त्रिक्रमम्। कनिष्ठिभ्यां न्यसेद्विष्णुं हस्तमध्ये च माधवम्। स्मृतिच I. p 198 quoting योगियाज्ञानस्य These verses are quoted by स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (आह्निक p. 331) from the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका The ed of इष्टयोगियाज्ञ (chap. V) published by the फेल्लप्यान of Lonavala deals with nyāsa but does not contain the above verses

verses dealing with the nyāsa of the names of Visnu such as Govinda, Mahidhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Trivikrama, Visnu, Mādhava on the fingers of the right hand and the palm and back respectively, which are quoted by the Smṛticandrikā (I, p. 198) as from Yoga-yājñavalkya and which have been taken over in the *sandhyā* worship in modern times. The latter work (Sm. C. I. p. 145) also contains Anganyāsa of several portions of Gayatrī, the nyāsa of the single letters of the Gayatrī on the limbs and Aparārka (p. 140) quotes a passage for the employment of the sixteen verses of the Purusasūkta (Rg. X, 90) for nyāsa on the several limbs in the worship of Visnu. For the nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet from 'a' to 'ksa', vide Śāradātīlaka V. 5-8 and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on V. 4 who quotes verses setting out how each letter is to be meditated upon. The Mahānirvāṇa (V. 176-178) also specifies the limbs on which there is to be nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet from the forehead downwards.

The above passages show that the item of nyāsa was taken over from Tāntrika works in the Purāṇas for the rites of the orthodox people several centuries before Yogayājñavalkya, Aparārka (first half of 12th century A. D.) and the Smṛticandrikā. The Varsakriyākaumudī¹⁸³³ (about first half of 16th century) shows that long before it the Garuda and the Kālikā purāṇas contained provisions on nyāsa. The Devaprahasthātattva of Raghunandana (p. 505) speaks of Mātrkānyāsa and Tattvanyāsa. The Pūjāprakāśa section of the Viramitrodaya dwells upon Mātrkānyāsa, Anganyāsa, Gayatrīnyāsa on pp. 130, 131, 132 respectively. The Bhaktiprakāśa (pp. 88-89) of the same work deals with Mātrkānyāsa. In modern times some orthodox people still perform two kinds of nyāsas as follows; The Antarmātrkā which consists in the mystic assignment (mentally) of the letters of the alphabet (from 'a' to 'ksa') on the fingers of the hands and on the palm and back of the hands and on several parts of the body viz. the throat, organs of generation, the ādhāra place and the middle of the eyebrow (as the seats of the six psychic cakras mentioned in note 1715 above). The Bahirmātrkānyāsa consists in assigning the individual alphabet letters with *anusvāra* on each on the limbs from head to feet in such forms as 'ām namah mūrdhni' and so on.

1833. गण्डकालिकापुराणादिषु प्रथमान्तानां केवलानामुष्ण्यादीनां न्यासदर्शनाय । प. कि. कौ. प. 124

The word *nyāsa* is derived from the root 'as' 'to cast' with 'ni' and literally means 'placing or depositing in or on.' The *Kulārṇava* explains it as follows:¹⁸³⁴ 'nyāsa is so called because therein riches that are acquired in a righteous way are deposited or placed with persons whereby all-round protection is got' (so by the ritual touching of the chest and other limbs with the tips of the fingers and the palm of the right hand accompanied by mantras the worshipper can act fearlessly in the midst of bad men and becomes like a god). Vide *Jayakhyasamhitā* quoted below.¹⁸³⁵

The subject of *nyāsa* was briefly dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 319-320. In 'Principles of Tantra' Sir John Woodroffe (pp. LXXI-LXXVII) compares the ritual of *nyāsa* with the Christian method of making the sign of the cross.

Mudrā is another characteristic item in Tantrik ritual. The word *mudrā* has several meanings, four of which have a bearing on Tantrik practices. It means a posture in yogic practices in which the whole body plays a part. It also means the symbolic or mystic intertwining of the fingers and hands as part of religious worship. *Mudrā* is also the 4th of the five *makāras* and means various kinds of grains mixed with ghee or other ingredient (vide note 1752 above) or parched grains. A fourth meaning of *mudrā* is the woman with whom a Tantrika yogi associates himself (as in *Prajñopāya* o V. 24 and *Sekoddeśatikā* p. 56). The *Kulārṇava* derives the word from 'mud' meaning 'delight' or 'pleasure' and 'drāvay' (causal of 'dru') and says 'mudrās' (ritual finger and hand poses) should be shown (in worship) and are so known because they give delight to the gods and make their minds melt (with compassion for the worshipper). But the *Śāradātilaka*¹⁸³⁶ appears to derive it from 'mud' and 'rā' (to

1834 न्यायोपार्जितविज्ञानामङ्गेषु विनिवेशनात् । सर्वरक्षाकराद् देवि न्यास इत्यभिधीयते ॥ कुलार्णव 17 56

1835. संछुद्धविग्रहो मन्त्री मन्त्रन्यास समाचरेत् । येन विष्णुस्तमात्रेण देवदेवसमो भवेत् । पूजादौ सर्वकार्याणामधिकारश्च जायते । यं कृत्वा निर्भयस्तिष्ठेद्देशे दुष्टसमाकुले । विजयश्चापमृत्यूनां स्वाद्येन विहितेन च ॥ जयाख्यसंहिता, पटल XI. 1-3.

1836. सुदं कुर्वन्ति देवानां मनासि द्वावयन्ति च । तस्मान्मुद्रा इति ख्याता दर्शितव्याः कुलेश्वरि ॥ कुलार्णव 17. 57. सुदं कुर्वन्ति देवानां राक्षसान्द्रावयन्ति च ॥ विष्णुसंहिता VII. 43; आगारन्यादिका मुद्राः भवन्त्यानि यथाक्रमम् । यन्निर्विरचितानिस्तु मोदन्ते सर्वदेवताः ॥ शारदा 23, 106, on which रायभट्ट comments 'रा दाने । सुदं राति ददातीति सुदेति निर्दिष्टम्'... अत एव तद्वर्तिन देवतादयस्त्विति । स्वाङ्गुल्यो हि पञ्चभूतात्मिका अङ्गुलाया

give) and according to it *mudrā* means 'what affords pleasure to the Gods'. Other derivations are also proposed (vide J. O. R. Baroda, vol. VI. p. 13). Rāghavabhatta states that the fingers from the thumb to the small finger are identified with the five elements viz. ākāśa (sky or ether), wind, fire, water and earth and that their contact with each other tends to make the deity favourable and delighted and induces the deity to be present at the worship, and that various appropriate *mudrās* are to be employed in worship, at the time of japa, in meditation and in all rites performed for securing some desired object or benefit, since they induce the deity to be present (near the worshipper¹⁸³⁷). It was supposed that *mudrās* helped in enhancing concentration on the part of the worshipper. Even as early as the 7th century it was believed that the making of *mudrās* may bring to life one who, being poisoned had fallen into coma, as the Kādambarī quoted below shows. The Varsakriyā-kaumudī quotes a verse saying that japa, prāṇāyāma, worship of gods, yoga, meditation and āsanās are fruitless unless accompanied by appropriate *mudrās*

The word *mudrā* occurs in the name of Lopāmudrā,¹⁸³⁸ wife of Agastya, who figures in a hymn of the Rg. (I. 179, 4). The word '*mudrā*' is not mentioned in the Amarakośa.

(Continued from last page)

आकाशवाय्वग्निसालिलभूस्वास्तासा मिथः संयोगरूपसङ्केताकोपि देवताप्रगुणीभावपूर्वको मोदः सानिध्यकरो भवति । तदुक्तम् । पृथिव्यादीनि भूतानि कनिष्ठाद्याः क्रमान्मताः । तेषामभ्योन्यसम्भेदप्रकारैस्तत्पञ्चता ।', योगिनीहृदय I. 57 derives as in कुलार्णव The verse 'मोचयन्ति ब्रह्मदिन्यः' quoted in J. O. I Baroda, vol. VI, p. 13 as from कामकलाविलास occurs in a footnote appended by the editor (in the Kashmir series of texts) and not in the text of the कामकलाविलास The half verse 'यामिर्वि...देवताः' of शारदा 23 106 is the same as मुद्रानिषण्ड (Tāntrik texts vol I, p. 46).

1837 अर्चने जपकाले तु ध्याने कान्ये च कर्मणि । तत्तन्मुद्राः प्रयोक्तव्या देवतासंनिधापका. q in यज्ञाभकाश । p. 123 and by राघवभट्ट on शारदा 23.336 स्नाने चावाहने चैव प्रतिष्ठायां च रक्षणे । नैवेद्ये च तथाक्ते च तत्तत्कर्मप्रकाशने । स्थाने मुद्राः प्रकर्तव्या स्वस्वक्षणसंयुताः ॥ Tāntrik texts vol. I. p. 46, verses 1-3, मुद्राबन्धाद् ध्यानाद् विषमस्तस्योत्थापने कीदृशी शक्तिः । कादम्बरी, उत्तरभाग (in शुक्रनास's consoling speech to तारापीड on the reported heart failure of Candrapīda, compare आर्यमञ्जुश्री-मूलकल्प p. 369 'निर्विषोपि भवेत्किम् यो जन्तुर्विषमूर्च्छितः । चत्वारिंशति समाख्याता मुद्रा श्रेष्ठा महर्धिका ॥, व किं कौ. p. 156 'मुद्रा विना तु यज्ञाज्ये प्राणायामः श्वार्चनम् । योगो ध्यानासने चापि निष्फलानि तु भैरव' ॥ This verse is कालिकापुराण 70. 35. मुद्राभिरेव तुष्यन्ति न शुष्पादिकपूजनैः । महापूजा कृता तेन येन मुद्रादकं कृतम् ॥ मेरुतन्व 17. 22.

1838 लोपामुद्रा वृषण नी रिणाति धीरमधीरा धयति श्वसन्तम् ॥ क I 179. 4.

The H. of Dh. vol II. (pp. 320-321) makes a brief mention of mudrās in worship and refers to the work of Miss Tyra de Kleen on the mudrās practised by Bauddha and Śaiva priests called *pedandas* in the island of Bali. Here the same subject will be dealt with in a little more detail and from different points of view.

There is a great divergence among the Tantra, Purāṇa and Yoga works on the number, names and definitions of mudrās. This may be briefly illustrated.

In the Tāntrik texts (Vol. I. pp. 46-47) there is a nighantu (a glossary or enumeration) of mudrās with names and definitions, where it is stated that nine mudrās (*āvāhanī* and others) are common (i. e. capable of being employed in any worship); and then are enumerated mudrās specially appropriate to Viṣṇu worship (19 in all viz. Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā, Padma, Venu, Śrīvatsa, Kaustubha, Vanamālā, Jñāna, Vidyā, Garuda, Nāra-siṃhī, Vārāhi, Hayagrīvi, Dhanus, Bāna, Paraśu, Jagan-mohinī, Vāma; ten of Śiva (Linga, Yoni, Trisūla, Aksamālā, Abhīti i. e. abhaya, Mrga, Asikā, Khatvāṅga (a club with a skull at the top), Kapāla, Damaru; one of the Sun (viz Padma); seven of Gaṇeśa (Danta, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Avighna, Paśu, Ladduka, Bīṣapūra (i. e. a citron).¹⁸³⁹

The Śārādatilaka (23. 106-114) names only nine mudrās and defines them, while the Viṣṇusamhitā (VII) says that mudrās are innumerable (verse 45), names about thirty and defines them and Jñānārṇava (IV), mentions at least nineteen. The Jayākhyasamhitā (8th Paṭala) has about 58 mudrās. The Tāntrik¹⁸⁴⁰ works provide that mudrās should be practised

1839. These Mudrās are also mentioned in a work called Mudrā-laksana (D. C. Ms. 291 of 1887-91). Some of these mudrās in connection with the worship of individual gods occur in Viṣṇusamhitā VII and in Jñānārṇava IV. The Mudrānighantu names and defines mudrās of Śakti, Agni, Tripurā and other deities. The mudrās specially appropriate in the worship of Viṣṇu, such as Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā, Padma, Kaustubha, Śrīvatsa, Vanamālā, Venu are described in a work called Nāradataṇṭra quoted by Varsakriyālaṁmudī pp. 154-156.

1840. पदान्ते षण्येद् युद्धा न चापि कथयेद् युधः । कथनाज्जायते संस्तस्माद्गोप्यं सदा युधैः । आनन्यादाखिला युद्धा वक्तुं ब्रह्मन् न शक्यते । विष्णुसंहिता VII. 44-45 (T.S.S.), न जातु दशयेन्मुद्धा महाजनसमागमे । शुभमेतन्मुनिश्रेष्ठ तस्माद्ब्रह्मसि योजयेत् । नादीक्षितस्य युद्धाणां लक्षणानि प्रकाशयेत् । धुम्यन्ति देवतास्तस्य सर्वं च विफलं भवेत् ॥ quoted from महासंहिता by राघवभट्ट on शारदा 23. 114; स्मृतिच. (I p 148) quotes the first verse and the last half verse

secretly under cover of a garment and not in the presence of many people and should not be announced to another as otherwise they become fruitless. The Kāmakalāvīlāsa of Puṇyānanda expressly mentions (in verse 46) Trikhanda-mudrā and refers to the fact that there are nine mudrās.¹⁸⁴¹ The Nityāsodaśikārnava (3rd viśrama) first defines Trikhanda, then names and defines nine mudrās most of which bear names different from those in the Śaradatilaka. The Mudrās mentioned by Nityāsodaśikā apart from Trikhanda, are: Sarvasanksobhakārinī, Sarvavidrāvinī, Ākarsini, Sarvāveśakari, Unmādinī, Mahānkusā, Khecarī, Bijamudrā, Yonimudrā.

The Jñānārṇava Tantra (IV. 31-47 and 51-56 and XV. 47-68) names over thirty mudrās, several of which bear the same names as those in Nityāsodaśikārnava, are defined in a similar way and are quoted by Bhāskaraśāyā in his commentary on the latter work. In these circumstances the author proposes to name and describe first of all the nine mudrās of the Śaradatilaka.¹⁸⁴² (1) Āvāhani mudrā consists in folding both hands in a hollow and filling the hollow completely with flowers; (2) sthāpanī is the same as āvāhani but the folded hands are held upside down; (3) the 'sannidhāpana-mudrā' occurs when the two hands are formed into a closed fist, are joined together with only the

1841 आधारनवमस्या नवचक्रत्वेन परिणतिं याताः ॥ ननानधशक्तयोऽपि च मुद्राकारेण ताश्चक्रे ॥ कामकलाविलास verse 67.

1842 सम्यक् सम्पूरितः शुणैः करान्या कल्पितोऽञ्जलिः । अवाहनी समाख्याता मुद्रा देशिकसत्तमे ॥ अधोमुखी कृता सेन मीक्षा स्थापनकर्मणि । आधिरुद्रमुद्रियुगला मोक्षतापुद्ग-
शुभक्रा ॥ सज्जिधाने समुद्रिष्टा मुद्रेयं तन्त्रवेदिभिः । अङ्गुष्ठगभिर्णि सैव सक्त्रिधे समीक्षिता ॥
उत्तानी द्वौ कृत्वा मुद्रा मंसुरीकरणे स्मृता । देवताङ्गे पटङ्गानां न्यासः स्यात्सकलीकृतिः ॥
सम्यक्स्तकृता मुद्रिर्दीर्घाधोमुखतर्जनी । अवगुण्टनमुद्रेयमभितो भ्रामिता सती ॥ अन्योन्याभि-
मुख्यधिरुद्रकनिष्ठानामिका युन । तथा च तर्जनीमध्या धेयमुद्रा समीरिता ॥ अमृतीकरण
कुर्यात्तया देशिकसत्तम । अन्योन्यग्रथितान्जुष्टा प्रसारितकराङ्गुली ॥ महामुद्रेयमुद्रिता परमी-
करणे मुद्रे । प्रयोजयेदिमा मुद्रा देवतायागकर्मणि ॥ शारदाः 23 107-114. It may be
noted that the ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र (IV, 32-37) names and describes eight of these
nine mudrās almost in the same words, omitting समुद्रिकरणे and calling the
महामुद्रा of शारदा by the name परमीकरण. The कुलार्णव (17, 90-93) has eight
out of these nine, omitting समुद्रिकरणे and employing the words परमीकरण for
महामुद्रा. Both कुलार्णव and शारदा connect अमृतीकरण with धेयमुद्रा. The
कौलार्णवनिर्णय VII 5-14 has eight out of the nine described by शारदा and
appears to be based on the कुलार्णव. The half-verse देवताङ्गे . कृतिः occurs in
कुलार्णव 17 92 and कुलार्णव 17. 93 says 'क्षमस्तेत्यञ्जलिर्द्वि परमीकरण त्रिये ।' महा-
निर्णयः VI. 77 states 'प्रीक्षयेद् देवमुद्रार्थं पटङ्गैः सकलीकृतिः' The mudrās des-
cribed in शारदाविल्लास are quoted by प कि को. p. 153.

thumbs raised up; (4) 'Sannirodhani' means the same as the preceding but with the thumbs closed inside the fist; (5) the mudrā is called 'Sammukhikarani' when the two closed fists are held upwards; (6) 'Sakalīkrti' mudrā is the action of making the nyāsa of the six limbs on the limbs of the (image of) the *devatā* (deity worshipped), (7) the 'Avagunthana' mudrā consists in closing the fingers held straight and turned downwards and waving the hand round (the image); (8) 'Dhenu-mudrā' (a complicated pose) is formed by putting the right small finger over the right ring finger, intertwining the former with the left ring finger, the left small finger as it is, to be intertwined with the right ring finger, the left ring finger is to be passed over the left middle finger and the left thumb, and to be intertwined with the right hand middle finger brought to the right side of the left index finger and the right hand index finger to be joined with the left hand middle finger, (9) Mahāmudrā is constituted by intertwining the thumbs of both hands and holding the other fingers straight.

Some of the works on Yoga describe various mudrās. For example, the Hathayogapradīpikā (III. 6-23) describes at length ten mudrās and the Gherandasamhitā (III. 1-3) speaks of 25 mudrās and describes them in one hundred verses. The Śīvasamhitā (IV. 15-31) mentions ten mudrās as the best. An important mudrā in Hathayoga practices is the Khecarimudrā described in Devibhāgavata XI. 66. 62-65, Śīvasamhitā IV. 31-33, Gherandasamhitā III. 25-27, Hathayogapradīpikā III. 32-53. This description differs from the definition of Khecari in Jñānārṇava (15. 61-63) and Nityāsodaśikārnava III. 15-23. The Vajrolimudrā (in Hathayogapradīpikā III. 82-96) cannot be set out here for reasons of decency and it was supposed to prolong the life of a yogin even after indulgence in sexual orgies.

Some of the Purāṇas contain an extensive treatment of mudrās. The Kālikapurāṇa mentions anganyāsa, karanyāsa in chap 66 and mudrās like Dhenumudrā, Yonimudrā, Mahāmudrā, Khecarimudrā in 70. 36-56, 78. 3-6, Devibhāgavata (XI. 16. 98-102) speaks of 24 mudrās at the time of Gāyatrī-japa; the Brahmapurāṇa¹⁸⁴³ and Nāradyapurāṇa set out eight mudrās

1843. परं तस्मिन् श्रीवत्सो गदा गच्छ एव च । चक्रे खड्गश्च शार्ङ्गश्च अथौ सुदाः प्रतीतिः ॥ ब्रह्म 61 55, नारदीय II 57. 55-56. It may be noted that these are mentioned among 19 Viṣṇu mudrās enumerated from Tāntrik texts vol. I.

of Viṣṇu worship. Vide Agnipurāṇa, chap. 26, for a brief reference in 7 verses to some mudrās. The Kālikapurāṇa (70 32) states that there are 108 mudrās, 55 for general worship and 53 on special occasions, such as collecting materials, drama, acting (natana).

Most verses of the Brahmandapurāṇa (in the Lalitopākhyāna, chap. 42) are the same as in the Mudrānighaṇṭu pp. 55-57 verses 110-118; but the largest number of mudrās in dancing is contained in the Viṣṇudharmottara (III) In chap 32 it speaks of numerous rahasya (secret) mudrās in prose called mudrāhastas and in chap. 33 (1-124) it describes over one hundred sāmānyamudrās and the colophon at the end of the chapter calls them 'nṛttaśāstramudrās' (mudrās in the science of dramaturgy).¹⁸⁴⁴ This opens up a subject which cannot be gone into here, viz. whether the mystic hand poses (mudrās) in worship were derived from the postures (*karanas*), *recakas* (gestures) and 32 *aṅgahūras* (movements of limbs) described in the Nāṭyaśāstra¹⁸⁴⁵ of Bharata (chapters 4, 8 and 9). It may be noted that the Nāṭyaśāstra (in IV, 171 and 173) speaks of 'nṛttahastas'. Pāṇini knew natasūtras of Śīlālin and Kṛśāśva.¹⁸⁴⁶ Bharata speaks of four kinds of acting (*abhinaya* 8 9-10) viz. āngika, vācika, āhārya, and sātत्वika. In the 9th chapter the movements of the hands and fingers intertwined or joined are set out. Musti is defined by Bharata in 9.55. Mudrās would fall under āngika abhinaya; *aṅgahūras* depended upon *karanas*

(Continued from last page)

cited above. All these except श्रीवत्स are named and defined in the पूजाप्रकाश pp. 124-125 The पूजाप्रकाश p. 136 prescribes that in the worship of विष्णु 'āvāhana' should be made with the mantra 'Sahasraśrīṣā' (Rg. X. 90.1) and 14 mudrās shown 'सहस्रश्रीर्षितिमन्त्रेणावाहनं कुर्यात् । तत आवाहनादिचतुर्दशं मुद्राः प्रदर्शयेत् । ताश्च आवाहनी स्थापनी सङ्कीर्णकणी सङ्कीर्णोपनी प्रसादमुद्रा अवगुण्डनमुद्रा शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मसुलक्ष्णचतुर्णामुद्राः ॥'

1844. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III 32 which begins अथातो मुद्रादस्तां व्याख्यास्याम and ends with a verse एता रक्ष्यमुद्रास्ते मयोक्ता वृत्तसत्तम । अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि सामान्यास्ता निबोध मे ॥ इत्युद्दिशे तु वे प्रोक्ता मुद्रादस्ता मया वृत्त । दर्शयेन्मन्त्रमुक्तानां परां सिद्धिं मभीप्सताम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 33 121.

1845. कर्णौरेह संयुक्ता अङ्गद्वाराः प्रकल्पिताः । एतेषामिह नक्ष्यामि हस्तपादविकल्पनम् । नाट्यशास्त्रे IV 33-34, illustrations of the 108 aṅgahāras enumerated in नाट्यशास्त्रे IV. 34-55 are given in the GOS edition of the नाट्यशास्त्र (vol. I), copied from the Natarāja temple gopuras at Chidambaram in South India.

1846. पाराक्ष्यशिलालिम्बा भिक्षुनटद्वययोः । कर्मन्दकृशाभ्यादिभिः । पा. IV. 3, 110-111.

and the latter consisted of different arrangements of hands and feet. It is likely that the mudrās in the Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrik works are based on the poses that were evolved in ancient Indian dance and drama and that find their earliest extant description in Bharata-nāṭyaśāstra and that are also to be found in later medieval works on dramaturgy such as the Abhinayadarpana¹⁸⁴⁷

The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa names and defines 108 mudrās (p. 380). On p. 376 it states that the combination of mudrās and mantras would bring success in all actions and neither *tithi*, nor *nakṣatra* nor fasting would be required. In the Visnu-dharmottarapurāṇa¹⁸⁴⁸ there is a fine eulogy of the mudrās made in dancing viz. they are the graces of the rich, the removers of the sorrow of the distressed, the instruction of the ignorant, the increase of the blessedness (or charm) of women; they were created by Vāsudeva for the removal of portents, as the means of prosperity and of the attainment of desired objects.

The Buddhists also had mudrās. One of the early works of the Mahāyāna school viz. Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa is full of mudrās in the 35th patala (pp. 355-381) and states (on p. 380) that there are 108 mudrās.¹⁸⁴⁹ L. H. Waddell in 'the Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism' (London, 1895) describes nine mudrās practised in Tibet by the Lamas (pp 336-337).

In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 26 (1897), pp. 24-25, Burgess mentions nine Buddhist mudrās (slightly differing from Waddell's descriptions) as follows:—(1) Bhūmisprśa or Bhūmi-sparśa mudrā, an attitude of Śākya Buddha (making the earth as witness); (2) Dharmacakra mudrā (teaching attitude); (3) Abhaya mudrā (of blessing), in which the left hand is open

1847. Vide अभिनयदर्पण (edited by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, 1957) p 47 where certain postures of the hands are called Śaṅkha, Cakra, Samputa, Pāśa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Garuda, Śiṃhamukha, which, as noticed above, are among the mudrās mentioned in the Mudrāṅghastu (Tāntrik texts, edited by Avalon, vol. I p 46 verses 5-7 and pp. 49-50 verses 32 ff, which define Vaisnava mudrās some of which like Garuda occur in the Nāṭyaśāstra I. 201 also

1848 ईश्वराणां विलासं ह चतुर्तानां दुःखनाशनम् । मूढानामुपदेशं तत् स्त्रीणां सौभाग्य-
वर्धनम् । शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं कान्य वासुदेवेन निमित्तम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 34 30-31.

1849. Vide आर्यमञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (35th patala) p. 372 for अभयसुद्धा and वरसुद्धा

on the lap, the right hand is raised in front of the chest with the fingers and thumb half extended and with the palm facing forwards; (4) Jñānamudrā (Dhyāna mudrā ?) or Padmāsana-mudrā (posture of contemplation); (5) the Vara or Varadamudrā, in which the right hand hangs down over the knee, the palm of the hand turned outwards symbolising charity; (6) Lalita-mudrā (enchanting or bewitching); (7) Tarkamudrā (right hand raised to the chest and slightly constricted); (8) Śāraṇa-mudrā (of refuge or protection), (9) Uttaraśuddhimudrā (pose of highest perfection, which is apt to be confounded with Dharmacakramudrā).

The Jainas also had mudrās. In J. O. I (Baroda), vol. VI, No. 1 pp. 1-35 Dr. Priyabala Shah contributes an interesting paper on two Jaina works, one of which called *Mudrāvicāra* describes 73 mudrās and the other called *Mudrāvidhi* lists 114 mudrās.

In a recent work 'Royal conquests and cultural migrations' Mr. C. Sivaramamurti (Calcutta, 1955) remarks (on p. 43) that the 'hastas' and 'karanas' on the Gopura at Chidambaram are found also in the Śiva temple at Prambanan in Java, where one can observe many of the *karanas* like Patakā, Tripatakā, Ardhaçandra, Śikhara, Kartarimukha, Śūci and hastas like Añjali, Puspaputa. In another recent work 'Contributions to the History of the Indian Drama' by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh (Calcutta, 1958) it is stated that in the bas-reliefs of Bayon (Angkor Thom) certain aspects of the Cambodian dance and drama, particularly certain gestures depicted and actually observed in practice now in the dances in the royal palace, are similar to those described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata such as Añjali, Patakā, Ardhaçandra, Musti, Candrakalā and Kapota (p. 63).

Some Sanskrit medieval Dharmasāstra works from the 13th century A. D. dilate at some length on mudrās. Hemādri on Vrata (vol. I, pp. 246-247) speaks of mudrās called Mukula, Pankaja, Nisthura and Vyoma. The *Smṛticandrikā* (1st half of 13th century A. D.) names and defines 24 mudrās (I, pp. 146-147). The names are the same as in *Devībhāgavata* XI. 16. 98-102. The *Pūjāprakāśa* (part of *Vīramitrodaya*) defines in all 32 mudrās of which eight, viz. Āvāhaṇī, Sthāpanī, Sannidhāpanī, Samrodhīnī, Prasāda, Avagunthana, Sammukha, Prārthanā are common to the worship of all gods, some are specially appropriate

in Viṣṇu worship, some in worship of the Sun, Lakṣmī and Durgā and the Añjali and Samhāra mudrās (the last two) used in the worship of all gods. The *Ahnikaprakāśa* (part of *Vīramitrodaya*) names 24 mudrās to be shown at the time of the japa of Gayātrī (pp. 298-299) which are the same as in *Devībhāgavata* XI. 16. 98-102, but it quotes them as from *Brahmā*.¹⁸⁵⁰ It is difficult to say what work is meant by *Brahmā*. Mudrās were not universally practised. It is clear from the *Dharmasindhu* and *Samskāra-ratnamālā* quoted in note 1831 that Nyāsa and Mudrā were held to be non-vedic in *Mahārāstra* at least.

Another item in the Tāntrik worship is that of Maṇḍala which has been also a prominent feature of orthodox Hindu practices in medieval and modern times. But it cannot be said that the concept of mandalas was borrowed by Sanskrit writers from the Tāntrikas. The word was used in the sense of orb or circle. In the *Tai S. V. 3. 9. 2* reference is made to circular bricks (maṇḍaleṣṭakā); vide also *Śat. Br. IV. 1. 1. 25*. The orb of the Sun is also called the wheel (cakra) in *Rg. IV. 28. 2* and *V. 29. 10*. The *Br. Up.* says 'this Āditya is what is (called) truth' (satya)¹⁸⁵¹ and refers to the Person in the orb (maṇḍala) of the sun. Then it came to mean any figure or diagram (generally

1850. वरदाभयमुद्रे च वरदाभयवत् म्रिये । ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र IV. 39, the *Vara* and *Abhaya* mudrās are defined in *Jayākhyasambhitā* VIII. 104-5 as follows: सुस्पष्टं दक्षिणं हस्तं स्वात्मनास्तु पराङ्मुखम् । पराङ्मुखं लम्बमानं वामपाणिं प्रकल्पयेत् । क्रमाद्वराभयार्णवं तु हृदयं मुद्राहयं द्विज । विज्ञेयं लोकपालानामिन्द्रादीनां सनातनम् । See 'Buddha and the Gospel of Buddha' by A. Coomaraswamy (London 1916) p. 262 for a *Bhūmisparsā-mudrā* from Ceylon (of 18th century A. D.) and 'Buddhist Art in India' by Prof. Grünwedel tr. by Agnes C. Gibson, figure 126 p. 178 for *Bhūmisparsā-mudrā* (of Buddha) and pp. 38 and 330 (of Coomaraswamy's work) for *Dharmacakramudrā* respectively of Gupta period and from *Gandhāra* (1st or 2nd century A. D.) and Dr. B. Bhattacharya's 'Buddhist Iconography' plate XXVIII for the same. Vide 'Serpent Power' by A. Avalon (5th edition, 1953 pp. 480 and 488) for illustrations of *Yogimudrā* in *Siddhāsana* and *Mahāmudrā* respectively as practised by modern practitioners of yoga. In the *Memoirs of Arch. S. I* No. 66 plate XIII (g) has *Abhayamudrā* of standing Buddha and 'Buddhist Art in India' (above) p. 192 has *Abhayamudrā* of Maitreya from a relief in Swat, while in V. A. Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' (ed. of 1930) plate 113 shows Buddha seated in *Abhayamudrā* from Java. Vide N. K. Bhattasali's 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum' (1929) plate VIII opposite p. 30 for a fine *Bhūmisparsā mudrā* of Buddha and pp. 56 and 57 plates XX and XXI for *Varada mudrās* (right hand).

1851. नयत्सत्यमसौ स आदित्यो य एव एतस्मिन्मण्डले पुरुषो यश्चायं दक्षिणेऽक्षे पुरुषः । हृद उप V. 5. 2; vide *बृह. उप.* II. 3. 3.

circular) drawn on an altar and the like. In the Śulbasūtras of Āpastamba and Kātyāyana reference is made to the squaring of a circle (maṇḍala).¹⁸⁵² The Matsyapurāṇa refers in several passages to maṇḍalas drawn with powders of five colours (as in 58. 22). It also refers to the figure of a lotus of twelve or eight petals drawn with saffron or red sandalwood paste or with various colours (72. 30; 62. 15; 64. 12-13; 74. 6-9 a lotus figure with eight petals and pericarp for sun worship). Varāhamihira in Br. S. (chap. 47) describes¹⁸⁵³ a very auspicious ceremony called Pūṣyaśnāna in which a maṇḍala was to be drawn on holy ground with powders of different colours in which positions were to be assigned to gods, planets, stars etc. The Brahmapurāṇa (28. 28) mentions the invocation of the Sun on the figure of a lotus and Brahmapurāṇa (61. 1-3) about the worship of Nārāyaṇa on a maṇḍala in the form of a lotus is quoted by Raghunādana in Puruṣottama-tattva (p. 569). The Harsacarita¹⁸⁵⁴ (first half of 7th century A. D.) refers to a large maṇḍala being drawn in several colours. The Varāhapurāṇa refers to the images or paintings of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa in a maṇḍala for worship (chap. 99. 9-11). The Agnipurāṇa (chapter 320) refers to eight maṇḍalas, Sarvatobhadra and others. Several maṇḍalas are described in Śāradātīlaka III. 113-118, 131-134, 135-139 (navanābhamaṇḍala), in Jñānārṇava 26. 15-17 and other works. According to the Amarakośa¹⁸⁵⁵ Sarvatobhadra is a variety of

1852. चतुरश्रं मण्डलं चिकीर्षन् मन्वात् कीर्त्या निपातयत् । पार्श्वतः परिकृष्यातिशय-
तुर्वीयेन नष्ट मण्डलं परिलिखत् । सा नित्या मण्डलम् । चावर्द्धीयते तावदागन्तुः । मण्डलं चतुरश्रं
चिकीर्षन् दिक्कर्मन् पञ्चदशमागारं कृत्वा द्वावुद्धरेत् । त्रयोदशावतिगन्ते ना नित्या चतुरश्रम् ।
आपस्तम्बशुल्बसूत्र III. 2-3 (Z. D. M. G. vol. LV. p. 579); compare a similar
provision in the Śulbasūtra of Kātyāyana q. by राधकमल on शारदाविलक III. 57.
Vide 'The science of the Śulba' (a study in early Hindu Geometry) by Bibhut-
bhusan Datta (Calcutta, 1932) pp. 140 ff. The three fire-mounds required
in vedic sacrifices are Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇyāgoi and they have
to be respectively circular, square and semi-circular in form and a further
requirement is that all the three have to be equal in area. Therefore, the
Āp. Śulbasūtra provides a method for securing this when it says that a
person desiring to make a circle (equal in area) to a square etc.

1853. तस्मिन् मण्डलमालिख्य कल्पयेच्च मेदिनीम् । नानागन्ताकारवत् न्यानानि
विचित्रानि च । ... वर्णकानि चैः कृत्वा हृदयगणानि च । यथास्तं पूजयेद्दिगन्तगन्धमालापरि-
पन्नैः । बृहत्संहिता 47. 24 ff. तस्मिन् refers to सूत्रदेशे.

1854. महान्मण्डलनिबन्धनैर्गणनालिखन्तं ... शिववलिखि विष्णु विक्षिपन् (मैत्रा-
चार्य...) उद्धृतं । हर्षचरित III.

1855. नौद्योऽस्त्री राजमदनहृपकायोंपकारिका । स्वस्तिरुः सर्वतोमङ्गो नन्यावर्णाद्वयोऽपि
च ॥ अन्तरकोश II. (पुरवर्ग).

residence for kings or rich people. The Śāradātilaka (III. 106-130) deals at length with the construction of a Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala and remarks that it is common to all worship¹⁸⁵⁶ and provides (III. 122-124) that the maṇḍala should be drawn with five coloured powders viz yellow with turmeric powder, white produced from husked grains of rice, red with Kusumbha powder, black with the fine powder of half burnt inferior cereals sprinkled with milk and greenish with powder of the leaves of bilva. The Prapañcasāra (V. 64-65) and Agni (30. 19-20) provide for similar coloured powders. The Vāstuyāgatattva of Raghunandana (p. 416) quotes the Śāradātilaka (III. 123-124) about the five powders. The Jñānārnavatantra (24. 8-10 and 26. 15-17) appears to hold that maṇḍala and *cakra* are synonyms and states that a maṇḍala with nine angles may be drawn on an altar in a pavilion (mandapa) with saffron or vermilion powder¹⁸⁵⁷ The Mahānirvāṇatantra also refers to maṇḍalas drawn with coloured powders (X. 137-138). Four characteristics of maṇḍala ceremonies are maṇḍala, mantra, pūjā and mudrā.

The Buddhist tantras also make much of maṇḍalas. In the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa maṇḍalas are described with special directions for painting them. The Guhyasamājatantra speaks of a maṇḍala of 16 cubits with a *cakra* inside. Vide Prof. G. Tucci's 'Indo-Tibetica' vol. IV part I (Rome, 1941) which gives tables containing maṇḍalas and A. Getty's 'The Gods of Northern Buddhism' (1908) Plate XVI for a maṇḍala of nine elements, and 'Contributions to the study of maṇḍala and mudrā' by Erik Haarh pp. 57-91 of vol XXIII. Nos. 1 and 2 (1958) of Acta Orientalia of the Oriental Societies of Denmark, Norway &c. in which at the end there are photographs of about 100 hand poses (mudrās). The Nispannayogāvali (G. O. S.) of Abhayākara-gupta, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, king of Bengal (1084-1130 A. D.), describes 26 maṇḍalas in 26 chapters, each maṇḍala having a central deity and other minor Buddhist divinities, sometimes more than one hundred in number.¹⁸⁵⁸

1856 मण्डलं सर्वतोभद्रमेतत्साधारणं स्मृतम् । शारदा III. 131.

1857. मण्डपं (पै) वेदिकां कृत्वा पुष्पवैतानमण्डितम् । ...वेदिकायां वरारोहे कुङ्कुमेनाथ वा मये । सिन्दूररजसा वापि विलिखेच्चक्रमुत्तमम् । ज्ञानार्णव 24. 8-10; नवकोणं विरच्यथ सिन्दूरेण महाप्रभम् । कलशान् नव संस्थाप्य हेमरत्नादिपुरितान् । एकं वा कलशं रम्यं स्थापयेदेषिकोत्तमः । दक्षतो मण्डलं कृत्वा कुङ्कुमाद्यैर्विचित्रितम् । ibid. 26. 15-16.

1858, Vide Dr B Bhattacharya's article in J. G. J. R. I Vol. VI, pp 273-281 for the importance of Nispannayogāvali of Abhayākara-gupta for Buddhist deities and psychic literature.

In the collection of the rites and worship called 'R̥gveda-brahmakarmasamuccaya' published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press (6th ed. Bombay 1936) there are at the beginning several mandalas, plain or drawn in various colours, such as the Sarvatobhadra, Caturlingatobhadra, Prāsādevāstumandala, Grhāvāstumandala, Grahadevatāmāndala, Hariharamandala, Ekalingatobhadra. The Smṛtikaustubha mentions Dvādaśalingatobhadra, Harihara-mandala inside which there is Sarvatobhadra pp. 410-411 (of Nirṇ. ed. of 1909). They are all passed over here. Sarvatobhadra literally means 'auspicious on all sides'. This concept of an auspicious figure or diagram was carried over in the realm of Poetics. Dandin in his Kāvyaadarśa cites a verse in the form called Sarvatobhadra, which is an illustration of what are called 'citra-bandhas'.¹⁸⁵⁹ About a century before Dandin, the Kirātārjuniya (15 25) gives an illustration of 'sarvatobhadra'.

In the Acta Orientalia volume referred to above there is an interesting analysis of the contents of two Tibetan mss., one containing what is called 'Rice-mandala' in which 37 elements

1859 प्रादुर्गर्भमं नाम श्लोकार्धभ्रमणं यदि । तदिदं सर्वतोभद्रं भ्रमणं यदि सर्वतः ॥ काव्यादर्श III 80, किरातार्जुनीय (sarga 15 v. 25) furnishes the following as सर्वतोभद्रं, देवाकानिजिकावादे वाहिकास्वस्वकादि वा । काकारेभभरे काका निस्वभग्यव्यमस्यनि ॥ An example of a verse in the सर्वतोभद्रबन्ध is furnished by काव्यादर्श III 82, which is as follows

सा	मा	या	मा	सा	या	मा	सा
सा	रा	ना	या	या	ना	रा	मा
या	ना	वा	रा	रा	वा	ना	या
मा	या	रा	मा	मा	रा	या	मा
मा	या	रा	मा	मा	रा	या	मा
या	ना	वा	रा	रा	वा	ना	या
मा	रा	ना	या	या	ना	रा	मा
सा	मा	या	मा	मा	या	मा	सा

are indicated by their names (vide figure 1) and the other containing 123 drawings of mudrās (hand poses).

Another characteristic item in Tāntrik worship is 'yantra' (geometrical diagram), sometimes called *cakra* also, which one finds to some extent also in the Purānas and slightly in modern orthodox practices. A *yantra* is a diagram (or figure) engraved, drawn or painted on metal, stone, paper or other material. It resembles a mandala but differs from it in this that a mandala may be employed in the worship of any *devatā*, while a yantra is specially appropriated to the worship of a particular deity or employed for a particular purpose. The Kulārṇava-tantra¹⁸⁶⁰ states; 'Yantra is a development (or product) of mantra and a deity apprehended in the form of a mantra; the deity worshipped on the yantra immediately becomes favourable; yantra is so called because it removes all pains (or perturbations) arising from such faults as love and anger; if God is worshipped in yantras, he is pleased'. The same Tantra further says 'if worship is done without a yantra the *devatā* is not pleased'. Here the word 'yantra' is derived from the root 'yantr'. In another place the same tantra states 'Yantra is so declared because it always saves (the worshipper) from Yama (god of death) and goblins and other dangers'. The Rāmāpūrvatāpanīya Upanisad¹⁸⁶¹ observes 'the arrangement (or preparation) of a yantra is the body of the deity which confers safety'. The Kaulāvalīnirṇaya observes 'worship (of a deity) without employing a yantra, satiating (the goddess) without offering flesh, drinking wine without being accompanied by a Śakti (the wife or other woman associated with a Śākta worshipper)—all these yield no fruit'. Some works evolved a 'yantra-gāyatrī' also¹⁸⁶²

1860. यन्त्रं मन्त्रमयं शोक्तं देवता मन्त्ररूपिणी। यन्त्रे सा पूजिता देवो सहसैव प्रसीदति॥ कामक्रोधादिदोषोत्थसर्वदुःखनिवन्त्रणात्। यन्त्रमित्याहुतेतस्मिन् देव प्रीणाति पूजितः॥ कुलार्णव VI 85-86 (The first half verse is quoted from अमृत्यसंहिता by व. क्रि. को p 147); विना यन्त्रेण पूजा चेद् देवता न प्रसीदति। ibid. X. 109; यमभूतान्दिसर्वेभ्यो भवेग्योपि कुलेभरि। त्रायते सततं चैव तस्माद्यन्त्रमितीरितम्। ibid XVII 61. Here य is supposed to stand for यम and others, त्र is derived from the root 'traī' (or 'त्र') विना यन्त्रेण या पूजा विना मत्सिन् तर्पणम्। विना शक्त्या तु यत्पानं तत्सर्वं निष्फलं भवेत्॥ कौलावलीनिर्णय VIII 41-42. सामयस्यात्प देवस्य विग्रहो यन्त्रकल्पना॥ विना यन्त्रेण चैव पूजा देवता न प्रसीदति। रामपूर्वतापनीयोप. I. 13.

1861. It will be noticed that the latter half is the same as the latter half of कुलार्णव X. 109. Vide Heinrich Zimmer's 'Myths and symbols in Indian Art and civilization' pp 140-148 on 'yantra'; also अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता chap. 36 where the construction and worship of Sudarśanacakra is described.

1862. The यन्त्रगायत्री is: यन्त्रराजाय विद्महे वरमदाय धीमहि। तन्नो यन्त्रं प्रचोदयात्॥ मेरुतन्त्र 33 13.

These passages make it clear that a yantra was deemed to be a factor helping in restraining the restless movements of the mind due to anger, love and the like and in making the mind concentrate on a diagram or model deemed to represent the deity worshipped. It induced concentration and encouraged the mental realization of the deity. The distinction between the *devatā* and yantra is similar to that between the soul and the body. Most Hindus look upon such forms of worship without antipathy because it is felt that they serve as a way of approach to divinity for ordinary unsophisticated people and that it is better to have one's foot on the lowest rung of the ladder to higher life than to have it on no rung at all.

Yantras are described in such Tāntrik and other works as Tripurātāpani Upanisad (II 3), Prapañcasāratāntra (patalas 21 and 34), Śāradātīlaka (VII. 53-63, XXIV), Kāmaka-lāvīlāsa (verses 22, 26, 29, 30, 33), Nityasodasikārnava (I. 31-43) Nityotsava (pp. 6, 64-65), Tantra-rājatantra (II 44-51, VIII 30 ff, XXXIII), Ahirbudhnyasamhitā (chap. 23-26), Mantramahodadhi (20th Taranga), Kaulajñānanirnaya (X, which speaks of them as cakras), Kaulāvalīnirnaya (III. 105-135), Merutantra (33rd prakāśa, 562 verses), Mantramahārṇava-tantra (Uttarakhanda, 11th taranga). It is not possible to deal with all this large material here. The Padma (Pātālakhanda, 79. 1) provides that the worship of Hari (Viṣṇu) may be performed on the Śālagrāma stone or on a jewel or a yantra, a mandala, or images, and not merely in a temple. The Ahirbudhnyasamhitā (chap. 36, verses 5-66) describes the procedure of the worship of a Sudarśana-yantra by a king or other personage desiring wealth or prosperity. One yantra or cakra may be explained and illustrated here. The most noted is *Śrīcakra* described in two verses quoted¹⁸⁶³ below and explained in some detail in the

1863. बिन्दु-त्रिकोण-चतुकोणदशारधुम-मन्त्रसंज्ञागदलसंयुतपोडशारम् । वृत्तत्रयं च धरणीसदनत्रयं च श्रीचक्रराजमुदित परदेवताया ॥ q. by शङ्कराचार्य of आनन्दगिरि (B I ed, of 1868) p. 255 and by सेतुबन्ध on नित्यापोडशिका 1. 31 from रामल (probably from the रुद्रयामल said to be composed by the great शङ्कराचार्य himself) and चतुर्भिः श्रीकण्ठे शिवशुक्तिभिः पञ्चभिरपि प्रभिन्नाभि शम्भोर्नवभिरपि सुलभकुक्तिभिः । जय-श्रवत्तारिकाद्वयदलकलाअत्रिवलयविरचिताभिः सार्धं तव भवनकोणा. परिणता ॥ सौन्दर्यलहरी verse 11 in ed, by Ganesh and Co. Madras, 1957 with Com लक्ष्मीधरा Some writers read in the 2nd verse चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् बहु stands for 8, मधु for 14, नाग for 8, कला for 16. There are two ways of describing it viz. from the bindu onwards (which is called Srsti-krama) or from the outer lines to the bindu (which is called sambhāra-krama). Vide 'Shakti and Shākta' by Sir John (Continued on next page)

Setubandha commentary on Nityāsoḍaśīkārnava (I. 31-46). The latter verses explain how the Cakra is to be drawn with the bindu in a small triangle. The bindu represents Śakti or Mūla-prakṛti solidified. In published works on Tantra the Śrīcakra is represented in colours (as in Saundaryalaharī published by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1957, facing the title page), while others represent it only by means of plain uncoloured lines (as on the outer cover of the above edition of Saundaryalaharī or on the cover of the Kāmakalāvilāsa ed. by A. Avalon and published by Ganesh and Co. 1953). In some works the figure of Śrīcakra shows no gates as on the cover in 'Principles of Tantra' by A. Avalon or on the cover of Kāmakalāvilāsa, while gates are shown in other works (as in the above edition of Saundaryalaharī before the Sanskrit text). There are nine triangles, five of which have their apex pointing downwards and these represent Śakti and four (representing Śiva) have an apex pointing upwards. The bindu is situated in the smallest triangle pointing downwards. Then there are two pairs of ten triangles (shown in some books as blue and red respectively), then fourteen triangles (coloured blue in some works), then eight-petalled lotus (sometimes coloured red), 16 petalled lotus (coloured blue), then three circles, then three boundary lines with four gates, these two latter being the outer sections of the yantra and the lotuses of 8 and 16 petals being the inner section of the yantra. There are in all 43 angles (some works make 44). The part of the Cakra within the boundary lines is called *bhūpura*. The worship of yantra is *bahuyāga* (outer or external worship of Śakti). The internal worship (*antaryāga*) consists in taking the awakened Kundalinī through the cakras from Mūlādhāra to Ajñācakra and then uniting it with the Lord Śiva in the Sahasrārā-cakra, the six cakras from Mūlādhāra being identified with

(Continued from last page)

Woodroffe (3rd edition of 1929 published by Ganesh & Co, Madras) pp 399 ff for explanation of the figure of Śrīcakra. A tāntrik work called Devīrabasya (D. C. ms. No 490 of 1895-98) quotes the verse विन्दुविज्ञोऽपि...देवतायाः (on folio 31a) but also cites another verse describing this चक्र somewhat differently. Cakras are differently enumerated in different works. For example, in D. C. ms No 962 of 1884-1887 called चक्रमेद, five cakras employed in the worship of Durgā according to Kaulāgama are राजचक्र, महाचक्र, देवचक्र, वीरचक्र and पद्मचक्र (Cat. vol. XVI on Tantra p. 163), while in another ms D, C No 964 of 1887-91, several other cakras are described such as अमृतचक्र, कण्ठयन्त्रोद्यनचक्र, राक्षचक्र, नक्षत्रचक्र (Cat. vol. XVI on Tantra p. 251).

the five elements and mind. This is described in Saundaryalahari (verse 9). To what lengths 'Śakti' worshippers had gone in the worship of Devī by the *bahiryaṅga* method would be clear from a passage quoted from the commentary of Lakṣmīdhara, almost the latest among the numerous commentators of the Saundaryalahari, who was horrified by the methods of Kaulikas.¹⁸⁶⁴

The Setubandha on Nityāsodaśikārnava is at great pains to emphasise that the worship of Tripurasundarī is of the nature of upāsana and not of the nature of *bhakti* and that this upāsana is of two sorts, one consisting of the recitation of the mantra of the Devī and the other consisting of the worship of the yantra¹⁸⁶⁵ (or cakra). Verses 126-204 of the Nityāsodaśikārnava detail the different items in the worship of the Śrīcakra. The Nityāsodaśikā and other Tāntrik works say that the great Tripurasundarī is seated in the Śrīcakra¹⁸⁶⁶. The great aim of the Śākta *sūdhaka* is apparently to realize his identity with the yantra, the mantra, the guru and Tripurādevī. The Varsakriyā-kaumudī quotes a verse stating that worship of yantra performed with all mantras is commended and by so doing a worshipper may secure whatever he desires¹⁸⁶⁷.

Even a comparatively sober work like the Śāradatilaka provides for the drawing up of yantras for wicked purposes. For example, in VII. 58-59 it describes an Āgneya-yantra to be drawn on a garment secured from a pile in a cemetery and buried near the house of one's enemy for the latter's destruction.

1864 तवाधारे मूले सह समयया लात्यपरया नवान्मानं मन्ये नवरममहाताण्डवनदम् ।
उभाभ्यामिनाभ्यामुदयविधिसुहृद्व्य दयया सनाथाभ्या जज्ञे जनकजननीमज्जगदिदम् ॥ सौन्दर्य-
verse 41 p 181 (ed. of Ganesh and co 1951). The com. of लक्ष्मीधर remarks
'अत एव कौलादिकोणे विन्दुं निर्यं समर्चयन्ति ।... श्रीचक्रस्थितनवयोगिमध्यगतयोगिं भूर्जहेम-
पद्मवस्त्रपीठादौ लिखितं पुष्पकौला पूजयन्ति । तस्या. प्रत्यक्षयोगिसुत्तरकौला पूजयन्ति । उभयं
योगिद्वयं बाह्यमेव नान्तरम् । अतस्तेषामाधारचक्रमेव पूज्यम् ।... अत्र बहु वक्तव्यमस्ति तत्तु
अवैदिकमार्गत्वाद् स्तरणार्हमिति न भवति ।'

1865 अत्य तन्त्रस्य माधान्येन त्रिपुरसुन्दर्युपासनाविधान एव तात्पर्यावगमात् । सा
चोपासना मानसक्रियाविशेषरूपा ।.. तस्मादसुरागत्यावृत्ता क्रियैवोपासना । सा च द्विविधा-
तन्मन्त्रजपररूपा तद्यन्त्रपूजारूपा चेति । नेतृव्य ०० निर्या ० I 125 p 68

1866. संस्थितात्र महाचक्रे महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी । निर्यापोढजिह्वा I 82 ; ज्ञाता स्वात्मा
भवेज्ज्ञानमयं क्षेत्रं बहिःस्थितम् । श्रीचक्रपूजनं तेषामेकीकरणनीरितम् ॥ तन्त्रराजतन्त्र 35. 6,
आसीना विन्दुमये चक्रे सा त्रिपुरसुन्दरी देवी । कानेश्वराङ्गनिलया कालया चन्द्रस्य कल्पितो-
त्तसा ॥ verse 37 of कामकला.

1867. सर्वेषामपि मन्त्राणां पूजा यन्त्रे भवत्येते । यन्त्रे मन्त्रं समाराध्य यद्भीष्टं तदा-
मुपात् ॥ व कि कीं p. 147.

In XXIV. 17-18 and 19-21 two yantras for the destruction of an enemy are described. Vide above p 1105 for Prapañcasāra (34. 33) providing a yantra for creating passion in a woman and making her run to the person practising magic.

The Tantrarājatānttra provides (8th Patala, verses 30-32) that yantras that yield all desired objects should be engraved, painted or drawn on pieces of gold, silver or copper or on cloth or birch leaf with paste of sandalwood, agalochum, camphor, musk or saffron and should be worn on the head or the arms or neck, waist or wrist or one should worship them after placing them somewhere (on the ground &c.); vide also Prapañcasāra-tānttra XI. 46 for similar provisions.

At the end of this chapter on Tāntrik doctrines and practices reference must be made to a remarkable circumstance. The Sarvadarśanasamgraha of Śāyana-Mādhava (14th century A.D.), that deals with 15 *Darsanas* (points of view or philosophical views), has not a word to say about Tantras, though it devotes considerable space to the atheistic Cārvāka-darśana and the unorthodox Bauddha and Jaina systems. It is impossible to believe that the most learned brothers Śāyana and Mādhava were unaware of the works on Tantra. The silence must be due to some special reason. If one may make a conjecture, it appears that Tāntrik doctrines were discarded for the same reasons that induced the Bengal king Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara to exclude the Devipurāna from the authorities on which he meant to rely. At the time when Śāyana and Mādhava flourished (about middle of 14th century A. D.) Tāntrik doctrines and practices had come into great disrepute. Therefore, Tāntrik doctrines were probably passed over in silence by Śāyana-Mādhava.

APPENDIX TO SECTION VI

Some important published texts consulted by the author on Tāntricism are set out here. Sanskrit works are arranged in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, but are transliterated in English and their names are printed in italics. Information about authors, dates and editions is set out briefly where available.

Adhvayavajrasaṅgraha of Advayavajra (11th century A. D.); contains 21 short works on Buddhist philosophy (in G. O. S.), ed. by H. P. Shastri, with a valuable Introduction.

Ārya-Maṅjuśrīmūlakaḥ (published in TSS in three parts and 721 pages); contains parts of different dates (from 4th to 9th century A. D.). It is Buddhist and included in Tibetan Kangyur. It has now 55 chapters, but a Chinese translation of 10th century has only 28 chapters. Dr. B. Bhattacharya ascribes it to 2nd century A. D.; but Winternitz disagrees (vide IHQ. IX. pp. 1 ff.). Jayaswal in 'Imperial History of India' gives the text of *paṭalavāsara* 53 containing 1003 verses, out of which verses 6-314 deal with the biography of Buddha up to his *nirvāṇa* and real history is given from about 78 A. D. to 8th century A. D. in verses 345-980.

Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati of Īśānaśivagurudevamīśra, in four parts, Sāmānyapāda, Mantrapāda, Kriyapāda and Yogapāda, it contains about 18000 slokas and is published in T. S. S.; it mentions Gautamiya Tantra, Prapañcasūtra and Bhojarāja; composed about 1100 A. D. or a little later.

Kūmakalūvilāsa of Puṇyānandanātha, with the commentary Cidvalli of Natanānandanātha (Kashmir S. S.); there are 55 verses with tr. and notes by Arthur Avalon (pub by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1953), originally in Tāntrik Texts vol. X.

Kūlacakratantī (Buddhist)—Vide J. A. S. B., Letters, vol. XXVIII (1952) pp. 71-76 for an account of this work by Biswanath Bandopadhyaya

Kūlaññānamrṇaya—ed by Prof. P. C. Bagchi (in Calcutta S. Series, 1934), H. P. Shastri assigned the ms of it to 9th century A. D., but Prof. Bagchi (p 3) places it in the

middle of the 11th century A. D. It is ascribed to Matsyendrapāda in the colophons. Vide p. 1115, n 1820 above for Matsyendranātha.

Kālinlāsatantra—ed. by A. Avalon in *Tāntrik Texts*, vol VI (1917) in 35 patalas. In X. 20-21 it frankly allows adultery provided the sexual act is not completed. It mentions (in XX. 1) the *Kālikapurāna* and in XV. 12-13 contains a mantra in a language resembling Assamese and eastern Bengali.

Kulacūdāmanī-tantra (ed. by A. Avalon in *Tāntrik Texts*, vol IV, 1915) in seven patalas and 430 verses. In I. 4-12 names of 64 tantras are cited.

Kulārnavatantra—It is in 17 *ullāsas* and contains over 2000 verses. It is a famous work profusely quoted (published in *Tāntrik Texts*, vol. V, London, 1917). It is an early tantra, probably composed before 1000 A. D. In the colophons it is said to be a tantra of the *Ūrdhvamnāya* (the fifth of the five *amnāyas*) and as part of the work of one lakh and a quarter verses. Vide A. B. O. R. I. vol. XIII. pp. 206-211 for a paper on '*Kulārnavatantra*, its extent and contents' by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti.

Kaulāvalīmnāya of Jñānānandagiri in twenty-one *ullāsas*, ed. by A. Avalon in *Tāntrik Texts*, vol. XIV; in I. 2-14 names numerous Tantras including *yāmalas* and in I. 92-93 eight former gurus are named.

Ganapatitattva—Old Javanese Text, critically edited, annotated and translated by Dr. (Mrs.) Sudarśadevi Singhal (pub. by International Academy of Sciences, New Delhi, 1958); refers to *Mūlādhāra* and other *Cakras* with their positions and colours, six *angas* of Yoga excluding *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana* and adding *tarka*; gives an account of the production of *nāda* from *Niskala* and of *bindu* from *nāda* and so on, of mantras, *bījās* &c.

Guhyasamājatantra or *Tathāgata-guhyaka* (*Buddhist*): It is published in G. O. S.; it is assigned to 4th century A. D. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in *Intro to Sādhnamālā*, vol. II, p. XCV); vide p 1050 above for criticism of this view. It probably belongs to the 5th or 6th century A. D. Vide notes 1673 and 1691

Goraksasiddhāntasaṅgraha published in S. B. Texts (1925); mixture of Yoga and Tantra

Cūḍagaganacandrīkā; ascribed to Kālidāsa; ed. by Trivikramatīrtha in Tāntrik Texts, Vol. XX.

Jayāḷkhyasāṁhitā (published in G. O. S.)—a Pāñcarātra work ascribed to 450 A. D. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya; contains some Tantra topics such as Yaksini-sādhana, Cakrayantra-sādhana, Stambhana.

Jñānasiddhi of king Indrabhūti, disciple of Anaṅgavajra and father of guru Padmasambhava; pub. in 'Two Vajrayāna Texts' (G. O. S.), assigned to about 717 A. D. (Intro. p. 10); gives in a nutshell leading doctrines of Vajrayāna.

Jñānāravalāntara, pub. by Anan Press, Poona; contains 26 patalas and about 2300 verses.

Tantrarājāntara, ed. in Tāntrik Texts, vol VIII and XII and pub. by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1954, with the commentary Manoramā by Subhagānandanātha; it has 36 chapters. It gives an account of the Kādimata.

Tantrasāra of Kṛṣṇānanda, pub. in Ch. S. S.; about 17th century A. D.

Tantrasāra of Abhinavagupta, a summary of Tantrāloka, pub. in Kashmir S. S. (1918). About the first quarter of 11th century A. D.

Tantrābhidhūna with Bijanighantu and Mudrānighantu, ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol I. (1913)

Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the com. of Jayaratha, pub. in Kashmir S. S. in several volumes; composed about 1000 A. D.

Tārūlāntara, ed. by Śrī Girīśacandra and pub. in the Gauda-granthamālā No 1 (1913); in 6 patalas and 150 verses. It declares that Buddha and Vasistha were Tāntrik sages of old and nine Kaula gurus whose names end in 'nātha' are mentioned; refers to Mahācinākhyā Tantra and provides for devotee (only male) offering his own blood to Tārā.

Tārūbhaktisudhūnava, of Narasimha Thakkura, who was 5th in descent from Govinda Thakkura, author of Pradīpa, com. on Kāvyaaprakāśa; composed about 1680 A. D., ed. by Pancanan Bhattacharya (in Tāntrik Texts vol. XXI, 1940);

a large work in eleven Tarangas and 435 pages on the worship of Tārā, one of ten vidyās connected with Śakti (not the Buddhist divinity Tārā). The 9th Taranga deals with the horrible rite of Śavasādhana (pp. 345-351).

Tārārahasya of Brahmānanda, pub. by Jivananda (1896); mentions Mahācīna, Nilatantra, Yoginītantra, Rudrayāmala.

Tripurārahasya of Hārītāyana, with com. called Tātparyadīpikā of Śrīnivāsa; pub. in S. B. series; it is a discourse by Hārītāyana to Nārada. Tārākhaṇḍa portion of it is philosophical.

Tripurūsārasamuccaya of Nāgabhatta with the com. of Govindācārya; pub. by Jivananda (1897).

Dakṣināmūrti-saṁhītā on Śrīvidyopāsanā in 65 patalas and about 1700 verses; pub. in S. B. series.

Nityāsoḍaśikūṇava (part of Vāmakeśvaratantra) with the com. Setubandha by Bhāskararāya (1700-1750 A. D.); pub. by Anan. Press (1944).

Nityotsava of Umānandanātha (who bore the name of Jagannātha before *dikṣā* and who was a Mahārāstra brāhmaṇa patronized by the Tanjore Marāṭha Chief); this is a supplement to Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Umānandanātha was a pupil of Bhāsurānandanātha (Bhāskararāya before *dikṣā*) and composed the work in Kali era 'rasārṇava-karīvedamitesu' (Kali 4846 i. e. 1745 A. D.). It is probable that the word arṇava is used for seven instead of for 4 as usual (i. e. 4876, equal to 1775 A. D.); pub. in G. O. S. (1923).

Nīspannayogavālī of Abhayākara-gupta, a contemporary of king Rāmapāla of Bengal (1084-1130 A. D.). It is Buddhist. The author was a Professor at the Vikramāśīla University in Bihar; describes 26 mandalas, each having a central deity and other minor Buddhist deities that sometimes exceed 100. It is valuable for later Buddhism, its pantheon and ritual; pub. in G. O. S. (1949).

Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, with com. Saubhāgyodayā of Rāmeśvara, pub. in G. O. S. (1923); earlier than 1300 A. D.; claims to be composed by Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni and chief disciple of Lord Mahādeva.

Pādulāpāṇcaka, ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. II (1913). *Pūrānandasūtra*, pub. in G. O. S. (1931); not earlier than 900 A. D., says Dr. B. Bhattacharya.

Prājñopāya-vimśaya-siddhi of Anangavajra, one of the 84 siddhas venerated in Tibet; Buddhist Vajrayāna work pub. in G. O. S. (1929); composed about 705 A. D. acc. to Dr. B. Bhattacharya in Intro. p. XII.

Prapañcasāra (ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya) with com. Vivaraṇa by Padmapāda; pub. in Tāntrik Texts (vol. III) and later a new ed. in vol. XVIII-XIX (1939). Vide p. 1105 above. In 36 patalas.

Prāṇatosanī, compiled by Rāmatosana Bhattacharya and pub. by Jivananda (Calcutta), it is a very large modern work in 1097 pages.

Brahmasaṃhita, with the commentary of Jīva Goṣvāmī, for Vaiṣnavas; pub. in Tāntrik texts, vol. XV.

Manṭamahodadhī of Mahīdhara with his own commentary, composed in Vikrama year 1645 (1588-89) A. D.; pub. by Jiv and Venk. Press.

Mahāmūrvānatantra, with the com. of Hariharānanda Bhārati. It is a leading but late work on Tantra, published very often, ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XIII in 14 *Ullāsas* as the first part; the ed. of 1929 by Ganesh & Co. has been used in this work; the third ed. of 1953 differs slightly here and there.

Mātrkā-cakra-viveka of Svatantrānandanātha, with the com. of Śivānanda; pub. in S. B. series, 1934.

Māheśvaratantra, in 51 patalas and 3060 verses (pub. in Ch. S. S.); mentions that Tantras are 64 (1. 15 and 26. 11) and names 25 Vaiṣṇava tantras (26. 16-20) and holds that Bauddha tantras are misleading and meant for cruel rites (26. 21-22).

Meruṭantra, extensive work in 35 chapters, 821 pages and about 16000 verses, pub. by Venk. Press, Bombay, 1908.

Yoginītantra, published by Jivananda; q. by Raghunandana in *Ekādaśītatva* p. 58.

Yoginīhrdaya—the last three chapters of *Nityāsodaśikārnava* (VI-VIII) are so called.

Yoginīhrdayadīpikā of Amṛtānandanātha, disciple of Puṇyānandanātha, pub. in S. B. series, 1923; about 10th or 11th century A. D.

Rudrayāmālatantra, ed. by Jivananda (2nd ed. in 1892). A very extensive work in 66 chapters and in over 6000 verses

(mostly in Anustubh metre), supposed to have been declared by Bhairavī to Bhairava (Śiva). It was said to be a huge work in a lakh and a quarter śloka, e. g. D. C. ms. No. 667 (i) of 1895-1902 called Dhanadāpuraścaranavidhi states in the colophon that it is part of the Rudrayāmala (iti Rudrayāmala-sapādalaksagrantho ... Kinkini-tantroktā-Dhanadā-puraścaraṇa-vidhiḥ, BORĪ cat. of mss., vol. XVI. on Tantra p. 247).

Lalitāsahasranāma with the com. Saubhāgyabhāskara of Bhāskararāya son of Gambhīrarāya, minister of the Bijapur Moslem king, written in *samāt* 1785 i. e. 1729 A. D.; Nīr. ed. of 1935.

Varṇasūtrāḥasya of Bhāskararāya (called Bhāsurānandanātha after dikṣā) with his own com. called Prakāśa. He flourished between 1700-1750 A. D.; pub. at Adyar, 1934.

Vīṣṇu-saṃhītā in 30 pataḥ; pub. in T. S. S. 1925.

Śaktisaṅgamatantra, in four parts, viz. Kālī, Tārā, Sundarī and Chinnamastā; three parts dealing with the first three pub. in G. O. S.; between 1505-1607 A. D. Vide Poona Orientalist, vol. XXI. pp. 47-49 (between 1530-1700 A. D.).

Śaktisūtra—Vide Sarasvatībhavana Studies, vol. X. (pp. 182-187); has 113 sūtras and com. on 19 sūtras; attributed to Agastya by the commentary, the sūtra mentions Jaimini and Vyāsa.

Śūktapramoda (a recent work), compiled by Śrīrājadevanandanasiṃha, chief of Śivahara; pub. by Venk. Press, 1951; contains 17 tantras viz. Kālitāntṛa, tantras called Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Chinnamastā, Tripurabhairavī, Dhūmavātī, Bagalamukhī, Mātangi, Kamalātmikā, Kumārikā, Balidānakrama, Durgā, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu.

Śārādātīlaka of Lakṣmana-deśikendra (disciple of Utpalā); one of the most famous works on tantra. Aufrecht (p. 64) enumerates several commentaries, the most learned and lucid of which is the Padārthādarśa of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, composed in *samāt* 1550 (i. e. 1493-94 A. D.). Rāghavabhaṭṭa hailed from Mahārāstra and was a resident of town Janasthāna (Pañcavati) on the banks of the Godāvarī; pub. in Kāshī S. S. and in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XVI and XVII. Śārādātīlaka was composed about the 11th century

- A. D. Raghunandana expressly names Rāghavabhatta as the commentator of the Śāradatilaka in Jyotistattva p. 580.
- Śrīcakrasambhāratānta*—A Buddhist work; Tibetan text and English translation by Lama Kazi Dawa Samdup and edited in Tāntrik Texts, vol. VII by A. Avalon, 1919.
- Śyāmārahasya* of Pūrṇānanda in 16 chapters, ed. by Jivananda; 16th century A. D.
- Sat-cakra nṛ-ūpana*, of Pūrṇānanda in 85 verses, pub. in Tāntrik Texte, vol. II; composed śaka 1499 (i. e. 1577-78 A. D.).
- Sanat-kumāra-tantra*—is a dialogue between Sanat-kumāra and Pulastya in eleven patalas and about 375 verses. Published by Jyestharam Mukundji in Bombay in 1905. It is a mixture of Yoga and tāntrik technique and inculcates the worship of Kṛṣṇa in Tāntrik bijas like 'klīm, gaum &c'.
- Sādhana-mālā*, published in two volumes in G. O. S. with a long Intro to vol II by Dr B. Bhattacharya; contains 312 Sādhanaś, many of which are anonymous and are known to Tibetan Kangyur; Dr Bhattacharya states that the Sādhanaś range in dates from third century A. D. to 12th century A. D. Winternitz, in I. H. Q. vol IX (pp. 5-6), does not accept the view that the Prajñāpāramitāsādhana was composed by Asaṅga.
- Sāmrājya-lakṣmī-pīṭhikā*—said to be part of Akāśa-bhairava Mahātānta, published in Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Series in 139 chapters, of which the first 30 are connected with mantra, japa, homa,; chapters 31 ff deal in detail with departments of State, coronation (chap 43 ff) and festivals like those of New Year, Rāmanavamī, Navarātra, &c.
- Sekoddeśatikā*—a Buddhist work of Śrīnadapāda; text ed. by Mario E. Carelli in G. O. S. with an Intro. in English.
- Saundaryalaharī*, ascribed to the great Śankarācārya, has numerous commentaries; ed. by Sir John Woodroffe and pub. at Adyar (1937); ed. of 1957 with three commentaries and English translation published by Ganesh & Co. Madras. There is an excellent edition of this work in 100 verses (text, English translation by Prof. W. Norman Brown, Harvard University Press, 1958).
- Śrīvidyārātnasūtra*, attributed to Gaudapāda (in 101 sūtras) with the commentary of Śankarācārya, pupil of Vidyāranya,

on 21 sūtras; ed. by Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraja in S. B Texts series, Benares (1924).

Hamsavilāsa, of Hamsamitthu; pub. in G. O. S. (1937); the author was born in Gujarat in Vikrama year 1794 on Phālguna Full moon day (1738 A. D.). Though not a purely Tāntrik work it quotes many Tāntrik works such as the Kulārṇava (pp 68-76), Kaularahasya (p 104), Yoginī-tantra (p 103), Śāradātilaka (pp. 84-85, 105 ff) It deals with many other topics such as figures of speech, erotic subjects

Hevajratāntra, edited and translated by Dr D. L. Snellgrove (Oxford University Press, 1959), in two parts This work came to the author's hands while this Appendix was passing through the Press Part I (pub in 1959) contains Introduction (pp. 1-46), English translation (pp. 47-119), contents (pp 121-125), diagrams (pp 126-129), Glossary (pp. 131-141) and Index (pp 142-190); Part II contains Sanskrit texts and Tibetan texts based on a Nepalese ms. lent by Prof. Tucci; com. called Yogaratnamālā by Pandita Kāṇha has been included from an old Bengali ms. The editor holds (part I p. 14) that Hevajratāntra was in existence towards the end of 8th century A. D. and that Advayavajrasangraha and Sekoddeśatīka borrow from Hevajra-tāntra. Sādhnamālā No 229 (two opening verses) are the same as Hevajra II. 8. 6-7 Hevajra is an invocation of vajra. On p. 11 part I the editor questions how the yogins could call themselves Buddhists when they experienced enlightenment in the embrace of a yoginī Part I p. 70 mentions Jalandhara, Oddiyāna, Purnagiri as pīthas and several upapīthas, upakṣetras. The term Śakti does not occur in Hevajra but its place is taken by Prajñā Part II verses 11-15 p. 98 express how the followers of this tantra had sexual experiences with women called mudrās and how thereby they secured *siddhi*. Part I p 54 contains ritual for gaining mastery over a young woman. Part II p. 2 states 'Hekārena mahākaruṇā vajram Prajñā ca bhanyate; Prajñopāyāt-makam tantram tan-me nigaditam sruṇu'. This is a very valuable addition to the literature on Tantra and has been very well edited.

Some important works and papers on Tantra—vide also note 1687 for works on Śakti cult.

Catalogue of Palm-leaf and some paper mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal, by M. M. H. P. Sastri (1905)

Tārānāth's *History of Buddhism in India* (translated into German by A. Schiefner (St. Petersburg, 1869). Portions were translated into English in I. A. IV. 101 ff. and 361 ff.

'Lamaism' by L. A. Waddell (Allen & Co., London, 1895).

'History of Buddhism in India and Tibet' by Bu-ston translated from Tibetan by Dr. E. Obermiller.

Descriptive catalogue of mss in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VIII (deals with 648 mss. on Tantra in 892 pages).

Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c* (in collected works, vol. IV. pp. 202-210 on Śāktas)

Tantra of the Great Liberation (translation of the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra) with Introduction and commentary by Arthur Avalon (1913).

Tāntrik Texts edited by A. Avalon, vol. I-XXII, Introductions, notes, analysis &c.

The Serpent Power by A. Avalon (1914), containing translation of *Ṣaṭ-cakranirūpana* and *Pādukāpañcaka* (5th ed. of 1958, by Ganesh & Co, Madras).

'Principles of Tantra' parts 1 and 2, ed by A. Avalon (1914, 1916) with a long Introduction to part 2.

'Wave of Bliss' — translation of *Ānanda-lahari* (first fortyone verses of *Saundarya-lahari*) and comments by Sir John Woodroffe (1917)

'Wave of Beauty' — translation of *Saundarya-lahari* (with text and commentaries) pub. by Ganesh & Co. (Madras, 1957).

'Chakras' by Right Rev. C W. Leadbeater (Adyar, 1927) with plates

'Śivasambhita' — translation of — by Shrischandra Vidyarnava

'Thirty minor Upanishads' translated by K. Narayanswami Aiyar.

'Mysterious Kuṇḍalini' by Dr. V. G. Rele (1927).

'Śakti or Divine Power' by Dr. Sudhendu Kumar Das (Uni. of Calcutta, 1934).

- P. C. Bagchi's Introduction to *Kaulajñāna-nirnaya* (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934).
- 'Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrines' by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni Press, 1935).
- P. C. Bagchi's 'Studies in Tantras' (Cal. Uni. 1939).
- Dr B. Bhattacharya's Introduction to *Sādhana-mālā* vol. II. (G. O. S.) pp. XI-LXXVII; the same scholar's Introduction to *Guhyasamājatantra* (G. O. S.) and 'Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism' (Oxford University Press, 1932).
- 'Philosophy of Tripurā Tantra' by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in *Sarasvati Bhavan Studies* (1934), vol. IX. pp. 85-98.
- 'Some aspects of the philosophy of Śākta Tantra' by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in *Sarasvati Bhavan Studies*, 1938 vol. X, pp. 21-27.
- 'Buddhist Tantra Literature' by Prof. S. K. De in *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. pp. 1-23.
- 'Influence of Tantras on the Tattvas of Raghunandana' in *I. H. Q.* IX. (1933), pp. 678-704 by Prof. R. C. Hazra.
- 'Influence of Tantra in *Smṛtinibandhas*' in *ABORI* vol. 15 pp. 220-235 and vol. XVI. pp. 203-211 by Prof. R. C. Hazra.
- 'The Tāntric Doctrine of Divine bi-unity' by A. K. Coomaraswamy in *A. B. O. R. I.* vol 19 pp. 173-183;
- 'Comparative and critical study of *Mantrasāstra*' by Shri Mohanlal Bhagavandas Jhavery (1944);
- Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti's following Papers: 'Antiquity of Tāntricism' in *I. H. Q.*, vol VI pp 114 ff; 'Controversy regarding the authorship of Tantras' in Prof. K. B. Pathak commemoration volume pp 210-220; 'A note on the age and authorship of the Tantras' in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, vol XXIX (1933) No 1 pp. 71-79; 'Ideals of Tantra rites' *I. H. Q.* vol X, pp 468 ff; 'Śākta festivals of Bengal and their antiquity' in *I. H. Q.* vol 27 (1951) pp. 255-260; 'Application of Vedic Mantras in Tāntrik rites' in *J. A. S. B., Letters*, vol 18 (1952) pp. 113-115; 'Kālī worship in Bengal' *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol XXI, parts 3-4 pp 296-303;
- 'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets' by D. N. Bose (Calcutta, Oriental Publishing Co.);

'Vajra and the Vajrasattva' by Dr. S. B. Das-Gupta in 'Indian Culture' vol. VIII, pp. 23-32;

'Introduction to Tantrik Buddhism' by Dr. S. B. Das Gupta (Calcutta, 1959);

'Philosophies of India' by Heinrich Zimmer (1951) pp. 569-592;

'The Veda and the Tantra' by Shri T. V. Kapali Sasir (Madras, 1951) pp. 1-255;

'Yuganaddha' (which literally means 'bound together or yoked together' in the case of opposites) 'the Tantrik view of life' by Dr. Herbert V. Guenther in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 'Studies' vol. III (1952);

The following articles in the Cultural Heritage of India vol. IV, viz. 'Evolution of the Tantras,' by Dr. P. C. Bagchi pp. 211-226; 'Tantra as a way of realization' by Swami Pratya-gātmānanda, pp. 227-249; 'The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras' pp. 241-251 by Mr. Atal Behari Ghosh; 'Śakti Cult in South India' by Shri K. R. Venkatarāman, pp. 252-259; 'Tantrik culture among the Buddhists' by Dr. B. Bhattacharya pp. 260-272; 'The cult of the Buddhist Siddhacharyas' pp. 273-279 by Prof. P. V. Bapat.

'Lights on the Tantra' by M. P. Pandit (published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1957) This is a booklet of 54 pages of text and pp. 55-71 of notes containing hardly anything valuable of the author's own; over three-fourths of it consists of long quotations from the works of Woodroffe (particularly from 'Śakti and Śākta'), Sri Aurobindo and Shri Kapali Sasir and is here and there marked by bold and unwarranted assertions such as 'It is the central truths of the Tantra thought and ritual that form the backbone of the Hindu religion today' (p. 33). The present author repudiates totally this assertion. The author of this booklet has to admit that in the case of the Tantrik cult that abuse of the body of occult knowledge for malevolent purposes instead of for the material and spiritual advancement of man and the vulgarization of the profound rationale of the mystic ritual are deplorable deformations (p. 36), that there has doubtless been a gross misuse of the knowledge developed by this science and that spurious texts have sprung up (p. 21).

- 'History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western' ed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vol I pp 401-428 on 'Exposition of Śākta belief' by M M Gopinath Kaviraj (1953)
- 'Yoga, immortality and freedom' by Mircea Eliade translated from French by Willard Trask (pub. by Routledge, Kegan, Paul, London, 1958), pp 200-273 for 'Yoga and Tāntrism'.
- 'Tibetan Book of the Dead' by Dr. W Y. Evans-Wentz (3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 1957).
- 'Tibetan Yoga' by Bernard Bromage (2nd ed. 1959 by Aquarium Press)- deals with magical and religious practices of Tibetans, spells, and exercises which are deemed to produce supernatural powers.
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SECTION VII

CHAPTER XXVIII

MĪMĀMSĀ AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA

The Yājñavalkya-smṛiti provides that there are fourteen sources of vidyās (knowledge) and of Dharma,¹⁸⁶⁸ viz. Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Angas (six) and the Vedsas (four). A similar verse is quoted by some as Manu's, but it is not found in the extant Manusmṛiti. It is therefore necessary to consider the origin and meaning of the word Mīmāṃsā, to set out the principal doctrines of that Śāstra, to mention the important rules of interpretation and the maxims of the Mīmāṃsā in their application to topics of Dharmaśāstra and to refer to some of the important works of that Śāstra together with their approximate dates.

The word mīmāṃsā has a great antiquity behind it. The Tai. S. VII. 5. 7. 1¹⁸⁶⁹ says 'the expounders of Brahma (Veda) discuss (the question) whether a day should be omitted or not'. Here the verbal form 'mīmāṃsante' is employed in the sense of discussing or investigating a doubtful point and arriving at a decision thereon. In another passage of the Tai. S. the same form

1868. गुराणन्यायमीमांसा... च चतुर्दश॥ या. I. 3, quoted in n 1337 above. The बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य reads 'गुराणसर्केमीमांसा... चतुर्दश' (12. 3). अपरार्क p. 6 quotes from विष्णुपुराण the verse 'अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः । गुराण धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या एताश्चतुर्दश॥' It is विष्णुपुराण III 6. 27, वायु 61 78 This is quoted as Manu's by Prof. T. R. Chintamani in JOR, Madras, vol. XI. supplement p. 1 It occurs in भविष्य (ब्राह्मणपर्व 2 6) also Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 112 note 198 where औशनसधर्मशास्त्र is quoted for 14 विद्याs and II of Dh. vol III p. 10 note 17 (for the four additional vidyās bringing the total up to 18) Vide a recent publication of Dr G. S. Ghurye (1957, Bombay) on Vidyās (or Indian contribution to Sociology of knowledge) for detailed treatment. Even before the days of Kāhādāsa the Vidyās had been 14 as indicated by Raghuvamśa V 21 (वित्तस्य विद्यापरिसंख्यया नै कोटीश्चतस्रो दश चादरेति॥)

1869. उत्सृज्या 3 नोत्सृज्या 3 मिति मीमांसन्ते ब्रह्मवादिनस्तद्वाद्युत्सृज्यमेवेति... । ते सं VII. 5. 7. 1 ; स्याद्वृत्ते देवयजने याजयेद्ब्रह्मायुक्ताम य पात्रे वा तल्पे वा मीमांसन्त... नैनं पात्रे न तल्पे मीमांसन्ते । ते. सं VI 2, 6. 4-5 The last sentence means 'they do not have any doubt about his being fit for dining with them or fit for relation with him by marriage'.

and another 'mīmāṃseran' are used in the same sense. In several other places the Tai. S. raises points for discussion with the words 'the brahmavādins discuss' but without employing the word *mīmāṃsante* or a cognate word. Vide Tai. S. II. 5. 3. 7 (about the deity of *sānnāyā*), V. 5. 3. 2, VI. 1. 4. 5., VI. 1. 5. 3-5. The *Kāthaka Samhitā*¹⁸⁷⁰ puts forward a doubtful point for investigation without the words 'Brahmavādins say', but with the word 'mīmāṃsante'. The *Atharvaveda*¹⁸⁷¹ states 'men separately discussing many times noted on the earth her actions'. In another place it employs the words *mīmāṃsita* and *mīmāṃsamāna*. The *Sāṅkhya*¹⁸⁷² Br. has 'they discuss the question whether one should offer homa after the sun rises or before the sun rises'. The Tai. Br. employs the word *mīmāṃsā* and the *Śatapatha* also in the Kāṇva recension does so (vide S. B. E. vol. 26 note 1). In the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad*¹⁸⁷³ it is stated that five scholars very learned in the Veda and possessed of large houses (wealth) named *Prācīnaśāla* *Aupamanyava* and others got together and entered upon the consideration of the question 'what is (the nature of) our self and what is *Brahma*?'. In the Tai. Up. occur the words 'this is the investigation into (the nature of) *Bliss* (*Brahma*)'. In both these passages the word *mīmāṃsā* is used in the sense of 'consideration' (*vicāranā*) of high philosophical topics.'

Pāṇini provides¹⁸⁷⁴ for the formation of seven roots with *san* affix (Desiderative), one of which is 'mīmāṃsate' from

1870. आधेयग्री ३ नाधेया ३ इति मीमांसन्ते श्वेतिमाधस्यमानेना ३ इति । काठकसं. VIII 12

1871. पश्यन्त्यस्याश्चरितं पृथिव्या पृथङ्मनसो बहुधा मीमांसमानाः । अथर्व IX. 1. 3. स य एव विद्वांस द्विपक्षद्वीयाक द्विपक्षोऽस्मश्रीयाक मीमांसितस्य न मीमांसमानस्य । अथर्व IX. 6 (2), 24.

1872. उद्दिष्टे द्योतय्या ३ मवृद्धित इति मीमांसन्ते । शां ब्रा II. 8. Compare मनु II. 15: सैषा मीमांसाग्निहोत्र एव सन्पक्षा । तै ब्रा III 10 9.

1873. प्राचीनशाल औपमन्यव.... ते हैते महाशाला महाश्रीत्रियाः समेत्य मीमांसां चक्रुः को न आत्मा किं ब्रह्मेति । छा V. 11. 1; सैषानन्दस्य मीमांसा भवति । तै उप. II. 8

1874. शस्तिक्किङ्गच. सन् । मान्-वय-दान्-शान्-यो दीर्घश्चाग्यास्य । पा. III. 1. 5-6; the *काशिका* explains 'मान पूजायाम् । ... एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो सन् प्रत्ययो भवति । अग्यास्य चकारस्य दीर्घदेशो भवति । मीमांसते ... मानेर्जिज्ञासायाम् ।' The *bhāṣya* of *Saṅkarācārya* on V. S. I. 1 winds up the discussion with the words तस्माद् ब्रह्मजिज्ञासोपन्याससुरेन वेदान्तवाच्यमीमांसा तद्विरोधितकौपिकरणा निःश्रेयसप्रयोजना प्रस्तूयते । on which the *भाष्य* remarks 'नाहं माने-इत्यस्माद्वा मान पूजायाम्-इत्यस्माद्वातो. मान-एव इत्यादिनातिवृत्त्यर्थे सनि वृत्त्यादितस्य मीमांसाशब्दस्य पूजितविचारवचनात् &c.

'mān' and the Kāśikā adds that it means 'desire to know i. e. investigation and final conclusion', having in view probably the sūtras 'Athāto dharma-jijñāsā' and 'Athāto brahma-jijñāsā'.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that long before the Upanisads the word 'mīmāṃsā' had come to mean 'investigation into a topic of discussion and coming to a conclusion thereon'. The same word acquired a restricted sense (as in the verse of Yāj. quoted above) viz. investigation into Dharma and arriving at conclusions on doubtful matters by interpretation and reasoning.

Some of the Dharmaśāstras disolose familiarity with purely Mīmāṃsā terms and principles. For example, Gaut. states¹⁸⁷⁵ that an option is allowed only when there is a conflict between two texts of equal authority. The Āpastamba Dharmaśāstra is the only Dharmaśāstra that contains numerous Mīmāṃsā terms and doctrines. It says 'a positive Vedic text has more force than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost)'.¹⁸⁷⁶ This is similar to Jaimini I. 3. 3 'If there is a conflict (between an express Vedic text and a smṛti text) the latter is to be discarded but if there be no conflict an inference may be drawn (that the smṛti text is based on some Śruti)'. Āp. says 'the rules about *anadhyāya* (stopping Veda study on *parvan* &c.) are applicable only to learning the Vedic mantras and not to their application in sacrifices'. In another place Āp. provides 'where activity takes place because of finding pleasure therefrom (i. e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) śāstra', which is similar to Jaimini's rule. For reasons of space other examples of close agreement between Āp. Dh. S.¹⁸⁷⁷ and Jaimini are simply referred

1875 तुल्यबलयोर्विकल्पः। गौ. I. 5, compare जै. XII. 3. 10 एकार्थस्तु विकल्पेन सञ्जुञ्ज्ये ह्याहुतिः स्वात्मधानस्य, शबर explains. ये त्वेकार्थाः एककार्यास्ते विकल्पेन यथा त्रीहिययौ; vide शबर 'तुल्यार्थयोर्हि तुल्यविषययोर्विकल्पो भवति न नानार्थयोः'। on जै. X 6. 33; compare मनु II 14 'श्रुतिद्वयं तु यत्र स्वात्तत्र धर्मादुभौ स्मृते'।

1876. श्रुतिर्हि चलीयस्याहुमानिकादाचारात्। आप. ध. I. 1. 4. 8; compare 'विरोधे त्वनयेक्ष स्यादसति साहचर्यात्' जै. I. 3. 3, विद्या मयनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणां। आप. ध. I 4 12 9, compare जै. XII 3 19 विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्वात्मनोर्थत्वात् प्रयोगस्य।', यत्र तु मीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति। आप. ध. I. 4 12 11, compare जै. IV. 1. 2 'यस्मिन् प्रीतिः उरुपस्य तस्य लिप्तार्थलक्षणाविभक्तत्वात्'।

1877. अङ्गानां तु प्रधानैरन्यपदेश इति स्यादतिस्तमयः। आप. ध. II 4. 8. 13, compare जैमिनि I. 3. 11-14 (कल्पसूत्राधिकरण); अथापि नित्याहुतादसतिपिगाद्वर्षाव-

tó in the note below and not explained at length. These examples show that in Āpastamba's day Mīmāṃsā doctrines had been far advanced and since he employs the words 'Nyāyavit-samaya' (the *siddhānta* or doctrine of those who know Nyāya) and 'Nyāyavidah', it follows that he is referring to some work on Mīmāṃsā or some author who composed a mīmāṃsā-sūtra. The correspondence in ideas and words between Āp. and the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra is so close that one is tempted to argue that Āp. knew either the extant mīmāṃsāsūtra or at least an earlier version of it containing almost the same expressions. It will not do to say that all the above passages are later interpolations. They have all been commented upon by Haradatta.

Some Śrautasūtras such as that of Kātyāyana contain rules of the interpretation of Vedic texts that are similar to Jaimini's sūtras and sometimes are stated almost in the same words.¹⁸⁷⁸

(Continued from last page)

विद् &c.। आप. च II. 6, 14, 13, compare जै VI. 7, 30 'अर्थवादो वा विविक्षेवत्वाद् तस्मादित्याहवादः स्यात्'। तस्यां क्रयशब्दः स्तुतिमात्रम्। धर्माद्धि सम्बन्धः। आप. च. II. 6, 13, 11, compare जै VI. 1, 15 कृपस्य धर्मात्रत्वम्।

1878. It may be noted that P. M. S. writers are often called 'Nyāyavidah' by Śaṅkara (on V. S. III. 4, 22), by Viśvarūpa and others. Bhāskara in his commentary on Brahmasūtra (I. 1. 1. p. 5, Chowkhamba series) states 'यच्छब्द आद तदस्मात् प्रमाणमिति हि न्यायविदः'. These are the words of Śabara in his bhāṣya on P. M. S. III. 2, 36. On Yāj. I. 58 the Bālakrīdā of Viśvarūpa says 'Tathā ca naiyāyikāh, 'na hi vacanasyātibhārastityābuh'". These are the words of Śabara on Jaimini III. 2, 3 viz. 'Kimiva vacanam na huryāt nāsti vacanasyātibhārah'. So here Śabara is called Naiyāyika. On Yāj. I. 53 the Bālakrīdā says 'Nyāyavidāśca Yājñikāh iapi vā sarvadharmah syāt tannyaayatvād vidhānasya'. This last is Jai. I. 3, 16. So here Jaimini is called Nyāyavid and Yājñika. Similarly, on Yāj. I. 87 the Bālakrīdā quotes Jai. VI. 8, 17 as the words of 'Nyāyavidō yājñikāh'. The J. N. M. V. says *nyāyas* are the *adhiṅkarana*s, deciding points of Dharma and expounded by Jaimini 'जैमिनिप्रोक्तानि धर्मनिर्णयिकाप्यधिकरणानि स्यात्'. The writers of Śrautasūtras are called merely Yājñikas by Bālakrīdā on Yāj. I. 38 'Tathā ca yājñikāh vyavahāryā bhavanti ityāh'. This quotation is from Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra 22. 4. 27-28. Besides, the sūtra 'Prājāścittavidhānācca' is the same in both Kāt. Ś. I. 2. 19 and P. M. S. VI. 3. 7 and Kāt. Ś. I. 8. 6 is the same as P. M. S. XII. 3. 15; moreover, Kāt. Ś. IX. 11, 14-15 employ almost the same words as in P. M. S. III. 5. 36-39, though they hold opposite views. The P. M. S. (IV. 4. 19-21) holds that the Pindapitryajña is not an *anga* of the rites on darśa (i. e. *amāśyā*), but an independent rite, while the Kāt. Śr. (IV. 1. 28-30) holds that it is an *anga*. In the discussion on the meaning of the word *Valśvā-*

(Continued on next page)

Only a few examples may be cited here; compare Kāt. I. 1. 9-10 (about rathakāra) with Jai VI. 1. 44; Kāt. I. 1. 12-14 with Jai. VI. 1. 51 and VI. 8. 20-22, Kāt. I. 1. 18-20 with Jai. XII. 2. 1-4; Kāt. I. 2. 18-20 with Jai VI. 3. 2-7 (about *nitya-karma* yielding full reward, even though some *aṅga* could not be performed), also Kāt. I. 3. 1-3 with Jai. I. 1. 35-40; Kāt. I. 3. 28-30 with Jai. VI. 6. 3. Sometimes, the Kāt. Ś. takes a view opposite to that of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā but the words are often almost the same.

The Vārtikas of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini and the Mahābhāṣya show that Mīmāṃsā technical terms and doctrines had been elaborated long before them. For example, the Vārtikas employ the technical Mīmāṃsā terms '*prasajyapratishedha*' (Vārtika 7 on Pāṇini I. 1. 44, Vārtika 5 on I. 2. 1, Vārtika 2. on VII. 3. 85), '*pariyudāsa*' (Vārtika 3 on I. 1. 27), the word '*Śāstratideśa*' (in Vārtika on VII. 1. 96), the distinction between '*niyama*' and '*vidhi*' (in Vārtika 1 and 2 on III. 3. 163), the word '*prakaraṇa*' (vārtika 4 on VI. 2. 143). Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya is full of Pūrvamīmāṃsā matters. The word '*Mīmāṃsaka*' occurs in bhāṣya on Pāṇini II. 2. 29. The Mahābhāṣya cites the well-known passage 'the five five-nailed animals may be eaten' and remarks that the sentence conveys that others than those five were not to be eaten.¹⁸⁷⁹ But Patañjali does not employ the word *Parisankhyā* of which the above (five) is an example, according to mīmāṃsā works. Jaimini employs the word

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nara occurring in Rg. I. 98. 1. and I. 59. 6 the Nirukta (VII 21-23) cites the views of 'Ācāryāli', of the ancient Yājñikas (who held that *Valśvānara* means the sun in the sky) and of 'Śākapiṇi' (who holds that it means the terrestrial Agni). The Nirukta mentions the views of Yājñikas in V. 11, VII 4 (where Yājñikas differ from the Nairuktas), in IX. 29 where the Nairuktas hold that *Aśumatī* and *Rākā* are wives of the gods while the Yājñikas held that these were the names of *Paurṇamāsī*, in XI. 31 (where a similar conflict between the views of the two interpreters of *Sinivālī* and *Kabhū* is mentioned) and XI 42-43 (where also the views of Yājñikas and Nairuktas are mentioned).

1879. भक्ष्यनियमेनाभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते । पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद्-
तोऽन्येऽभक्ष्या इति । महाभाष्य (ed Kielhorn vol. I. p 5). Compare शबर on जै.
X 7. 28 'किं तु परिसंख्यया प्रतिषेधः इयात् । यथा पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या इति ज्ञातानां
पञ्चानां कीर्तनादभक्ष्येषां भक्षणं प्रतिषिध्यत इत्ययमर्थो वाच्येन गम्यते' The five animals
are. शल्यक. श्वाविधौ गोधा ज्ञातः कूर्मश्च पञ्चनखः ॥ रामायण IV. 17. 39; मनु V 18 adds
खट्वं (rhinoceros) to these five. Vide या I. 177 for five and गौ. ध. सू. 17. 27
'पञ्चनखाश्च । शल्यकज्ञातः श्वाविधौ गोधाश्च कच्छपाः' (अभक्ष्याः).

Parisankhyā in VII. 3. 22. The Mahābhāṣya on IV. 1. 14 (vārtika 5) and on IV. 1. 93 (vārtika 9) gives valuable information viz. a brāhmana woman is called 'Kāśakrtsnā' if she studies the Mīmāṃsā expounded by Kāśakrtsni.¹⁸⁸⁰ This establishes that in Patañjali's time a mīmāṃsā work composed by Kāśakrtsni was in existence and women were found studying it. It is not certain what the Kāśakrtsni-mīmāṃsā contained i. e., whether it was like the Pūrvamīmāṃsā of Jaimini or it was like the Uttaramīmāṃsā (Vedāntasūtra) or dealt with both mīmāṃsā and vedānta, which latter is not unlikely. The V. S. mentions the opinion of a teacher Kāśakrtsna (in I. 4. 22), which Śāṅkarācārya regards as the final conclusion supported by the real import of Śruti. The son of Kāśakrtsna might have been called Kāśakrtsni (Pāṇini IV. 1. 95). The Vārtikas and Patañjali are full of the discussion of important matters on which the Mīmāṃsā has its own doctrines. In the Vārtikas 35 to 59 on Pāṇini I. 2. 64 (Sarūpānām-ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau) there is a lengthy discussion on the question of the import of words, viz. whether it is *ākṛti* or *vyakti*. It is said in Vārtika 35 that, according to Vajapyāyana, *ākṛti* is the import of a word, while, according to Vyādi (in Vārtika 45 'dravyābhidhānam Vyādiḥ'), *dravya* (or *vyakti*) is the import of a word (*pada*). The Mahābhāṣya notes that Pāṇini wrote some sūtras (such as I. 2. 58 'Jātyākhyāyam' &c) in which he accepted *jāti* as the import of words, while in other sūtras (such as I. 3. 64 'sarūpānām' &c) he

1880 काशकृत्स्निना योक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी । महाभाष्ये on पा IV 1 14. If काशकृत्स्नि's मीमांसा dealt with पूर्वमीमांसा matters it is surprising that the extant पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र makes no reference to काशकृत्स्नि, when it names, besides जैमिनि, nine predecessors viz आत्रेय, आलेखन (VI. 5. 17), आश्वमेध (VI. 5. 16), ऐतिहायन, काशकायन, कार्णार्जुनि, वादरायण, वादरि and लघुकायन. Dr. Umesha Mishra omits by oversight आश्वमेध from the list of the predecessors of जैमिनि in his 'critical bibliography of mīmāṃsā' added at the end of M. M. Jha's 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources' काशकृत्स्नि's मीमांसा, being mentioned by पतञ्जलि, must be placed not later than 200 B. C. If काशकृत्स्नि wrote an पूर्वमीमांसा as is most likely, one would naturally expect that if the extant पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र was composed after 200 B. C. and about 200 A. D. (as both Jacobi and Keith propose) काशकृत्स्नि should have been mentioned by the सूत्रि. But if जैमिनि was earlier than काशकृत्स्नि or was a contemporary of the latter, then it would be natural if the सूत्रि does not mention him. Therefore, though an argument from mere silence is not very strong, it is likely that the present P. M. S. was composed at least before 200 B. C.

accepted 'dravya' as the import of words.¹⁸⁸¹ It is to be noted that, according to Jaimini (I. 3. 33 'ākr̥tistu kriyārthatvāt'), ākr̥ti is the import of words. On vārtika 3 on Pān. IV. 1. 92 (Sāmānyacodanāstu viśeṣeṣu) Patañjali says that the vidhis declared with reference to certain things and objects in general really apply to individuals and he gives purely mīmāṃsā examples in this connection as set out in the note. The Vārtikakāra and Patañjali both use the word 'codanā'¹⁸⁸² in the Pūrvamīmāṃsā sense and give examples which are familiar to us from Śābarasbhāṣya. Among the purposes served by a study of grammar, *ūha* (which is the subject of the 9th chapter of PMS) is one. On Pānini I. 4. 3 Patañjali uses the language of Mīmāṃsā 'apurva eva vidhirbhavisyati na niyamah.'

It appears that the Sankarsakānda was very much neglected from early times. There is a conflict of views about its authorship. The Nyāyaparīśuddhi of Venkatanātha (I. H. Q. vol. IX. at p. 299) states that Kāśākr̥tina was the author of the Sankarsakānda. It appears from Śābara's bhāṣya that¹⁸⁸³ that Kānda existed in his day and was looked upon by him as Jaimini's work. Śāṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 43 (pradānavad-eva tad-uktam) mentions the Sankarsa, quotes a sūtra therefrom, holds that it was known to the Vedāntasūtra and appears to convey that it was a work of Jaimini. Rāmānuja also appears to hold that Jaimini was the author of 16 chapters (comprising

1881. 'किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थ आहोस्विद् द्रव्यम्। उभयमित्याह। कथं ज्ञायते। उभय-
था ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि पठितानि। आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा जात्याख्या... तत्पर्याम् इत्युच्यते।
द्रव्य पदार्थं मत्वा सत्प्राणाम्- इत्येकशेष आरभ्यते। महाभाष्य just before 'सिद्धे शब्दार्थ-
सम्बन्धे' vol I. p. 6 Kielhorn's ed., आकृतौ ज्ञात्वाणि प्रवर्तन्ते। ... आकृतिसु प्रत्येकं
परिसमाप्यते। महाभाष्य vol II p. 392 (Kielhorn).

1882. 'चोदनाया चैकस्योपाधिबुद्धेः। वार्तिक 44 on पा. I. 2. 64; on which the
महाभाष्य remarks 'चोदनायां चैकस्योपाधिबुद्धेर्न्यामह आकृतिरभिधीयत इति। आग्नेय-
मष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्। चोदनासु च तत्पारम्भात्।' वार्तिक 47 on I. 2. 64, on which the
महाभाष्य comments 'चोदनासु च तत्पारम्भान्मन्यामहे द्रव्यमभिधीयत इति। गौरक्षबन्धोऽ-
जोऽग्नीषोमीय इति।' कानि पुनः शब्दाहुःशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि। रक्षोहागमलवसन्धेः
प्रयोजनम्। p. 1. of Kielhorn's edition, सामान्यचोदनासु विशेषेऽवतिष्ठन्ते। तद्यथा।
गौरक्षबन्धोऽजोऽग्नीषोमीय इत्याकृतौ चोदिताया द्रव्य आरम्भणालम्भनमोक्षणाविशसनादीनि
क्रियन्ते। पतञ्जलि on वार्तिक 3 on पा. IV. 1. 92

1883. निधिनगमभेदः प्रकृतौ कृतः। स्विष्टकृद्विकारश्च वनस्पतिरिति सङ्क्षेपे वक्ष्यते। शबर
on X. 4. 32 (p. 1934), यथा पत्नी तुल्यवच्छ्रूयते इति सङ्क्षेपे वक्ष्यति। शबर on जै XII
2. 11 (p. 2242); 'एष तत्त्वभेदेऽप्याधेयाद्युपयत्त्वादाध्यानपुण्यत्वमित्यर्थः। तदुक्तं 'नाना वा
देवता पुण्यज्ञानात्' इति। शङ्कर on वे स. III 3. 43. Vide Siddha-Bhārati part II
pp. 102-105 for some sūtras from Sankarsa-kānda and Intro. to Tattvabūdhān
pp. 12-13.

the twelve called Pūrvamīmāṃsā and the four forming the Sankarsa). The Kalpataruparimala of Appayyadiksita on V. S. III. 3. 43, while conceding that the Sankarsakāṇḍa was undertaken for discussion about *devatās*, insists that it is a *pariśista* (supplement) of the P. M. S. of twelve chapters consisting as it does of discussions on several topics treated in the P. M. S. and being of a miscellaneous nature, that it does not begin with nor conclude with the discussion about *devatās* and that its first sūtra is 'anuyajatīti anuvasatkāraś-codyate'. Since the Sankarsakāṇḍa has had hardly any influence on Dharmaśāstra works no further reference need be made to it in this work.¹⁸⁸⁴

Later medieval writers look upon the mīmāṃsāśāstra as the most important of vidyāsthānas (other than the Vedas), since it removes the ignorance, doubts and mistaken notions about the sense of several (Vedic) passages, and since all vidyāsthānas require its aid for the determination of the nature of their real meaning.¹⁸⁸⁵

In some works like the bhāṣya of Rāmānuja on V. S. and the Prapañcahrdaya¹⁸⁸⁶ the Mīmāṃsāśāstra is stated to be as one whole containing twenty adhyāyas (chapters) and we are told that there was a (bhāṣya) commentary called Kṛtakoti on the whole of it by Bodhāyana, that later on a concise commentary was composed by Upavarsa, that Devaśvāmin wrote a commentary

1884. Vide a paper by Pandit V. A. Ramaswami Shastri in I. H. Q. vol. IX pp. 290-299 on Sankarsa as a supplement to the P. M. S.

1885. प्रातिस्विकानेकवाक्यार्थगततत्त्वज्ञानसंशयविपर्ययव्युत्पासेन पारमार्थिकार्थसत्त्वस्वरूपनिर्णयार्थं समस्तैरप्येभिर्विद्यास्थानैरन्यथ्यमानत्वात्तन्भ्योऽपि मीमांसाख्यविद्यास्थानं गरीयस्तरम् । तथा ह्यहः । चतुर्दशह विद्यासु मीमांसैव गरीयसी । जैमिनीयसूत्रार्थसंग्रहं of कपिपुत्र-परमेश्वर part. I p 2 (T. S. S.).

1886. तत्र साङ्ख्योपाङ्गस्य वेदस्य पूर्वोक्तकाण्डसंमिश्रस्याशेषवाक्यार्थविचारपरायणं मीमांसाशास्त्रम् । तदिदं विशिष्टव्यायनिबद्धम् । तत्र षोडशाध्यायनिबद्धं पूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रं पूर्वकाण्डस्य धर्मविचारपरायणं जैमिनिहृतम् । तद्व्यवस्थाप्यचतुष्काद्युत्तरमीमांसाशास्त्रमुत्तर । काण्डस्य ब्रह्मविचारपरायणं व्यासकृतम् । तस्य विशिष्टव्यायनिबद्धस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रस्य कृतकोटिनानामप्ये भाष्यं बोधायनेन कृतम् । तद्व्यवस्थाप्यचतुष्काद्युत्तरमीमांसाशास्त्रस्य कृतम् । तदपि भवदन्तर्निवृत्तिं दुष्प्रतिपादं विस्तीर्णत्वादित्युपेक्ष्य षोडशलक्षणपूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रस्य देवस्वामिना तिसृषिं कृतम् । भवदासेनापि कृतं जैमिनीयभाष्यम् । प्रपञ्चहृदय (T. S. S. pp 38-39; तद्वद वृत्तिकारः । वृत्तात्कर्माधिगमादनन्तरं ब्रह्मविनिर्दिष्टेति । वदयति च कर्मब्रह्ममीमांसयोरैकशब्दस्य संदिग्धमेतच्छरीरकं जैमिनीयेन षोडशलक्षणेनेति शास्त्रैकत्वसिद्धिः । श्रीभाष्य प 2 (Bom. S. S.). Vide ABORI vol. X. pp 153-54 for the author's paper on Bhavadāsa as a predecessor of Śaṅkara. भवदास is named in श्लोकावार्तिक (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र verse 63) and the न्यायरत्नाकर on p. 133 states that भवदास split १. मी. सू. I 1. 4 into two. Vide Intro. to तत्त्वचिन्तु pp 19-20 for भवदास.

on 16 chapters and Bhavadāsa also composed a commentary on Jaimini, but that Śābara wrote a bhāṣya only on the first 12 chapters and did not comment on Sankarsa. In I H. Q. (vol. 15 pp. 262-263) reference is made to an inscription of Rājaraja (999 A. D.) which records the gift of certain lands to a learned brāhmana who was to provide to four pupils board and teaching in several subjects, one of which is specified as the mīmāṃsā of twenty adhyāyas. These 20 chapters are made up as follows:—12 chapters (each divided into four *pādas*, except chapters III, VI and X, each of which has eight *pādas*, in all sixty *pādas*) ascribed to Jaimini, 4 chapters called Sankarsakāṇḍa and 4 chapters constituting the Vedāntasūtra. The twelve chapters often called Pūrvamīmāṃsā make an extensive work containing 915 or about one thousand adhikaranas (according to different writers) and about 2700 sūtras, dealing with numerous topics and laying down important rules of vedic interpretation. Yāj. (in I. 3) means by Mīmāṃsā probably the work of Jaimini in 12 chapters. Many writers such as Mādhavācārya¹⁸⁸⁷ speak of two Mīmāṃsās, Pūrvā and Uttara, respectively comprising the 12 chapters ascribed to Jaimini and the four chapters forming the Vedāntasūtra. Śankarācārya refers to the extant Pūrvamīmāṃsā as Dvādaśalaksanī in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III. 3. 26, as 'Prathamatantra' in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 25, III. 3. 53 and III. 4. 27, as Prathama-kāṇḍa in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 1, III. 3. 33, III. 3. 44, III. 3. 50, as Pramāṇalaksana in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 4. 42. On V. S. III. 3. 53 he speaks of the first *pāda* of the P. M. S. as 'Śāstrapramukha eva prāthame pāde' and thereby conveys that he regards that the PMS and VS form one entire śāstra.

From here onwards up to note 1890 the discussion is also comprised (though a little more briefly) in the present author's paper on 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā, Brahmasūtra &c' contributed to the Prof. De Felicitation volume (pp. 119-139).

There are very difficult and controversial questions about the authorship of the extant Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra and of the extant Vedāntasūtra (or Brahmasūtra) and their relation to each other. All of them cannot be gone into here. The first matter to be noted is that, though the number of the Vedāntasūtras is only about 1/5th of the number of the P. M. S., the V. S. contains

1887. ये पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसे ते व्याख्यायितस्तथाह । उपालब्धवाच्यार्थो वेदार्थो ब्रह्मसूत्रः ।
Intro. verse 4 to the Com. on the ऋग्वेद (Poona ed.), Some mss. read
सायणाचार्यो for माधवाचार्यो.

more personal references (i. e. 32) than the P. M. S. (i. e. 27). In the 2nd place, we find that the Vedāntasūtras mention Jaimini eleven times and Bādarāyana nine times, while the P. M. S. names Bādarāyana and Jaimini only five times each. The question arises whether Jaimini and Bādarāyana were contemporaries and, if not, what the relation between the two was. Scholars are generally agreed that they were not contemporaries. There is a tradition of some antiquity contained in the Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa¹⁸⁸³ according to which Jaimini was a pupil of Pārāśarya Vyāsa. It has been shown above (p. 857, note 1390) how the Purāṇas declare that Vyāsa Pārāśarya, also called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, arranged the one Veda into four and imparted the R̥gveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda respectively to Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu. In the Mahābhārata Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila are stated along with Śuka (the son of Vyāsa) to be the pupils of Vyāsa; vide Sabhā 4. 11 and Śāntiparva 328, 26-27 (cr. ed. 314, 23-24, 29) and 350 11-12 (cr. ed. 337. 11-12). In the *tarpaṇa* provided for in the Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra (III. 4. 4) occurs the very interesting passage 'Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-Sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata—Mahābhārata—Dharmācāryāḥ.' The above passages make it clear that several centuries before the Christian era Jaimini's was an honoured name and connected with the Sāmaveda. Scholars have examined the references to Jaimini and Bādarāyana in the P. M. S. and the V. S. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in I. A. Vol. 50 pp. 167-174 on Jaimini and Bādarāyana arrives at the somewhat startling conclusion that there were three Jaiminis. T. R. Chintamani on p. 14 of the supplement to J. O. R. Madras, Vol. XI agrees with Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. Jaimini is named five times in the extant P. M. S. viz at III 1. 4, VI 3. 4, VIII 3. 7, IX 2 39, XII. 1. 7. Commonsense requires us to hold that these five

1883 सोऽयं राजापत्यो विधिस्तानि प्रजापतिर्हृत्पत्तये बृहस्पतिर्नारदाय नारदो विष्णवे
सेनाय निषक्सुतो व्यासाय पाराशर्याय व्यासः पाराशर्यो जैमिनये जैमिनि. पौलिण्ड्याय
पौलिण्ड्य पाराशर्यायणाय पाराशर्यायणो बादरायणाय बादरायणस्ताण्डि-कात्यायनिर्या
ताण्डिशास्त्रापरिणो बृहस्प &c. सामविधानम् (at end) The न्ना र ०० श्लोकना.
(प्रतिज्ञाच्च v. 23) sets out the श्रुतपरम्परा of पूर्वमीमांसा as ब्रह्मा-प्रजापति-इन्द्र-आदिर्य-
पसिष्ठ-पराशर-कुण्डिपायन-जैमिनि. The श्रुतिस्नेहभूषणो p 8 (in Chowkhamba series)
gives two similar श्रुतक्रम slightly differing from that of the सामविधानम् and
from each other. The श्रुतपरम्परा is practically useless up to वसिष्ठ. It may
be noted that in the सामविधानम् Jaimini is said to be the disciple of
Vyāsa Pārāśarya while between Jaimini and Bādarāyana intervene two
other names.

references about Jaimini must have been made to the same person. If two different Jaiminis were intended by the P. M. S. (other than its own author) in the five sūtras a clear warning would have been given by the author. As shown below a sūtra should leave no ambiguity. Prof Sastry holds that Jaimini mentioned in VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini in the other four passages, because Śābara does not employ the word *ācārya* for qualifying Jaimini on VI. 3. 4 as he does in the four other cases and because the view put forward in VI. 3. 4 appears to be Pūrvaśāstra, while in the four other cases Jaimini's view is the siddhānta view of the Mimāṃsā-sūtra. The number of sūtras in which Jaimini is named is very small (only 5), out of which the word *ācārya* is applied to Jaimini by Śābara in four places and not so applied in one. This is a very slender and inadequate ground for holding that the Jaimini in P. M. S. VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini named in four other places. The usages of *ācāryas* as to employment of qualifying words like '*ācārya*' or '*bhagavat*' to authors mentioned by them differ. Kumārila applies no epithet like '*ācārya*' or '*bhagavān*' to Jaimini and in one place¹⁸⁸⁹ charges Jaimini with composing sūtras containing not much substance. In the sūtras in which Jaimini is named in the VS (viz. in I. 2. 28, I. 2. 31, I. 3. 31, I. 4. 18, III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18, III. 4. 40, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11) Śāṅkarācārya adds the qualification '*ācārya*' in all except on III. 4. 40, although Jaimini propounds many propositions not acceptable to Bādarāyana the author of V. S. or to Śāṅkara. In III. 4. 40, however,¹⁸⁹⁰ he omits the qualification '*ācārya*' as regards both Jaimini and Bādarāyana. No one has argued that because the word *ācārya* does not qualify Bādarāyana in III. 4. 40, the Bādarāyana in that sūtra is different from the Bādarāyana named in other sūtras. In another place (on V. S. IV. 1. 17) it may be noted Śāṅkarācārya remarks that both Jaimini and Bādarāyana are in agreement that certain acts of the *kāmya* type are of no help in

1889. 'मन्ति च जैमिनेरेषकारण्यनत्यन्तसारभूतानि सूत्रानि।' तन्त्रवार्तिक p 895 (on उपवीतं लिङ्गदर्शनात् सर्वधर्मं स्यात्, which is the first of six sūtras after III. 4. 9 that were omitted by Śābara)

1890. The sūtra is 'तच्छ्रुतस्य तु नातन्द्रावो जैमिनेरपि नियमात्तदुपाभावेऽप्य' वे सू III. 4. 40 on which Śāṅkara remarks. जैमिनेरपित्यपि शब्देन जैमिनिबादरायणयोरेव संनतिपत्तिं ज्ञात्स्ति मतिपत्तिदादृश्याय This means that Bādarāyana is the author of III. 4. 40 (in which Bādarāyana is not named at all) and therefore of the entire Vedānta-sūtra

attaining real knowledge of brahma. This shows that according to Śāṅkara, Jaimini had treated of how brahma-vidyā arises. As regards the second reason, it does not clearly or indisputably appear that VI. 3. 4 is a pūrvapakṣa view. In that *adhikaraṇa* the Pūrvapakṣa is stated in the first sūtra ¹⁸⁹¹ viz. as to such *ṛtya* rites as Agnihotra or Darśapūrnāmāsa a man who can carry out all the details in their entirety is alone entitled to engage in them. The 2nd sūtra states the *siddhānta* view that, as regards *ṛtya* acts, it is not absolutely necessary that one should be able to perform all details (aṅgas) therein; the third sūtra only states that *smṛti* declares that it is a fault if the principal rite is not performed and therefore the principal rite being obligatory must be performed. Then comes the 4th sūtra in which the name of Jaimini occurs. Śābara's bhāṣya on this sūtra is extremely meagre (2½ lines in print) and not clear. The *Tup-tikā* does not comment separately on each of the sūtras of VI. 3. 1-7, ¹⁸⁹² it omits the name of Jaimini in its explanation and its concluding words on this *adhikaraṇa* appear to support the interpretation of the 4th sūtra advanced by the present author. No one doubts that sūtras 5-7 support the *siddhānta* view. If VI. 3. 4 were a pūrvapakṣa sūtra, it is expected that sūtra 5 should contain the word 'tu' or 'api vā' in order to indicate that it refutes the

1891. सर्वशक्तौ प्रवृत्तिः स्यात्तथायुतोपदेशात् । अपि वाच्येकदेशे स्यात्प्रधाने ह्यर्थनि-
वृत्तिर्युग्मात्रमितरसदर्थत्वात् । तदकर्मणि च दोषस्तस्मात्ततो विशेषः स्यात्प्रधानेनाभिसम्बन्धात् ।
कर्माभेदं तु जैमिनिः प्रयोगवचनैकत्वात् सर्वेषामुपदेशः स्यादिति । अर्थस्य व्यपवर्गित्वादेकस्यपि
प्रयोगे स्याद्यथा क्रतुवन्तरेषु । पू. मी. सू. VI. 3. 1-5. It appears that the अश्वरमीमांसा-
कुल्लहृत्ति by Vāsudeva-dīkṣita (ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library) reads कर्मभेदं for कर्माभेदं and अर्थव्यपवर्गित्वात् in sūtras 4 and 5. I am
indebted to Dr V. Rāghavan for this reference. In a complete ms (22 A
in Prof. Velankar's Catalogue p 317 No. 1091) of the bhāṣya of Śābara in the
Bombay Asiatic Society's Mss. Library on VI. 3. 1 the words जैमिनिर्मन्यते स्म
are omitted and कर्मभेदं is read for कर्माभेदम्. The word 'n-padeśa' in the
4th sūtra may be taken in the same sense in which it is used in PMS
I. 1. 5 'autpatikastān... tasya jñānam-upadeśah' or in the general sense
of 'instruction'.

1892. The टुप्तीका on पू. मी. सू. VI. 3. 4 appears to make this clear
'ध्वजगो नित्ये इतिकर्तव्यतामिच्छति । ... एव च साङ्गं यावन्जीवं न शक्नोति कश्चिदपि
कर्तुमिति कृत्वा यावच्छ्रुत्यादिह्युपनिबध्यते । शक्तस्य कामतो वैशुष्यं स्यात् ।'. The last
sentence means 'if one, being able to finish an obligatory rite with all
details, omits some part at his sweet will, then there would be defect in the
rite itself'.

view expressed in sūtra 4. What that sūtra means is that the dropping of some anga in the *nyā* rite does not make that rite a different one from the same *nyā* rite when performed with all angas, since the text about its performance (with all angas or with some angas) is one and the same and the vedic instruction is that all angas have to be done (if possible). Interpreted thus, that sūtra is not a pūrvapakṣa at all, but only emphasizes the siddhānta with additional reasons. The upshot would be that Jaimini mentioned five times in PMS is only one person and that he is a different person (who had written on P. M.) from the reputed author of the extant PMS.

A parallel may be cited. Śāṅkarācārya makes one adhikaraṇa of sūtras 26-33 of V. S. I. 3 (davatādhikaraṇa) which establishes that not only man but gods are qualified to study the Vedāntasāstra and names Bādarāyana twice in the same adhikaraṇa (in I. 3. 26 and 33) and in I. 3. 33 he employs the word 'tu' because that sūtra is a reply to Jaimini's view contained in I. 3. 31-32. Similarly, the PMS puts forward the siddhānta view in VI. 3. 2 and names Jaimini in VI. 3. 4 for the same purpose.

Even Prof. Sastry admits that in four out of the five references where Jaimini is expressly named, his views are the siddhānta views. The cases of PMS IX. 2. 3 and XII. 1. 59 are somewhat remarkable. The adhikaraṇa in both cases consists of only one sūtra, which is the siddhānta view and Jaimini is expressly named therein. In PMS III. 1. 4 Jaimini differs from Bādari (III. 1. 3) and two more sūtras are added to complete the adhikaraṇa. In PMS VIII. 3. 7 Jaimini's view is opposed to that of Bādari (VIII. 3. 6), is the siddhānta view and there is no separate sūtra setting forth the view of the author of the PMS.

From the remarks of Śāṅkarācārya on V. S. III. 4. 40 (quoted in note 1890) it follows that he regarded Bādarāyana as the author of the Vedāntasūtra. In V. S. III. 2. 38-39 the Siddhānta is stated that the rewards of actions are given by Īśvara (God), while Jaimini's view is that it is Dharma that gives the rewards of actions (III. 2. 40) and in the next sūtra (III. 2. 41) it is stated that Bādarāyana holds the former view (or that the former of the two, Īśvara and Dharma, gives the reward is the view of Bādarāyana). Here Bādarāyana is expressly mentioned as holding the same view as that in the Siddhāntasūtra III. 2. 38.

The observations of Śāṅkarācārya in introducing¹⁸⁹³ the last sūtra of the VS make it perfectly clear that he regarded Bādarāyana as the author of the entire Vedāntasūtra. No satisfactory explanation is offered why it was necessary to mention Bādarāyana nine times in the VS when all the 555 sūtras thereof are deemed to have been composed by Bādarāyana, or why it was necessary to mention in a work containing about 2700 sūtras all deemed to be composed by Jaimini, the views of Jaimini five times when in all cases or at least in four out of the five cases the views are identical with the reputed author of the PMS. Only two theories are possible viz. to hold that there is no explanation or to hold that there were two Jaiminis and two Bādarāyanas.

The problem of the author of the VS is rather complicated. Bhāskara (like Śāṅkara) holds that Bādarāyana is the author of VS, since he begins his commentary on VS with an obeisance to Bādarāyana who sent forth (into the world) the Brahmasūtra that brings about the cessation of the bondage of birth. The Pāñcapādikā of Padmapāda (a disciple of Śāṅkarācārya) performs (in the 2nd Introductory verse) an obeisance to Bādarāyana.¹⁸⁹⁴ Rāmānuja, on the other hand, makes confusing statements. In the 2nd verse of his introduction to the Śrībhāṣya¹⁸⁹⁵ on VS he calls upon all good men to drink the nectar-like words of Pārāśarya, but in his bhāṣya on VS II. 2. 42 he holds that Bādarāyana was the author of the Mahābhārata, wherein the Pāñcarātra-śāstra is expounded at great length (in Śāntiparva chap. 334-339 = cr. ed. 321 ff.) as also of the VS¹⁸⁹⁶. But Yāmūnācārya, the preceptor of the teacher

1893. नन्वेवं सति सातिज्ञयवत्त्वादन्तवत्त्वमैश्वर्यस्य स्यात्तत्तत्त्वैषामावृत्तिः प्रसज्येत्येतत् उत्तरं भगवान् वादरायण आचार्यः पठति—अनावृत्तिः... शब्दात्। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 4. 22.

1894. नम श्रुतिशिरःपद्मपण्डितमार्तण्डमूर्तये। वादरायणसंज्ञाय हुनये शमवेष्टमने ॥ पञ्चपादिका 2nd Intro verse (Madras Govt. series, 1958)

1895. कथमेवं ब्रूवाणो वादरायणो वेदविदयेसरोरे वेदान्तवेद्यपरब्रह्मभूतबाहुदेवोपासनार्थं नदिशतिपादनपरस्य सात्वतशास्त्रस्याभामाग्यं ब्रूयात्। p. 509 of श्रीभाष्य (B S. S.) on वे. सू. II 2 42.

1896. यद्यपि भगवता वादरायणेन इदमर्थान्वयेन ब्रूवाणि प्रणीतानि विवृतानि च तानि परितोक्तगम्भीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता विस्तृतानि च तानि गम्भीरन्वायसागरभाषिणा श्रीवत्साङ्क-मिश्रेणापिः। सिद्धित्रय (Cbow. S S.) pp 5-6.

by some commentators when Pāṇini names¹⁸⁹⁹ his predecessors, viz. that they are named for showing his reverence for them, would be of no avail as to Jaimini, since it cannot be said that the author of PMS Jaimini shows respect to himself. When Jaimini mentions Bādarāyana in I. 1. 5 and XI. 1. 65 Śābara¹⁹⁰⁰ explains this is done for showing respect to Bādarāyana or for spreading his fame. Another explanation that ancient authors often refer to themselves in the 3rd person will not do. Why should the author of about 2700 sūtras choose five places only for referring to himself. Therefore, one is compelled to hold that, if Jaimini is the author of the extant PMS and mentions the views of Jaimini five times only, there was a predecessor and namesake of his called Jamini who had expressed his views in a different work.

There are eleven sūtras in the VS in which the views of Jaimini are referred to. They are (as stated above) VS I. 2. 28 and 31, I 3. 31, I 4. 18, III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18, III. 4. 40, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11. Out of these eleven there are six references to Jaimini (viz. I 2. 28, I 2. 31, I 4. 18, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11) for which no corresponding *adhikaraṇa* or sūtra in the PMS can be pointed out, while sūtras III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18 attribute views to Jaimini, which are well-known doctrines of the PMS. VS I. 3. 31 corresponds to PMS VI. 1. 5 and on III. 4. 40 (quoted in note 1890 above) Jaimini and VS agree. Therefore, it appears that the Jaimini who expresses views on purely Vedāntic topics and whose views are not found in PMS composed a work on Vedānta.

There are in VS nine sūtras in which Bādarāyana is named viz. in VS I 3. 26 and 33 (Bādarāyana being twice named in the same *adhikaraṇa* as opposed to Jaimini), III. 2. 41, III. 4. 1, III. 4. 8, III. 4. 19, IV. 3. 15, IV. 4. 7, IV. 4. 12. It may be noted that in all these cases (except in IV 3. 15) the views ascribed to Bādarāyana are opposed to those of Jaimini or are slightly different (only VS IV. 4. 7 and IV. 4. 12). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that all the views mentioned as Bādarāyana's are the views of the author of the VS who employs

1899. On वृषि-श्रुतिज्ञे. काश्यपस्य (पा I 2. 25) the महाभाष्य says 'काश्यप ग्रहणं किमर्थम्? काश्यपग्रहणं पूजार्थम्'.

1900. बादरायणग्रहणं बादरायणस्येदं मतं कीर्त्यते बादरायणं कीर्तयितुं नास्मीयं मतं पर्युदासितम्। शबर on पू नी सू I. 5 p. 25, बादरायणग्रहणं कीर्त्यते नैकीयमतार्थम्। शबर on पू नी सू. XI. 1. 65,

the third person for himself as ancient authors do (I. A. vol. 50 at p. 169). This does not afford a satisfactory explanation of the question why it was necessary to invoke Bādarāyana's name in nine cases only for buttressing up the position of the author of the VS (that has 555 sūtras). If the author of the VS and Bādarāyana named nine times are identical, the name of Bādarāyana should ordinarily appear towards the end of the *adhikarana* and not in the middle. Two examples may be cited here to illustrate how VS deals with references to Bādarāyana. In III. 2 38-41 (which is one *adhikarana*) the *siddhānta* view is first stated with reasons in III. 2, 38-39, then Jaimini's view is cited (III. 4. 40) and then Bādarāyana is mentioned as agreeing with the view first put forth 'pūrvam tu Bādarāyano hetuvyapadośāt', the difference being that the *siddhānta* is based upon 'upapatti' while Bādarāyana relies upon 'hetuvyapadeśa' (in śruti and smṛti). This shows that different reasons were assigned by the author of VS and by Bādarāyana for the same proposition. VS. III. 4.18-20 form one *adhikarana* about *sannyāsa*. Jaimini starts the pūrvapakṣa that the Chān. Up. (II. 23.1 'trayo dharmakandhāh') only makes a passing reference to the āśramas, there is no vidhi (injunction) in that text and there is no exposition also. Then Bādarāyana's view is cited 'anusttheyam Bādarāyanah sāmyaśruteh' i.e. *sannyāsa* should be resorted to just as one resorts to the householder's stage. Then comes the view of the author of the VS that there is a vidhi of *sannyāsa* in that text. If Bādarāyana and the author of VS be held identical, why was it necessary to add the sūtra 'vidhīrvā dhāranavat' (VS. III. 4. 20) after stating Bādarāyana's view? It would be also noticed that the reasons given in the two sūtras differ. In VS IV. 4. 10-14 first the views of Bādarāyana and Jaimini on Chān. Up. VIII. 2. 1, 5 are set out, then Bādarāyana's view is set forth (in IV. 4. 12) and then two more sūtras are added by the author of VS. Therefore, these illustrations show that, though the final conclusion of Bādarāyana and the author of VS is the same, the language and the reasons are different, and that Bādarāyana named in the VS was a predecessor of the author of the extant VS that had composed a work on Vedānta, whom the author of the VS strengthens with reasons of his own.

In Pāṇini's time there were mendicant ascetics (bhiksus) who studied the 'Bhiksusūtra of Pārāśarya' or 'the Bhiksusūtra of Karmanda' and were designated 'Pārāśarinah' and

'Karmandinah',¹⁹⁰¹ A *bhikṣu* represents the order of *Sannyāsa*. Therefore, a *Bhiksusūtra* must have had as its subject *sannyāsa*, the time for it, the rules of the order, the final goal to be attained and so on. The Br. Up (III. 5. 1 and IV. 4. 22) emphasizes that those who realize *brahma* give up all desires and practise begging. The *Gautama-dharmasūtra*¹⁹⁰² says the same thing. No trace is found of the *Bhiksusūtra* of *Karmanda*. But it is possible to say that the *Bhiksusūtra* propounded by *Pārāśarya* must have been somewhat like the extant *Brahmasūtra* or one of its predecessors. This would be the earliest reference to a *sūtra* by *Pārāśarya* on the *sannyāśāśrama*. The date of *Pāṇini* is not beyond dispute. But no modern scholar would place him after 300 B. C. The present writer would place him as early as at least 500 or 600 B. C. The result would be that the *Bhiksusūtra* of *Pārāśarya* named by *Pāṇini* would have to be placed at some time between 400 B. C. to 700 B. C. Further light is shed by *Vārtika*¹⁹⁰³ (1) on *Pāṇini* IV. 1. 97, from which it follows that *Vyāsa's* '*apatya*' (son) was called *Vaiyāsaki*, that is *Śuka* (according to the *Mahābhāṣya*). *Bādarāyana* is formed from *Badara* which is a word in the *Nadādi-gana* (consisting of about 76 words), according to *Pāṇini* IV. 1. 99 (*Nadadibhyaḥ phak*), *Bādari* being the son of *Badara*, *Bādarāyana* being the grandson (or a remoter male descendant) of *Badara*. At some period *Vyāsa* and *Bādarāyana* came to be confounded and *Śuka*, who was the son of *Vyāsa* according to the *Vārtika* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, came to be called *Bādarāyani* (son of *Bādarāyana*) as shown by the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XII. 5. 8 where *Śuka* is said to be '*Bhagavān Bādarāyaniḥ*'). It appears that from the 9th century A. D. *Bādarāyana* came to be confounded with *Vyāsa Pārāśarya*.

1901. पाराशर्यशिलालिप्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । कर्मन्दकृत्वाश्वादिभिः । पा IV 3, 110-111, पाराशर्येण प्रोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते पाराशर्येणो भिक्षवः, कर्मन्देन प्रोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः । सि कौ It is possible that *Pāṇini* refers to a *sūtra* work on ancient *Sāṅkhya* by *Pañcasākhya*. This will be briefly discussed in another chapter below It will be shown later from the *Mahābhārata* that *Pañcasākhya* was called *bhikṣu* and *Pārāśarya* (vide note 2186 below).

1902 ब्रह्मचारी वृद्धस्यो भिक्षुर्वैयानसः । अनिचयो भिक्षुः । ... भिक्षुार्थी ग्राम-मियात् । गोतमधर्मसूत्र III, 2, 10-13.

1903 सुधातुरकश्च । पा. IV 1. 97; सुधातुर्यासयो. वार्तिकः ; सौधातकि. । पैपासकि. मुक्त. । मदाभाष्य.

A brief examination of the citation of the views of Bādarāyana and Jaimini in the PMS and the Brahmasūtra¹⁹⁰⁴ is necessary. Bādarāyana is named only five times by the P. M. sūtra as said above. (1) In P. M. S. I. 1. 5 the author claims that he and Bādarāyana are agreed on the eternity and infallibility of the Veda; (2) In P. M. S. V. 2. 17-20, there is a discussion on Naksatrestī. In the model sacrifice there are certain homas called Nāristha; the question is whether in the modifications of the model wherein certain subordinate homas called *upahomae* are prescribed, the Nāristha homas precede or follow the Upahomae. The *siddhānta* view is that Nāristhahomas precede, Ātreya being of the opposite view and Bādarāyana supporting the *siddhānta*. (3) In P. M. S. VI. 1. 8 Bādarāyana's view is that not men alone but women also are entitled to take part in *kratus* (Vedic sacrifices) and this is the *siddhānta* of the P. M. S.; (4) P. M. S. X. 8. 35-46 make an extensive *adhikarana* in which the question is whether the texts prescribing Āgneya and Aindraṅga *puroḥāsas* in Darśapūrnamāsa for a sacrificer who has not performed soma sacrifice constitute a vidhi (of the two) or only an anuvāda, Bādarāyana's view in PMS. X. 8. 44 being that it is a *vidhi* and the *siddhānta* being that there is an anuvāda (X. 8. 45). (5) PMS XI. 1. 54-67 constitute a lengthy *adhikarana* and the discussion concerns the question whether *āghāra* and other angas are to be repeated with each of the principal matters (Āgneya and others) in Darśapūrnamāsa or are to be performed only once.

With regard to these five cases where Bādarāyana is cited in the P. M. S. three points emerge, viz the author of the P. M. S. agrees with Bādarāyana's view in all except in X. 8. 44 (where the two differ), that the view attributed to Bādarāyana in P. M. S. I. 1. 5 has correspondence with the views of the V. S. (I. 3. 28-29) and that four views out of five refer to purely sacrificial matters to which nothing corresponds in the V. S. It follows that the author of the extant P. M. S. had some work of Bādarāyana dealing with Pūrvamīmāṃsā matters before him and that, if Bādarāyana be the author of the extant V. S., the latter had composed a work on Pūrvamīmāṃsā matters also or that there was another Bādarāyana who wrote only on Pūrva-

1904. Prof. Nilakant Sastry's paper referred to above is valuable, but several of his conclusions set out on p. 172 of I. A. vol. 50 cannot be accepted by the present writer, who regrets that Prof. Sastry did not consider much other matter relevant to the points discussed by him.

mīmāṃsā. The five references to Jaimini in P. M. S. have been noted above and the sūtra VI. 3. 4, which led Prof Sastry to postulate three Jaiminis, has been already explained as not necessarily leading to any such conclusion.

Another alternative might be put forward viz. that works by Jaimini and Bādarāyana did not exist before the extant V. S. and P M S, but that the references to Jaimini and Bādarāyana concern views current in the schools of Jaimini and Bādarāyana. But this is not a likely hypothesis. The extant V. S. and P M S are meant for all throughout Āryāvarta and it is not likely that the oral traditions of two schools were supposed to be known to all and sundry in the whole of the country.

In several cases where Bādarāyana is mentioned, the extant V. S. makes certain additions and explanations. It has been shown above that Śāṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and Yāmuna ascribe the V. S. to Bādarāyana and that Vācaspati and others hold that Vyāsa Pārāśarya is the author of V. S. It is difficult to explain how Vedavyāsa came to be identified with Bādarāyana after the 9th century A. D. Some other relevant matters have also to be considered. A verse about *kṣetra* and *kṣetrājña* in the Bhagavadgītā raises a problem. In Gītā 1905 13. 4 it is said 'this

1905 कपिभिर्बहुधा गीत उन्दोभिर्विद्विधैः पृथक् । ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः ॥
गीता 13. 4 ; the first half refers to the passages in the Vedas and Upanisads and the 2nd half to the Brahmasūtrapadas. ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव must be connected with *gītā* according to all commentators. The present writer feels that the word 'rsibhūh' also must be understood in the second half of the verse. If rsibhūh is required to be connected with 'chandobhūh', there is no reason why that word should not be connected with 'Brahmasūtrapadaḥ' also. Two words in the instrumental are employed in the first half (viz. rsibhūh (agents) and 'chandobhūh' (means); if we understand 'rsibhūh' in the 2nd half, we shall have a symmetrical arrangement viz 'rsibhūh' (agents) and 'Brahmasūtrapadaḥ' (means). There is a contrast between Vedic and Upanisadic passages in the first half and Brahmasūtra passages that are well reasoned and definite in the 2nd half. Then the meaning will be that sages had composed several Brahmasūtras. The author is inclined to hold that the Gītā refers to several Brahmasūtras current in its day and not to the extant Vedāntasūtra. Here commentators other than Śāṅkarācārya understand by the word 'Brahmasūtra' the work going under that name in those days. The late Lokamānya Tilak in his Marathi 'Gītārahasya' discusses (in appendix part 3 pp 527-534 of the ed. of 1915) the question of the relation of the Gītā and Brahmasūtra and puts forward his own surmise

(Continued on next page)

real nature of ksetra and ksetrajña has been separately sung (i. e. propounded) in many ways by the sages in different vedic hymns (or metres) and by the words of the Brahmasūtra that are full of reasoning and that arrive at definite conclusions'. Here the Gītā expressly mentions Brahmasūtra. If one turns to the extant Brahmasūtra (or Vedāntasūtra), it is found that in many sūtras reliance is placed on smṛti, which is taken to mean the Gītā by all ācāryas. For example, on 'Smṛtiśca' (V. S. I 2 6) the only Smṛti passages cited by Śaṅkarācārya are Gītā 18. 61 and 13 2. Similarly, on 'api ca smaryate' (V. S. I. 3 23) Śaṅkara cites only Gītā 15. 6 and 12; on 'api ca smaryate' (V. S. II. 3. 45) the only Smṛti passage quoted by Śaṅkara is Gītā 15 7, on 'Smaranti ca' (V. S. IV. I. 10) only Gītā 6. 11 is quoted; on 'Yoginah prati ca smaryate smārte caite' (V. S. IV 2 21) Gītā 8 24-25 alone are set forth as the passages meant to be explained. Therefore, though the Bhagavad-gītā is not expressly named in the Brahmasūtra, the ācāryas are agreed that the Bhagavadgītā alone is relied upon and referred to in all the above-mentioned sūtras. We have, therefore reached this position that the Gītā mentions the Brahmasūtra which must be held to be earlier than the Gītā, but as Gītā passages are declared to be at the basis of some of the Vedāntasūtras, the Gītā must be earlier than the V. S. This is contradictory, Śaṅkarācārya,¹⁹⁰⁶ who saw the contradiction, therefore explained 'Brahmasūtrapadaih' as passages (of Upanisads) that suggest (i. e. propound) doctrines about brahma (i. e. he interprets 'sūtra' as meaning 'sūcaka'). But this explanation is far-fetched and has not been accepted by other commentators. Therefore, other theories have to be put forward viz. that the author of both is the same or that the Mahābhārata and Gītā were receiving accretions from time to time and that when the

(Continued from last page)

that the author who composed the extant Brahmasūtra redacted the original Mahābhārata and Gītā and gave them both the present form. The present writer regrets that he cannot accept this surmise of the late Lokamānya. It may be pointed out that Prof. R. D. Karmarkar in (ABORI vol III pp. 73-79) did not accept Lokamānya's explanation of 'Brahmasūtrapadaih' and held that in Gītā 13. 4 the word 'Brahmasūtrapadaih' does not refer to the Bādarāyana sūtras but refers to some similar other works. But he did not pursue that matter further.

1906. ब्रह्मणः सूचकानि वाक्यानि ब्रह्मसूत्राणि तैः पठ्यते गम्यते ज्ञायते इति तानि पदान्सूचयन्ते । तैरेव च क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्थात्पर्यं 'गीतम्' इत्युक्तवन्तः । 'आत्मैवेवेवासीत्', इत्यादिभिर्हि ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैरात्मा ज्ञायते । काङ्क्षर ०० गीता 13 4

final redaction of the Mahābhārata (including the Gītā) was made the verse about Brahmasūtra was inserted in the Gītā or that in the times of the Gītā there were several works called Brahmasūtra other than the extant one.

The present writer thinks it highly probable that the Gītā had before it several works called Brahmasūtras and in 13. 4 refers to them and not to the extant Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyana. A brief examination of the authors mentioned in the PMS and VS is necessary. Both these works mention by name several individual authors (besides Jaimini and Bādarāyana). Both PMS and VS mention the following:—

Ātreya — PMS IV. 3. 18, V. 2. 18, VI. 1. 26 and VS III. 4. 44,

Āśmarathya — PMS VI. 5. 16 and VS I. 2. 29, I. 4. 20;

Kāśnāyana — PMS IV. 3. 17, VI. 7. 35 and VS III. 1. 9.

Bādari — PMS III. 1. 3, VI. 1. 27, VIII. 3. 6, IX. 2. 33 and VS. I. 2. 30, III. 1. 11, IV. 3. 7, IV. 4. 10;

PMS also names Ālekhana (VI. 5. 17), Aitīśāyana (III. 2. 44, III. 4. 24, VI. 1. 6), Kāmukāyana (XI. 1. 58 and 63) and Lāvukāyana (VI. 7. 37), these being not mentioned at all in the VS. On the other hand VS mentions Audulomi (I. 4. 21, III. 4. 45, IV. 4. 6) and Kāśakṛtsna (I. 4. 22), both being absent from PMS. The PMS very rarely refers to some ācāryas as 'eke' in I. 1. 27 and IX. 3. 4; V. S. has 'eke' in I. 4. 9 and 18, II. 3. 43, III. 2. 2. and 13, III. 4. 15, IV. 2. 13 and 'ekesām' in I. 4. 13, IV. 1. 17, IV. 2. 13 and 'anye' in III. 3. 27, in all of which the reference in V. S. is to other recensions of the Veda or Upanisads, while in III. 4. 42 'eke' refers to ācāryāḥ and in III. 3. 53 'eke' refers to Lokāyatikas. Vyāsa or Pārāśarya is not mentioned by name in PMS or VS. The case of Bādari requires careful consideration. The PMS mentions both Bādarāyana and Jaimini only five times each, while PMS and VS mention (each) Bādari four times. Bādari differs from Jaimini on two important points viz. the denotation of the word 'śesa' and the remarkable view that even sūdras are entitled to perform *agnihotra* and other Vedic rites. In VS. Bādari is mentioned as differing from Jaimini on the *upāsana* of Vaiśvānara in Chān Up. V. 18. 1-2 and on the words 'sa enān brahma gamayati' (Chān. Up. IV. 15. 5) and in VS IV. 4. 10 Bādari is opposed to Jaimini about a released soul. It follows from this brief analysis and the mention of Bādari four times in PMS and also in VS that both the latter had before them a work of Bādari dealing with Pūrva-

mīmāṃsā matters and also with Vedānta. Ālekhaṇa and Āsmārathya are both quoted at least 16 times in Āp. Śr. Sūtra, their views are quoted frequently as in conflict on the ritual of sacrifices and these are the only two individual authors quoted in Āp. Śr. S. It is likely that Ātreya, Āsmārathya and Kārśnājini composed a work or works dealing with both systems and Audulomi (quoted thrice by VS) and Kāśakṛtsna composed works on the Vedānta. Vide Tantravārtika on I 3. 2 p. 169 note 2010 for the view that the present PMS was preceded by several efforts in the same direction.

From the above discussion it may very plausibly be held that the word 'Brahmasūtrapadaḥ' in Gītā 13. 4 refers to some sūtra works such as those of Bādari, Audulomi, Āsmārathya and one or two others and not to the extant Brahmasūtra. No one can say that Bādari and Ātreya are not 'ṛsis'. Śabara refers to Ātreya as 'Muni' on PMS VI. I. 26.

It should be remembered that Jaimini, Bādari and Bādarāyaṇa are gotra names. But Vyāsa is not a gotra name and Pārāśarya is one of the three *pravaras* of the group of Pārāśaras.¹⁹⁰⁷

The Āp. Śr. Sūtra 24. 8. 10 (ed. by Garbe) and the Pravara-mañjari (ed. by Chentsalrav, Mysore, 1900) p. 61 mention Bādarāyaṇa as a sub-section of Viṣṇuvṛddhagotra, while p. 38 of the latter work mentions Jaimini along with Yāska, Vādhūla, Mauna and others as having the pravara 'Bhārgava-vaitahavya-sāvataṣeti' and pp. 108 and 178 cite Bādari (or Vādari) as a sub-division of Pārāśaras. Therefore, it was possible that several individuals separated by a century or more could bear the name of Jaimini or Bādarāyaṇa.

We have also to answer the observations of the Naiskarmya-siddhi of Sureśvarācārya (the most famous of the disciples of Śaṅkarācārya himself) that Jaimini does not mean that all passages of the Veda relate to sacrificial rites and that if he really meant that, he would not have composed 'Śārīrakasūtra' beginning with 'athāto brahma-jijñāsā' and 'janmādyasya yataḥ', containing an investigation of the purport of all Vedānta passages, laying bare the nature of brahma and supporting his words with profound reasoning; but that as a matter of fact he

1907. अथ पाराशराणां स्वार्थेयः । वसिष्ठेऽग्नित्व-पाराशर्येति । पाराशरवच्छक्तिवद्वसिष्ठ-वदिति । आप ओ. सूत्र. 24 10 6

did compose such a śārīrakaśāstra. This passage means that Jaimini composed a sūtra work called Śārīrakasūtra on the investigation and knowledge of brahma, which began with two eūtras that were the same as the first two sūtras of the extant Vedāntasūtra.¹⁹⁰⁸ Col. Jacob in his Introduction (p 3) to the first edition of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi thought that the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi made Jaimini the author of the Vedāntadarsana. He is inaccurate, since all that Sureśvara says is that Jaimini composed not only a sūtra work on the Karmamīmāṃsā but he also composed a work called Śārīrakasūtra on the doctrines of brahmamīmāṃsā, but he does not convey that the whole of the extant Vedāntasūtra is the work of Jaimini. Dr. Belvalkar¹⁹⁰⁹ postulates two propositions, viz. that there were brahmasūtras written separately for the Chāndogya Upanisad and the Brhad-āranyaka-Upanisad and other Upanisads for each Śākhā and secondly, that the Śārīrakasūtra of Jaimini was bodily incorporated within and forms the main part of the contents of the present text of the Brahmasūtra. The present author takes strong objections to both these propositions. He cannot go into this question at length here but has to remark that these propositions are based on little evidence. If 'janmādyasya yataḥ' was also a sūtra of Jaimini who was specially connected with the Sāma-veda by the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, why is it that that sūtra is supposed by the bhāṣyakāras as based on a passage of the Taittirīya-upanisad? The Chāndogya and Brhadāranyaka Upanisads are each nearly thrice as long as all the other eight Upanisads (out of the principal ten Upanisads) and six times longer than the Taittirīya Upanisad. Therefore, these two Upanisads figure largely in the discussions in the extant Brahmasūtra. The 2nd proposition is hardly more than a pure guess. There is no evidence to establish that the main part of the extant Vedāntasūtra is bodily taken from Jaimini's Śārīrakasūtra, when the latter has not come down to us and when no sūtras therefrom

1908 यतो न जैमिनेरयमभिप्राय आन्नाय सर्व एव क्रियार्थ इति । यदि ह्ययमभिप्रायोऽभ-
विष्यद् अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा जन्माद्यस्य यतः—इत्येवमादिब्रह्मवस्तुस्वरूपमात्रयाथात्म्यप्रकाशना-
यर् गम्भीरस्यायमन्तर्द्वयं सर्ववेदान्तार्थमीनांस्तर्न श्रीतच्छास्त्रिको नाद्युत्रयिष्यत् । अद्युत्रयञ्च ।
तस्माज्जैमिनेरयमभिप्रायो यथैव विधिवाक्याना स्वार्थनात्वे यामाग्यमेवमैकात्म्यवाक्यानामप्यन-
धितगतगुणपरिच्छेदसाम्यादिति । नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि pp 54-55 (ed. by Col Jacob in
B. S. S 1906).

1909. Vide his 'Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy'
pp. 141-142

(other than the two noted above) are quoted anywhere as from Jaimini's Śārirakasūtra.

Then some sūtras of VS in which the words 'tad-uktam' ¹⁹¹⁰ occur have to be considered. There are eight sūtras that contain those words. Śāṅkarācārya holds that in VS I 3. 21, II. 1. 31, III. 3. 18 (where 'tad uktam' occur) the reference is to the preceding sūtras of the VS itself. On V S. III. 3. 26, III. 3. 33, III. 3. 50 and III 4 42 Śāṅkarācārya holds that these respectively refer to PMS X 8. 15, III. 3. 8, XI. 4. 10 and I. 3. 8-9 and that VS III. 3. 43 refers to a sūtra of the Sankarsakāṇḍa. The other ācāryas differ from Śāṅkarācārya in several places and among themselves Vallabhācārya, who had come to regard the Bhāgavata as of equal authority with the Veda and as even superseding the latter, holds that the words 'tad-uktam' in VS III. 3. 33, III. 3. 50 and III. 4. 42. refer to passages of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. The VS III. 3. 44 appears to echo the words and principles of PMS III. 3. 14. ¹⁹¹¹ The words 'tad-uktam' should ordinarily mean the same thing throughout i.e. they should everywhere be taken as referring to the PMS or to VS. But no ācārya is prepared to accept entirely one of these two alternatives. It may further be noted that the extant P. M. S. very rarely employs the words 'tad-uktam' as in V. 3. 9 where it refers to PMS V. I. 19. ¹⁹¹² The P. M. S., though it mentions Bādarāyana five times, nowhere appears to be influenced by the V. S. On the other hand, not only are some of the sūtras of V. S. containing the words 'Tad-uktam' deemed to be references to the P. M. Sūtras, but the V. S. frequently employs peculiar Pūrvamīmāṃsā words such as arthavāda, prakaraṇa, līṅga, vidhī, śeṣa and purely P. M. matters such as in III 3 26 (kṛśāchandaśtutyupagānavat), III. 3. 33 (aupasadavat), III. 4. 20 (dhāranavat), IV. 4. 12 (Dvādaśāhavat). Therefore, the extant VS very much presupposes the P. M. S., while the latter cannot be said to have been influenced by VS to any noticeable extent.

The present author now wishes to draw together the separate threads that have been spun so far about Vyāsa, Jaimini,

1910 Vide a brief note 'The problem of Tad-uktam Sūtras' by Prof. P. M. Modi in I, H. Q. Vol 13 pp. 514-520.

1911. Compare 'लिङ्गसूयस्त्वात्तद्धि बलीयस्तदपि' वे सू III 3. 44 with 'श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानो समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षाद्' पू मी. सू III 3. 14.

1912. अन्ते वा तदुक्तम्; पू मी. सू. V 3 9 This refers to V 1. 19 (अन्ते उ वादरायणस्तेषां प्रधानशब्दत्वाद्). In पू. मी IX 2 2 occur the words 'तदुक्तदोषश्च' which refer to पू मी VII. 2 13.

Bādarāyana, the PMS and the VS and tries to present a tentative pattern of conclusions as follows:—

1. The Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas state that Jaimini was a pupil of Pārāśarya Vyāsa. But this is said in relation to the transmission of the Sāmaveda to Jaimini and therefore must be confined to that matter alone (and not extended to other matters) in accordance with the mīmāṃsā maxim—'yāvad-vacanam vācanikam.' We have got a Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, a Jaiminiya Śrauta-sūtra and Grhya-sūtra. The tradition about the imparting of Sāmaveda to Jaimini may be true and at present there is no evidence to show that it is wrong. There is, however, no warrant for extending this tradition to the reputed authors of the PMS and the VS. Late medieval writers like Vallabhācārya, whose weakest points were lack of correct knowledge of history and chronology and the obsession to glorify to the skies their favourite authors and works, extended the above tradition about the Sāmaveda to the authors of the two sūtra works,¹⁹¹³ viz. PMS and VS. From the above discussion it follows that the extant PMS is earlier than the extant VS and that the author of the extant PMS could not have been a disciple of the author of the extant VS. The medieval writers failed to pay proper attention to the fact that Jaimini and Bādarāyana are also gotra names and not merely individual names.

2. From Pāṇini we know that there were two *bhikṣu-sūtras* composed by Pārāśarya and Karmanda before his time. Patañjali mentions a mīmāṃsā work composed by Kāśakṛtsna. There is, therefore, no doubt that sūtra works on 'bhikṣus' and mīmāṃsā had come to be composed several centuries before the Christian era.

3. From the examination of the views of Jaimini mentioned in the extant VS it appears that Jaimini composed a work on Vedānta also. Some corroboration is lent to this view by the remarks of the Naiskaramyasiddhi quoted on p. 1175 above. There is nothing to show that this Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyana or of Pārāśarya. On the contrary, the words 'Jaiminer-api' in VS. III. 4. 40 convey great solicitude on the part of the author of the extant VS for Jaimini's support. The author of the

1913. On तनु समन्वयात् (V S I. 1. 4) बहुभाचार्य says, तथा हि जैमिनिर्धर्म-जिज्ञासामेव धर्मिण्य तत्प्रतिपादकस्य पूर्वकाण्डस्य समन्वयमाह। अत्रान्तरवाक्यानां प्रकार-शेषत्वात्। न च सर्वेतिन् वेदे धर्म एव जिज्ञास्यस्तद्वृत्तौ न्यासेन ब्रह्मजिज्ञासायाः प्रतिज्ञातत्वात्।

extant VS shows especial respect for Jaimini's views, since he quotes Jaimini more times than other ācāryas (including Bādarāyana). It becomes necessary to hold that there were two authors named Jaimini, one dealing with both PM and Vedānta subjects and the other deemed to be the author of the extant PMS. This Jaimini is different from Jaimini deemed to be the author of the extant PMS.

4. The fact that PMS mentions five times Bādarāyana's views, four of which are concerned with purely sacrificial matters and the fact that the VS mentions Bādarāyana nine times in connection with Vedānta matters, leads to the inference that Bādarāyana must have composed a work dealing with PM and Vedānta topics. That work has not come down to us. This Bādarāyana is different from the Bādarāyana regarded by Śaṅkarācārya and others as the author of the extant VS. Thus there are two authors named Bādarāyana.

5. The author of the extant VS was, according to Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and some other early bhāṣyakāras, also Bādarāyana, but from about the 9th century A. D. onwards he came to be confounded with Vedavyāsa.

6. So far as the PMS and VS are concerned, there are only two Jaiminis (and not three, as Prof. Sastri holds in I. A. vol. 50 p. 172) and two Bādarāyanas.

The present section is concerned mainly with the influence of Pūrvamīmāṃsā doctrines and methodology on Dharmaśāstra works. But it must be mentioned here that Pūrvamīmāṃsā works from that of Jaimini onwards also rely upon smṛti and Dharmaśāstra. A few examples may be cited. The PMS I. 3 deals with the limits of the authoritativeness of smṛtis, PMS VI. 7. 6 mentions the word 'Dharmaśāstra'. The P. M. S. expressly relies on smṛti in support of its propositions (as in XII. 4. 43). On PMS VI. 1. 12 Śābara quotes a smṛti verse, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416 and Ādiparva (82. 23 = Cr. Ed. 77. 22). Śābara frequently quotes Dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis to elucidate and strengthen his arguments; e.g. Śābara on PMS VI. I. 10 quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 11 and states on PMS VI. I. 15 that the sale of a daughter mentioned in the smṛtis is not approved of by śiṣyas.¹⁹¹⁴ It is not necessary to cite further

1914. विक्रयो हि श्रूयते क्षतमतिरथं दुहितुमते दद्यात्, अपरं गोमिथुनम्-दत्ति। शबर on VI. I. 10 and 'स्मार्तं च श्रुतिविरुद्धं विक्रयं नास्त्यन्यत्ते' on PMS. VI. I. 15. Vido

examples to support the proposition stated above. Those interested may consult the present author's paper on "Gleanings from Śābara and the Tantravārtika" JBBRAS vol. 26 (old series, 1924) pp. 83-98 and on 'Tantravārtika and Dharmaśāstra' in JBBRAS, New series, vol. 1 and 2 for 1925 (pp 95-102).

We must now turn to the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra itself. In relation to every śāstra there are what are called four *anubandhas* (indispensable elements) ¹⁹¹⁵ viz. *Viśaya* (the subject to be treated of), *prayojana* (the purpose or object), *sambandha* (the relation of the śāstra to the prayojana) and *adhikārin* (the person entitled or competent to study the śāstra). The Śloka-vārtika ¹⁹¹⁶ remarks 'as long as the purpose of any śāstra or of any undertaking (or act) whatever is not declared, so long no one will take it (i. e. study or do it)' Therefore, the very first sūtra of the PMS puts forward the subject (*visaya*) and the purpose of the śāstra (*prayojana*).¹⁹¹⁷ That sūtra states 'next, therefore, (should be undertaken) the investigation and consideration of dharma'. The *sambandha* of this śāstra with the *prayojana* is that of *sādhya* (the object to be attained) and *sādhana* (the means of attaining) i. e. this śāstra is the means of attaining the knowledge of dharma. Therefore, as remarked by the Śāstra-

(Continued from last page)

आप ध सू II. 6. 13 11 for the first sentence and मनु II. 53 for 'आर्षे गोमिथुनं शृङ्गम्', on P. M. S. VI. 8 18 शबर quotes यथैव स्मृतिः, धर्मे... नातिचरित्येति, धर्मप्रज्ञासंपन्ने दारे नाप्या कुर्वीतिति च। एवमिदमपि स्मर्यत एव, अन्यतरापायेऽप्यां कुर्वीतिति। आप. ध (II 5. 11. 12-13) has the two सूत्रस, धर्मप्रज्ञा... कुर्वीत and अन्यत... कुर्वीत (with slight variations).

1915. The four *anubandhas* in the case of the पूर्वमीमांसा may be briefly put as 'शास्त्रे धर्माद्विषयः, सद्बोधः प्रयोजनं, त्रैवर्णिकोऽधिकारी, विषयविषयिभावाद्यः सम्बन्धाः'.

1916. सर्वस्यैव हि शास्त्रस्य कर्मणो वापि कस्याचित्। यावत्प्रयोजनं नोक्तं तावत्तत्केन शृण्वते॥ श्लोकवा (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र) 12. q by बालक्रीडा on या I. 1. p 2

1917 अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासासूत्रनाथमिदं कृतम्। धर्मार्थं विषयं वक्तुं भीमांसायाः प्रयोजनम्॥ श्लोकवा (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र) v 11. अथ means आनन्तर्यं i. e. after the study of the Veda from a guru that has already taken place. The शास्त्रदीपिका says (p 12) 'तत्तत्तद्भनययनादनन्तरं धर्मजिज्ञासा कर्तव्येति। सा चतुर्विधा धर्मस्वरूप-प्रमाण-साधन फलैः।' The न्यायरत्नाकर comments on verse 18 (of प्रतिज्ञासूत्र) 'योय पूर्वोक्तं प्रयोजनेन सह शास्त्रस्य साध्यसाधनसम्बन्धः स एव शास्त्रारम्भहेतुः।' Compare the well-known maxim 'प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न नन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते' found in श्र्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेप-परिहार v 55). Writers of the Prābhāṣara School hold that the word *dharma* in P. M. S. I. 1. 2 means 'Vedārtha'. Vide Rājamālā-pāṇcikā on Brhatī (p. 20) 'चोदनासूत्रेण चोदनालक्षणं कार्यरूप एव वेदार्थः, न सिद्धरूप इति प्रतिज्ञातम्। तदनेन भाष्येण व्याख्यायते। धर्मज्ञानं च वेदार्थमात्रपरः।'.

dipikā (on P. M. S. II. 1. 1), the proper subject of this śāstra is Dharma and not the meaning of the Veda (tasmād dharma ityeva śāstravisayo na vedārtha iti). The *adhikārin* is one who has studied the Veda or a part of it from a guru and is treated of at length in the 6th chapter of the P. M. S.

The *Mīmāṃsāśūtra* does not state how much of the Veda has to be studied before one enters on understanding the meaning of it. Here the *Smṛtis* come to one's help. Gautama II. 51-53 prescribes several options viz. twelve years for one Veda or 12 years for each of the four Vedas or so long as he can commit to memory (one Veda). Manu III. 1-2 are similar viz. one should study Vedas for 36 years under a guru or for 18 years or nine years or for as many years as would be required for committing Veda to memory and they permit the option of studying the three Vedas or two Vedas or one Veda. Yāj. I. 36 remarks that Vedic studenthood lasts 12 years for each Veda or five (for each Veda) or some sages say for as many years as the student would require to master (one Veda or more). But even these prescriptions must have been rather a tall order for many *brāhmanas*, *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas*. Further, the *Mīmāṃsā* requires that not only should a person of the three *varṇas* (classes) study the Veda but he must also engage in understanding its meaning. On PMS I. 1. 1 Śābara states that the venerable Yājñīkaś do not¹⁹¹⁸ declare that rewards result from the mere study (memorizing) of the Veda and that where the Vedic texts appear to assign a reward for the mere memorizing of Veda they are merely *arthavādas* (intended only to praise Veda study), as in Tai. Ār. II. 15 which states¹⁹¹⁹ 'whatever (vedic texts about), sacrifice he memorizes the result is that he, as it were actually performs that, and he secures absorption into (or communion with) Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya. The Tai. Up. I. 9 attaches the greatest importance to *svādhyāya* (memorizing the Veda) and *pravacana* (teaching it or expounding it) and after stating the views of two sages cites the view of Nāka Maudgalya that *svādhyāya* and *pravacana* are the most important to be resorted to or striven for, though *ṛta*, *satya*, *dama*, *śama*, *agnihotra*, *hospitālitā* and others may be combined with them, the reason

1918. न च तत्प्राप्त्यनमात्रात्तत्रभग्नो वाङ्मिकाः फलं सामानयन्ति । सूत्र ०८ I. 1. 1.

1919. तस्मात्स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यो यं यं क्रतुमधीति तेन तेनारूपेण भगवत्प्रेषणोपादित्वस्य साधुर्ग्यं गच्छति । ते आ. II 15, कर्तव्यं च स्वाध्यायमन्वचेन च.. सत्यमिति सत्यमन्वा साधीतर । तप इति तपोनित्यः पौष्टिज्ञातिः । स्वाध्यायमन्वचेन मयेति नामो मोदकः । तद्धि तप. तद्धि तपः । ते उ. I. 9.

being that those two constitute *tapas*. The PMS in III. 8.18 (jñāte ca vācanam na hy-avidvān vibhito'sti) provides that only he who knows the Veda has *adhikāra* for performing sacrifices. Śābara¹⁹²⁰ raises the question how much of the Veda must a man know in order to be entitled to perform a vedic sacrifice and replies that he must have memorized as much of the veda as would enable him to carry to its completion the vedic sacrifice undertaken by him. The Tantravārtika on the same sūtra adds that the whole veda is to be studied during the period of studenthood, but if anyone is unable to memorize the whole veda, but somehow only the portion on Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrnāmāsa, then it cannot be said that he has no *adhikāra* for performing those two. To memorize the Veda and also to study its meaning was a formidable task. Many verses of the Veda had a threefold application with reference to sacrifices (*adhiyajña*), with reference to the deities (*adhidaivata* or *adhidaiva*) and *adhyātma* (with reference to the spiritual or metaphysical meaning). Vide Nir. III. 12 (where Rg. I. 164. 21 is explained in two ways, *adhidaivata* and *adhyātma*), X. 26 (where Rg. X. 82. 2 is explained in two ways, *adhidaivata* and *adhyātma*), XI. 4 (where Rg. X. 85. 3 is explained in *adhiyajña* and *adhidaivata* ways), XII. 37 (where Vāj. S. 34. 55 is explained in the *adhidaivata* and *adhyātma* ways), XII. 38 (where Atharva X. 8. 9 is explained in *adhidaivata* and *adhyātma* ways). Manu (VI. 83) lays down the *japa* (muttering) of Veda of the *adhiyajña*, *adhidaivika* and *adhyātmika* types. Manu I. 23 and Vedāngajyotiṣa say that the mantras of the three vedas were drawn from Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya for the carrying out of *yajñas*. Viśvārūpa on Yaj. I. 51¹⁹²¹ explains the words 'vedam vratāni vā pāram nitvā' as memorizing the Veda and completely understanding its meaning and not merely memorizing it. Dakṣa says that Vedābhyāsa (study of the Veda) comprehends 'five'¹⁹²²

1920 न ह्यविद्यान् विदितोऽस्ति । यो ह्यविद्यान्नासावधिकृतः सामर्थ्याभावात् । ... क्रियता पुनरिदितेन विद्वानधिक्रियत इति । यावदा विदितेन शक्नो भवति यथोक्तं क्रतुमभिनर्तयितुं तावद्यो वेद स तेन क्रतुनाधिक्रियते । .. सर्वे क्रतवः कथं ज्ञायेरन् इत्युक्तं पुथगिति कृत्स्नस्य वेदस्याध्ययनं श्रूयते । शायर on पू मी सू III. 8. 18; अवश्यं ब्रह्मचर्यकाल एव समस्तो वेदोऽध्येतव्यः । यदि तु कश्चिदशक्नो नार्थंति सकलम्, अग्निदीवर्दशपूर्णमासमात्रं कथंचिदप्ये- गच्छति न तत्र तस्यानाधिकारः । तन्त्रवा. p. 1122 on same sūtra.

1921. वेदस्य पारम्यनमर्थतो ग्रन्थतश्च स्वीकरणं न ग्रन्थत एव । विश्वरूप on या I. 51.

1922. वेदस्वीकरणं पूर्वं विचारोऽभ्यसन्नं जपः । तद्वान् चैव शिष्येभ्यो वेदागमसो हि पञ्चधा ॥ दशसू II. 34, q by मितः on या. III. 310 (without name), अपराकं p. 126 on या I. 99 (from दक्ष).

matters viz. first memorizing it, reflection over it, constant repetition of it, *japa* and imparting it to pupils. These were ideals attained by a few persons only, while most brāhmanas generally rested content with memorizing one Veda or a portion of it.

The Pūrvamīmāṃsāśāstra is the most extensive of all the *darśanas*.¹⁹²³ Śāstra is that which regulates and declares (human) activities and abstentions by means of eternal words (Veda) or by works composed by men.¹⁹²⁴ And it has about 2700 sūtras and over 900 adhikaranas (called *nyāyas* or conclusions on topics for discussion). Some sūtras are often repeated such as 'Lingadarśanāc ca' (which occurs about 30 times) and 'tathā cānyārthadarśanam' (that occurs about 24 times). An adhikarana is described as having five constituents, viz (1) the topic for discussion, (2) the doubt about it, (3) the *prima facie* view, (4) the refutation of the *prima facie* view, (5) the final conclusion.¹⁹²⁵ A sūtra (aphorism) should be concise¹⁹²⁶ (contain a few letters), but clear in its meaning, substantial, of wide application (lit. facing all directions), should be without pauses or interjected letters and should be faultless. A bhāṣya is that which sets out the meaning of the sūtra in sentences that follow the words of the sūtra and that makes its own contribution (to the elucidation of the subject of the sūtra), while a vārtika is one that considers what is stated in the sūtra, or what

1923 The Darśanas are many, as appears from the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह of माधवाचार्य, but the orthodox and famous darśanas are six and run in pairs, viz. न्याय and वैशेषिक, सांख्य and योग, पूर्वमीमांसा and उत्तरमीमांसा. In I. A. vol. 45 pp. 1-6 and 17-26, it is stated that the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह was not composed by माधवाचार्य who became later on Vidyāranya, but was composed by a nephew of माधवाचार्य, who was a son of सायण (at pp. 22 ff)

1924. प्रवृत्तिर्वा निवृत्तिर्वा नित्येन कृतकेन वा। शासनाच्छंसनाञ्चैव शास्त्रमित्यभिधीयते॥ भावती न वे सू. I. 1 3, which is quoted by परा ना II 2 p 288 as from a पुराण. The first half is श्लोकवा (ज्ञान्दपरिच्छेद v 4)

1925. विषयो विज्ञायश्चैव पूर्वपक्षस्तथोचरम्। निर्णयश्चेति पञ्चार्द्धं शास्त्रेधिकरणं स्मृतम्॥ पृ by सिधितत्त्व p 92, अधिकरणकौमुदी of रामकृष्ण (Chowambamba series), सर्वदर्शन-कौमुदी p 89 (T. S. S.). Some read निर्णयश्चेति सिद्धान्त, others like माधवाचार्य set out the five as विषय, विज्ञाय (or सन्देह), सङ्कति, पूर्वपक्ष and सिद्धान्त

1926 अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद्विश्वलोमुखम्। अस्तीभमनवयं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः। (पञ्चपादिका of पद्मपाद p 82, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 33 58, वायु 59 142, सुक्तिदीपिका p 3 which explains अस्तीर्भ as अपुनरुक्त). The पञ्चपादिका quotes this verse as from पौराणिकस and remarks 'सर्वतोमुखमिति नानार्थतामाह' and the com. says 'अर्थकत्वादेर्कं वाक्यमिति न्यायस्य सूत्रान्यविषयत्वात् न वाक्यभेदः'.

is omitted or what is not well stated.¹⁹²⁷ The Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara defines the words sūtra, bhāṣya, vṛtti, tīkā, kārikā &c. in chap. II.

Having declared in the first sūtra that after a person has studied the Veda and because he has done so, PMS proceeds to say that he should start on the consideration of what dharma¹⁹²⁸ is. The 2nd sūtra, therefore, defines 'dharma as an act conducive to a man's highest good, that is characterized by an exhortative (vedic) text.' Śābara explains that 'codanā' means a sentence that urges or exhorts a person to do an act. So this conveys that the means of knowledge (pramāṇa) as regards dharma are vedic sentences and it also means that what is characterized or indicated by *codanā* is dharma i. e. the nature (svarūpa) of Dharma is made manifest. The word 'artha' is put in to exclude acts (from being designated dharma) that may be mentioned in the veda but the result of doing which is evil, such as the sentence 'one practising black magic (to harm a person) may perform the *śyena* sacrifice.' This is not dharma, but adharma, since the practice of black magic is condemned as sinful. This vedic sentence does not say that one should inflict injury, it only says that *śyena*yāga brings about injury and if one desires to inflict injury, *śyena* is the means.¹⁹²⁹ The Śloka-vārtika remarks that the words, 'codanā', 'upadeśa' and 'vidhi' are synonyms according to

1927. सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र वाक्यैः सूत्रास्तारिभिः। स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्ये भाष्य-विदो विदुः। भामती on ब्रह्मसूत्र I 1. 1 quotes a verse 'लघूनि सूत्रितार्थानि स्वल्पाक्षर-पदानि च। सर्वतः सारभूतानि सूत्राण्याहुर्मनीषिणः' II q by शुक्तिदीपिका p. 3; उक्तानुक्त-दुष्कृच्छिन्ताकरं बालिकम्। आनन्दगिरि on बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिका p. 7 quotes a verse 'उक्तानुक्ताद्विचक्षादिच्छिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते। तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं माहुरवार्तिकज्ञा मनीषिणः।' Should we read दुष्कृतादि for द्विचक्षादि?

1928. शबर says 'एवमधीतो वेदो धर्मजिज्ञासाया हेतुर्ज्ञातः, अनन्तरं धर्मो जिज्ञासितस्य इत्येत. शब्दस्य सामर्थ्यम्।', the व्या. र. says एतदुक्तं भवति। वेदाध्ययनादनन्तरमत एवाधीतवेदत्वाकारणाद् तदर्थं धर्मजिज्ञासा कर्तव्येति' (on v. 112 of प्रतिज्ञासूत्र of श्रोकशास्त्र.).

1929. तस्माच्चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थः श्रेयस्करः। .. य एव श्रेयस्करः स धर्मशब्देनोच्यते। उभयमिह चोदनाया लक्ष्यते अर्थोऽनर्थश्चेति। कोऽर्थः, यो नि. श्रेयसाय उपोतिष्टोमादिः। कोऽनर्थः, य मयवायाय इयेनो वज्र इष्टुरित्येवमादिः। तत्र अनर्थो धर्म उक्तो मा भूदिति अर्थग्रहणम्। कथं पुनरसावनर्थः। हिंसा हि सा हिंसा च प्रतिपिद्धेति। ... नैव इयेनादयः कर्तव्या निज्ञायन्ते। यो हि हिंसितुमिच्छेत् तस्यापनश्यता इति तेषामुपदेक्षः। इयेनाभि-चरन् पलेत इति हि समावृत्तिः, न 'अभिचरितव्यम्' इति। शबर on I 1 2 at end. Vide p. 30 सू. I 4. 5 and III. 8 36-38 for इयेनयाम् which is a modification of उपोतिष्टोम and p. 30 सू. VII. 1. 13-16 for इष्टुयाम्, where on VII. 1 13 शबर quotes अप. श्रौ. 22. 7. 18 'समानमितरपद्धवेनेन'

That is, 'codanās' (vedic hortatory texts) are the *pramāṇa* (means of knowledge) about dharma and whatever is laid down by hortatory vedic texts is dharma (i. e. *Dharmasvarūpa*). The relation of Dharma to the Veda and the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-śāstra* is clearly and succinctly brought out in a verse of Kumārila himself as follows: ¹⁹³³ "When discussion about the correct knowledge of Dharma is being carried on, Veda being the means of such knowledge, *mīmāṃsā* will supply complete information about the subject of the procedure or method' Just as even if a man has good sight he cannot perceive anything unless there is light, so unless a man knows the methods laid down by PMS he cannot correctly judge what Dharma is. Jaimini then examines the means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) and holds that except *śabda* (i. e. the Veda) there is no means of knowledge about Dharma. One cannot perceive directly what Dharma is i. e. Dharma is not *pratyakṣa*. All the other *pramāṇas* except *śabda* are based on *pratyakṣa* and therefore they cannot define or explain what Dharma is. According to Kumārila there are six *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa* (direct perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (analogy), *śabda*, *arthāpatti* and *abhāva* (non-existence) *Prabhākara* does not accept the last as a *pramāṇa*.

The subjects of the twelve chapters of the PMS are stated in the J N. M. V. to be respectively. (1st chapter) *pramāṇa* (means of knowledge), (2nd) *bheda* (six grounds on which religious rites are distinguished from each other and the distinctions of rites as principal and subsidiary), (3) *śeṣa* (the meaning of *śeṣa* being 'ancillary or what subserves another that is called *śeṣin* or what is helpful to another'), how it is employed and the relative strength of *śruti*, *linga*, *vākya*, *prakaraṇa*, *sthāna* and *samākhyā*; (4) *prayukta* (what is obligatory and what is addressed to the performer's conscience i. e. what is *kratvartha* and what is *purusārtha*), (5) *Krama* (principles of settling the order or sequence depending on *śruti* &c), (6) *adhikāra* (persons entitled to perform *yāga*), (7) *sāmānyātidesa* (extension of items in the model *yāga* to its modifications), (8) *Viśeṣātidesa* (extension of items to individual rites); (9) *ūha* (adaptation of mantras and *samskāras*); (10) *bādha*

1933. धर्मं प्रतीयमाने हि वेदेन करणत्वेना । इति कर्तव्यताभावं नीमासा प्रविष्यति ॥
सुदृष्टीका (of कुमारिल) q. by तन्त्ररहस्य (G. O. S., 1956, p. 36). This verse is introduced with the following lucid remarks 'वेदवाक्यार्थसंज्ञायै सति तद्विर्णयोपविस्तृयायनिवन्धनं हि ज्ञातं नीमासा । ... सा च करणीयतस्य वेदस्येतिकर्तव्यता । यथा चक्षुर आन्दीकः । यथा गजाननस्य व्यासित्तरणम् । यथा वीरमानस्य साहस्यम् । यथा वा अर्थगतिः सन्देहापत्तिः ।'

(omitting certain items or details in modifications of model yāgas; (11) *tantra* (one item being useful and enough for several acts or persons); (12) *prasāṅga* (extension of application) In the four pādas of the first adhyāya four matters are respectively dealt with viz. vidhi (hortatory texts), arthavāda (laudatory or explanatory passages including mantras), smṛtis (including customs and usages) and names (of rites, such as *udbhāḍa*, *culīā*). Śābara himself gives a summary¹⁹³⁴ of the first chapter of PMS as follows; viz. the pramāṇas; principles of the conclusions about vidhi, arthavāda, mantra and smṛtis, examination of gunavidhi (texts laying down some subsidiary or accessory matter as in 'dadhnā juhōti', where curds are prescribed as offering) and nāmadheya; the determination of doubtful matters by the help of the remainder of a passage or by the *sāmānyā* (the suitability of things for the actions prescribed) It is unnecessary for the purpose of this section to furnish here a summary of the contents of the other chapters of the PMS. For a tolerably full summary of the contents of the twelve chapters of the PMS the reader is referred to the author's paper 'a brief sketch of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system' in ABORI, vol. VI. pp. 6-12. At the beginning of each chapter Śābara summarizes what he dealt with in the preceding chapter and sets out the principal topics of that chapter.

The P. M. S. itself is of enormous extent and it has been overlaid with commentaries and with numerous commentaries on commentaries. Even before Śābara there was a commentator described as Vṛttikāra,¹⁹³⁵ who is mentioned in several places

1934. प्रथमेऽध्याये प्रमाणलक्षणं वृत्तम्। तत्र विध्यर्थवादमन्त्रस्मृत्यस्तदुक्तो निर्णीतः। अथ विधिनिर्णयस्य परीक्षितम्। सन्दिग्धानामर्थानां वाक्यशेषादर्थोच्चाध्यवसानमुक्तम्। अथ at the beginning of II 1. 1. The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains तत्ततः in the above as follows 'विध्याद्विदित्वनिर्णीतः प्रमाणेतैव स्थितः। समस्तो हि प्रथमः पादश्चोदनासूत्रपरिकरः। ... श्रुतिमूलत्वं विज्ञानस्य स्मृतिप्रमाण्ये तत्त्वम्। नामधेयस्य चोदनान्तरगतत्वात्प्रमाणत्वम्। सन्दिग्धनिर्णये वाक्यशेषसामर्थ्ययोः प्रामाण्यमित्येव समस्तमध्याय प्रमाणलक्षणमाचक्षते।' As the P. M. S. is divided into twelve chapters it is called द्वादशलक्षणी.

1935. Śābara expressly mentions (Bhagavān) Upavarṣa (on I, 1. 5) as to what is 'śabda', while Rāmānuja says (note 1885 above) that Bodhāyana composed a bhāṣya on both P. M. S. and V. S. There are controversies about Vṛttikāra, Upavarṣa and Bodhāyana. Vide M. M. Prof. Kuppuswami in Pro. of 3rd All India O. Con. pp. 465-468 and Pandit V. A. Ramaswami in I. H. Q., vol. X. pp. 431-433 for identity of Vṛttikāra and Upavarṣa, while Dr. S. K. Iyengar in 'Manimekalai in its historic setting' p. 189 and

by Śābara (sometimes with great respect) viz. on II. 1. 32 and 33, II. 2. 26, II. 3. 16, III. 1. 6 ('ātra bhagavān Vṛttikārah'), VIII. 1. 1. ('vṛttikāraih' in the plural), X. 4. 23. On P. M. S. I. 1. 3-5, II. 1. 33, VII. 2. 6 Śābara differs from Vṛttikāra. The earliest extant commentary on the P. M. S. is the bhāṣya of Śābara. Śābara quotes many verses concerning PMS matters and a few also on other topics. Verses quoted on PMS matters are found on II. 1. 32 (one on p. 434 and another on p. 435), II. 1. 33 (p. 436, two verses),¹⁹³⁶ II. 2. 1 (p. 462, two verses on adrstārtha), on IV. 3. 3 (one verse on p. 1247), IV. 4. 21 (p. 1279 a verse on pindapitṛyajña), IV. 4. 24 (p. 1280 an Ārya verse on the girdle of sacrificial post), IV. 4. 28 (p. 1281 about 'svaru'), V. 2. 23 (p. 1319, same verse on XII. 2. 30 p. 2251), VII. 1. 12 (p. 1534 definition of *atideśa*), X. 4. 20 (p. 1924 one verse), XI. 1. 1 (p. 2096 on *tantra* and *prasaṅga*), XII. 3. 20 (p. 2262 on *bhāsika-svara*). All these verses are apparently quoted by Śābara from some work or commentary on the PMS or on Pūrvamīmāṃsā, one or two probably from some Śrautasūtra and one or two may be his own composition.

Many glosses on PMS composed by writers of the 10th and following centuries are extant, of which 22 are referred to on p. 166 of vol. VI. of the *Sarasvatibhavana Studies* (Benares) by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in his paper on the 'Mīmāṃsā Mss. in the Government Sanskrit Library at Benares' (pp. 165-196). On Śābara's bhāṣya there were numerous commentaries as is

(Continued on next page)

the present author in JBBRAS for 1921 pp. 83-98 at p. 84, hold that Vṛttikāra and Upavarsa are different. M. M. Kuppuswami Sastry (in Proc. of 3rd O. Conference pp. 465-468) holds Bodhāyana and Upavarsa identical. Śānkarācārya twice names Upavarsa with great respect (as bhagavān) on VS I. 3. 28 and III. 3. 53, but he nowhere mentions Bodhāyana to whose extensive commentary Rāmānuja refers at the beginning of his bhāṣya on VS. Vide J. I. H. Madras, vol. VII. pp. 107-113 on Bodhāyana and Upavarsa and V. A. Ramaswami Sastry's Intro. to the Tattvabindu pp. 14-18 (1936) Vide I. II. Q. vol. X pp. 431-452 on 'Vṛttikāras of Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra'.

1936. It is remarkable that the two verses about the ten topics dealt with by Brāhmanas (on P. M. S. II. 1. 33) occur also in the *Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa* II. 33. 47-48. In Sanskrit they are: हेतुनिर्वचनं निष्ठा प्रशंसा संशयो विधिः । परस्मिन्पुत्रकल्पो व्यवहारकल्पना ॥ उपमानं दर्शने तु विधयो ब्रह्मणस्तु ॥ एतत्स्यात् सर्वविधेषु नियतं विधिरक्षणम् ॥. There are a few variants in the *ब्रह्माण्ड*. The verse about विधिरक्षणम् on IV. 3. 3 is introduced with the words एवं हि पदवाक्यार्थ-स्यादिदं श्रुतिकामनन्ति-क्षुर्पारिकयेतम्.

clearly indicated by the Śloka-vārtika that says that the very first sentence¹⁹³⁷ of Śabara's bhāṣya was interpreted in six different ways before it by commentators and by the Tantravārtika that the bhāṣyakāra did not notice six sūtras after the 'nivṛtādhi-karana' (III. 4. 1-9) and that commentators differed in their reasons for the omission, but all commentators other than Śabara did explain those six sūtras.¹⁹³⁸ None of the commentaries composed before Kumārila is now available.

Kumārila wrote the Śloka-vārtika on Śabara's bhāṣya on P. M. S. I, 1 (in about 4000 verses) and the voluminous Tantravārtika on I, 2 to the end of chap. III of PMS and the Tūp-tilkā on P. M. S. IV-XII (stray notes, not a regular commentary). Kumārila is credited with having composed two more commentaries, 'Madhyama-tilkā' and 'Brhat-tilkā' on P. M. S.¹⁹³⁹ The latter has been referred to by the Nyāyaratnākara¹⁹⁴⁰ and the Nyāyasūdhā on Tantravārtika quotes several verses from it (on pp. 201, 329-30, 393) and the Jaiminiya-sūtrārthasaṅgraha of Rsiputra Paramēśvara quotes Brhat-tilkā several times. On the Śloka-vārtika two commentaries have so far been published viz. the Nyāyaratnākara of Pārthasārathi and the Kāśikā of Sucaritamīśra (in T. S. S.). In the Introduction to his English translation of the Tantravārtika, M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha notices eight commentaries on the Tantravārtika of which the Nyāyasūdhā or Rānaka of Someśvara (published in Chowkhamba Series) is a very exhaustive one, the others being in Ms. The

1937. लोक इत्यादि भाष्यस्य पृथग्युक्तप्रसङ्गते। भाष्यकारानुसारेण प्रयुक्तस्यादितः
युक्तम् ॥ श्लोकना (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र, verse 26)

1938. अतः परं यत् सूत्राणि भाष्यकारेण न लिखितानि तत्र व्याख्यातारो नियुक्ते।
केचिदाहुर्विरचितानि। लिखितो ग्रन्थः प्रहीन इत्यपरे। फलहरगदुपेक्षितानीत्यन्ये। अनाप-
यत्वादित्यपरे। ... इत्यन्तरकारिस्तु सर्वव्याख्यातानि। सन्ति च जमिनेरप्रकाराण्यप्यन्यत्प-
सारयुतानि सूत्राणि। तन्त्रना, after III 4 9 p. 895.

1939 Vide 'Kumārila and the Brhat-tilkā' by K S Ramaswami
Sastri and A. Sankaran in Pro of 3rd All India O Conf. pp 523-529 where
on p. 526 the Sarvadarśanakaumudī of Mādhava-bhārati is quoted as cata-
loguing all the five works of Kumārila and *ibid.* p. 475 where Prof. Kupp-
swami cites the same Sarvadarśanakaumudī

1940 सामभारोत्थितामन्यामर्थोपलभ्युदाहरेत्। पक्षदोषेषु चान्यासाहुदाहरणवितरः ॥
श्लोकना (अर्थोपलभ्युदाहरेत् v. 9), on which व्याकर remarks "अर्थोपलभ्युदाहरणमण्ड-
दाहरणप्रपञ्चः पक्षदोषावसरे 'श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्यादिना वृष्टीकायां ददित इत्याद्य
पक्षदोषेभ्यः ॥"

Tuṭṭikā¹⁹¹¹ has some regular commentaries but none is published. The Tantrarātna of Pārthasārathimīśra deals at some length with the same chapters of P. M. S. (published partly in Prince of Wales, Sarasvatibhavana S.). On Śābara's bhāṣya Prabhākara wrote a commentary called Brhatī, a portion of which on the Tarkapāda (PMS I 1) with the commentary Rjuvimalāpañcikā of Śālikanāthamīśra has been edited by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri and published by the Madras University (1934). The Śāstra-dīpikā of Pārthasārathī is not a regular commentary on the P. M. S. but it is a classic work on the P. M. S. and follows the views of Kumārila. Another very useful work is the Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistāra¹⁹¹² of Mādhavācārya (published by Anan. Press, Poona) that gives summaries in verse of the *adhikāraṇas* of the PMS with brief prose comments and also points out some of the differences of Prabhākara (called 'guru' by Śālikanātha and others) from Kumārila (in all about 15 points of difference being noted between the two as regards the first chapter of the PMS and three in the 2nd chapter). Śālikanātha wrote an independent work called Prakaranapañcikā (published in the Chowkhamba S. S.). There is another work of Prabhākara's school called Nayaviveka of Bhavanātha or Bhavadeva (ed. by Pandit S. K. Ramanath Sastri and published by the Madras University in 1937). This Bhavanātha is eulogised in the Madanaratnapradīpa on Vyavahāra (pp. 324-325, published by the Anup S. Library, Bikaner, 1948) as the sun to the lotus of Prabhākara's doctrine. The Tantrarāhasya of Rāmānujācārya (2nd ed published in G. O. S., 1956) composed about 1750 A. D. is the last noted work of the Prabhākara School and this work furnishes some useful information about the works of Prabhākara and the commentaries thereon by Śālikanātha. A verse in the Prabodhacandrodaya (Act II) after referring to Guru, Kumārila

1911. It is difficult to explain the name दुपडीका. It is explained as an abridged form of अदुपडुपडीका or दुप् is an indeclinable in the sense of 'small' 'दुप् इत्यल्पायैऽयम्'.

1942 The जै न्या मा वि verse 9 says: सर्वथापि सद्वत्ते द्वे नातिक्रामति संग्रहः, and it is remarked सर्वथापि सद्वत्तत्वाय संग्रहस्य रूपे ग्रन्थः श्लोकसद्वत्तद्वयपूर्वतरेव निश्च समाप्तरते न तु सद्वत्तद्वयमतिक्रामति. This work puts down the number of अधिकरणस in पृ. मी. दृ. at 1000, while some other works say there are only 915 अधिकरणas. The नीमासासारसंग्रह of इक्ष्वाकुरम्ह (pub. by Haridas Gupta at Benares in 1904) gives the summary of 1000 अधिकरणas in 250 verses, the concluding verse being आचार्यैरधिकरणान्युक्तानि सद्वत्तसंख्यानि। तत्सिद्धान्तान्पादैस्तत्संग्रहे भट्टगङ्गुल्योऽबध्नात् ॥१.

(or Tautātita), Śālikanātha and Vācaspati refers to Mahodadhi and Māhāvratī (work of Mahāvratā), the last two being mentioned in the *Nayaviveka* (pp 271, 273 respectively).

Prabhākara differed from Kumārila on numerous points¹⁹¹³ The divergence starts from the very first sūtra of the P.M S (as the note below will show¹⁹¹⁴). Prabhākara is called guru' by Śālikanātha in many places in the *Prakaranapañcīkā* (vide first Intro verse and pp. 17, 32 &c.) There is a very great divergence of views about the relative chronological position of Kumārila and Prabhākara Vide 'the Prabhākara School' (1911) by M. M. Ganganath Jha, A B Keith's 'Karmamīmāṃsā' (1921) pp 9-11, Pro. of 2nd All India O. Conf pp. 408-412 and Pro. of 3rd All I. O. Conference pp. 474-481 (both by Prof Kuppaswami Sastri), J. O. R. Madras, vol I pp 131-144 and 203-210. The fundamental question is whether Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara or only a later follower. From several considerations the present writer holds that Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara Śālikanātha not only speaks of Prabhākaraguru,

1943 Vide Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. II, pp 309-335 for collection in Sanskrit of the points of difference between Prabhākara and Kumārila (called Bhatta), particularly pp 331-335 for a table of the points of difference Vide also Intro to *Tattvabindu* by Pandit V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, 1936, pp. 37-40 for a few important points on which the two differ.

1944. According to the Bhāṭṭa school, the 'visayavākya' of PMS I. 1.1 is स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः in शतपथ XI. 5.6.3 and तै. अ. II. 15.1 (एतस्मात्स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यो यं यं क्रतुमधीते तेन तेनाध्येत भवतीति) According to the Prābhākara school the visayavākya is अद्वयं ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत तमध्यापयति, the idea in this latter case being that study of Veda (Vedādhyaṇa) is only an anga (a subsidiary matter) of the vidhi to teach a student the Veda after his upanayana The objections of the Prabhākara school against the visayavākya 'svādhyāyo'sdhyetaṇyaḥ' are that it has a seen fruit or reward and that when a seen fruit can be found it is improper to suppose that there is an unseen reward Vide H. of Dh vol III p, 837 n. 1628 where several passages from Śāhara and others are cited about this maxim The एकादशीतत्त्व (pp. 88-89 on मन्त्र) after quoting P.M S. III. 2. 1 winds up 'इति ह्यर्थतत्त्वस्यैवाहदृष्टिर्ह कल्प्यते इति' I have not been able to find from what *Vedāc* work the sentence 'अद्वयं पयति' is taken It seems that the view that this passage contains a vidhi about teaching the Veda is only an inference from passages like Manu II 140, III. 2, and Gāulama I. 10-11. The प्रकरणपञ्चिका (on p. 6) admits this कः पुनराचार्यकरणविधिः, 'उपनीय . . प्रचक्षते' (मनु 2. 140) इति स्मरणानुसृतः According to this उपनयन is only an anga of the अध्यापनविधि On p 225 of the पञ्चपादिका of पद्मपाद (published with two commentaries in the Govt. Oriental Series, Madras, 1958) there is a scathing criticism of this विषयवाक्य (अद्वयं . . पयति)

but in one place states 'our teacher does not tolerate this'.¹⁹⁴⁵ Śālikanātha in his *Prakaranapañcika* quotes several verses of the *Śloka-vārtika* (e. g. on p. 5 he quotes and criticizes verse 11 of *Śloka-vārtika* quoted in n 1916 above, on p. 122 quotes *Śloka-vārtika* v. 28 of *abhāva-pariccheda* and on p. 114 verse 21 of *arthāpatti-pariccheda*). Mandanamīśra wrote several works on PM viz. *Vidhi-viveka* (published at Benares with *Nyāyakanikā* of Vācaspati), *Bhāvanāviveka* (with com of Umbeka, edited in S. B series), *Vibhramaviveka* and *Mīmāṃsānukramanī* (Chow. S. S.). The *Śāstradīpikā* (on PMS II.1.1) cites Mandana's explanation of Kumārila's verse¹⁹⁴⁶. Therefore, Mandana is later than Kumārila or was a younger contemporary of Kumārila and flourished about 690 to 710 A. D. Śālikanātha quotes *Vidhiviveka* of Mandana (pp. 243, 302) in *Prakaranapañcika* p 178 and *Brahmasiddhi* in *Rjuvimalā* (p 20). Moreover, Śāntaraksita in his *Tattvasaṅgraha* (GOS) frequently criticizes the *kārikās* of Kumārila (without naming him) and his pupil Kamalaśīla names Kumārila many times. Śāntaraksita does not name or quote Prabhākara. He flourished between 705-762 A. D. (vide Foreword to *Tattvasaṅgraha* p XVI, GOS). Therefore, Kumārila must be placed about 650-700 A. D. As Śālikanātha quotes the *Śloka-vārtika* and Mandana's works he would have to be placed between 750-800 A. D. If Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara it follows that the latter (who appears to be unknown to Śāntaraksita, should have been a contemporary (i. e. should be held to have flourished nearly between 700-760 A. D. or a little later) and was later than Kumārila. There is a tradition that Prabhākara was a pupil of Kumārila. Traditions (such as of

1945 यद्यपि बदीषु ज्वालात्वेकवर्तिवर्तिनीषु ज्वालात्वं सामान्यं प्रत्यभिज्ञायोच्यते: कैश्चिद्विषयेषु तदपि शुद्धस्मात् न सुव्यतिः। प्रकरणं p 31. He would have said simply 'शुद्धं सुव्यतिः' if he were a later follower and not a pupil

1946 शास्त्रदीपिका on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 2 (p. 101) says: उक्तं ह्येतद्वाच्यार्थैः। प्रत्यर्थव्यतिरेकेण .. सम्पत्तेः। This is तन्त्रवार्त्तिक p 382, then शास्त्रदीपिका proceeds. विद्युतं चेतस्मण्डलेन 'कटपमानाद्वा .. भावना विं प्रवृत्त्यतिः। This is भावनाविवेक p 80 (with slight variations) The भावनाविवेक on p. 61 quotes तथा क्रमव्रतोरित्यं ...मनीयते। This occurs in तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, p 381. The author regrets that M. M. Dr Jha (so Iotro, to 'Purvamimamsa in its sources' p. 21) asserts, on the very slender basis of the above quoted words of the *Śāstradīpikā*, that Mandana wrote a commentary on the *Tantravārttika*. M. M. Jha himself felt uneasy about his own sweeping assertion (p. 22 bottom), but he was not able to discover the verse of the *Bhāvanāviveka* referred to above.

the nine gems at the court of Vikramāditya) often arise without much evidence to support them; they should not, however, be summarily rejected but should be tested by other available evidence.

At one time Prabhākara appears to have occupied a very prominent position. The Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI (in 1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākaras' system at Lakkigundi (vide E. I. vol. XV p. 348). This and the reference in the *Mitākṣarā* (on Yāj. II. 114) to the views of Guru on ¹⁹¹⁷ the *Lipsāsūtra* (PMS IV. 1. 2.) in the third alternative interpretation put on that sūtra, holding that the rules about the acquisition of wealth (in *Gautama* and other *smṛtis*) are *purusātha* (addressed to the conscience of the performer of sacrifices) and not *kravātha*, show the outstanding position that the Prābhākara school occupied in the 11th century A. D. in the Carnatic and Maratha countries. The *Madanapārijāta*, a north Indian work (1360-1390 A. D.), quotes a half verse of Guru ¹⁹¹⁸ (on p. 89). The *Smṛticandrikā* (on Vyavahāra p. 257), the *Viramītrodaya* (on vyavahāra p. 523) and the V. M. (p. 89) refer to the *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanātha, almost the last outstanding work of the Prābhākara school. Gradually, the Prābhākara School lost ground and the Bhāṭṭa school of Kumārila has been most predominant for several centuries. The present writer holds that Prabhākara is later than Kumārila but he is not in a position to say from whom he borrowed his peculiar views or whether they were started by him for the first time (though this appears more plausible) Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri (in Intro. to *Tantrarahasya*, G. O. S., 2nd edition of 1956) holds that Prabhākara took his views from Bādari (p. XXV). The learned Pandit offers hardly any tangible evidence for his remark (on p. XIX of the Intro.) that Bādari held views similar

1917. नियतोपायकं स्वत्वं लोकसिद्धमेवेति न्यायविदो मन्यन्ते। तथा हि लिप्ताख्ये तृतीये वर्णके द्रव्यार्जननियमाना कर्त्तव्यत्वे स्वत्वमेव न स्यात् स्वत्वस्यालौकिकत्वादिति पूर्वपक्षा-सम्भवमाशङ्क्य द्रव्यार्जनस्य प्रतिग्रहादिना स्वत्वसाधनत्वं लोकसिद्धमिति पूर्वपक्षः समर्थितो गुरुणा। ननु च द्रव्यार्जनस्य कर्त्तव्यत्वे स्वत्वमेव न भवतीति याग एव न सर्वतः। प्रलपितमिदं केनापि अर्जनं स्वत्वं नापाद्यतीति विमतिपिद्धमिति वदता। तथा सिद्धान्तेपि स्वत्वस्य लौकिकत्वमङ्गीकृत्यैव विचारमयोजनमुक्तम्—'अतो नियमातिक्रमः पुरुषस्य न कृतोः' इति। मिता on या II. 114.

1918. न च निरपेक्षयोर्गुणयोर्मध्यः सम्बन्धः। गुणानां च परार्थत्वादसम्बन्धः समत्वा-त्स्यात्—इति सूत्रकारवचनात्। कर्त्तव्यं शेषत्वमुपदिष्टं गुरुणा। अधिकारी हि यज्ञेषु कर्त्तुं शेषस्य चिन्त्यते। इति। मदनपारिजात p. 89. 'गुणानां... स्यात्' is पू. मी. सू. III. 1, 22

to those of Bhartṛmītra who so interpreted the PMS as to make it atheistic. Bādari's views on Mīmāṃsā matters are quoted only four times in PMS viz in III 1 3 (on what matters are *śeṣa*), VI 1. 27 (that vedic sacrifices can be performed even by *sūdras*), VIII 3 6. (purely sacrificial matter about application of *Saḍaha* procedure), IX. 3. 33 (about method of singing *sāman*, Bādari's view being accepted by Jaimini). In none of these does one find the slightest touch of Bhartṛmītra's atheistic tendencies or of Prabhākara's special propositions.

From Kumārila onwards there are numerous commentaries, commentaries on commentaries and manuals on some aspects of mīmāṃsā doctrines or of the contents of the PMS. Several difficult questions of identity and relationship among some of the early writers whose works are wholly or partially extant have also arisen during the last fifty years and many papers have been written. The present writer has read most of them, but if the whole evidence is to be set out and discussed a bulky volume of several hundred pages would have to be written. That cannot be done here. The several questions of identity and relationship are set out below and the present author's replies to all of them will be given with a little discussion on a few out of them:

(1) Whether Prabhākara was a pupil of Kumārila; the reply is that there is no substantial or compelling evidence for this except tradition, but Prabhākara is certainly later than Kumārila;

(2) Whether Śalikanātha is a direct disciple of Prabhākara — yes;

(3) Whether Mandana was a disciple of Kumārila; there is no substantial evidence for an affirmative reply, but Mandana certainly explains in his *Bhāvanāviveka* a verse of Kumārila and quotes another verse from *Tantravārtika*. Vide note 1946 above. In the *Vidhiviveka* also (Benares ed. 1907), which Mandana wrote after *Bhāvanāviveka* he quotes (on p. 15 'abhidhābhāvanā...līnādayah) from *Tantravārtika* (p 378) and on p 315 of the *Vidhiviveka* quotes (yathoktam-śreyasāadhanatā... .pratiyate') from *Śloka-vārtika* (codanāsūtra, verse 14) Mandana also quotes a passage from the *Bṛhatī* (p 38) of Prabhākara in *Vidhiviveka* ¹⁹¹⁹ (p. 109) So Mandana, if not a disciple, was

1919. उक्तं च-कर्तव्यताविषयो नियोगो न नियोग कर्तव्यतामाह । विधिविवेक p. 109, on which the व्याख्यानिका of वाचस्पति remarks 'अत्रैव जलमाभाकरोन्नीतार्थे श्रुतेर्वचः सङ्गच्छते'. This sentence occurs in ह्यस्ती p 38 (तर्कपाद. pub by Madras Un., 1934)

certainly later than or a younger contemporary of Kumārila

(4) Are Mandana and Umbeka identical—no; Umbeka wrote a commentary on the Bhāvanāviveka of Mandana in which on pp 17 and 76 he discusses various readings in it, it is not possible to hold that a writer would discuss variant readings in his own work (as would follow if the two were identical).

(5) Are Mandana and Viśvarūpa identical—No;

(6) Are Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara identical—yes; the latter name being assumed after Viśvarūpa became a *sannyāsin*.

(7) Is Umbeka identical with Bhavabhūti—the evidence is not enough to give a definite affirmative reply, but it is likely that they may be identical

(8) Is Umbeka a disciple of Kumārila—yes; as shown in note below.¹⁹⁵⁰

1950. That Umbeka was a pupil of Kumārila follows from the following considerations. In his com on the Bhāvanāviveka (p 43) Umbeka quotes a half verse from Bhāttapāda (यथोक्तं भट्टपादेः) अन्यदेव हि धात्वर्थसामान्य करण-रसकम्) and on the same page he quotes another half verse 'यथोक्तं गुरुणा-अन्यत्र भावना नाम साधयत्वेन व्यवस्थितम्'. These two halves make one verse on p 383 of the Tantravārtika, the latter half of which is again ascribed by Umbeka (on p 92 of his com on the same work) to Bhāttapāda. It follows that Bhāttapāda was his guru. Prof Kunhan Raja tries to wriggle out by advancing the theory (on pp XXXVII-XXXVIII of his Intro) that some later scribe inserted the word 'gurunā' and argues that there is no proof of Bhāttapāda being Umbeka's guru. Unless another reliable ms. of Umbeka's commentary is found which omits the word 'gurunā' or substitutes in its place some other word it is not open to us to hold that the reading is not trustworthy and then build positive or negative propositions on our own speculations alone. The Uveyaka whose view is quoted by Kamalasila in Tattvasaṅgraha (G O S p 812 'उवेयकस्वाह न बोधात्मकं नाम ज्ञानानां प्रामाण्यं, किं तर्हि, अर्थाविसंवादिष्यम्') is probably उम्बेक, whose name is written in several different ways in works and mss. (vide M M Jha's Intro to Bhāvanāviveka p 2). If this identity is correct उम्बेक must have flourished before 750 A. D and chronology would not be against Umbeka being a pupil of Kumārila. The Yukti-saheparapūrāṇi or Śāstra-dīpikā quotes Umbekabhatta in several places. But one long quotation from Umbeka on p. 30 is very striking. In this both Śābara and Vārtikakāra (i e Kumārila) are severely criticized and after quoting the famous verse frequently cited in the Mabābhārata गुरोरप्यवलितस्य . परित्यागो विधीयते be discards the views of the Vārtikakāra. Śābara is separated from Umbeka by several centuries and was not Umbeka's guru. Therefore, this passage (that occurs on pp 105-108 of the तत्त्वचर्चिका of Umbeka on Śloka-vārtika, pub by Madras Un in 1940) leads to the inference that the Vārtikakāra was

(Continued on next page)

(9) Is Suresvara, a pupil of Śāṅkarācārya?—Yes.

The result of the above replies is that the following is the most probable chronological order of Pūrvamīmāṃsā writers mentioned in questions 1 to 9 viz Kumārila, Prabhākara, Mandana, Umbeka, Śālikanātha. They flourished between 650 A. D to 750 A. D., Kumārila being the earliest of the five, Prabhākara (who quotes Kīrātārjunīya II. 30 twice on pp 242, 343) and Mandana being contemporaries or Mandana being younger than Prabhākara.

The opening and ending verses in Suresvara's Vārtika on the bhāṣya of Śāṅkara on the Br. Up. and the Tai. Up. leave no room for doubt that he was a disciple of Śāṅkara.

From the present author's paper in JBBRAS for 1928, pp. 289-293 and Prof. Kuppaswami's paper on 'Mandana, Suresvara equation in the History of Vedānta' in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 121-157 it follows that Mandana and Suresvara are not identical.

Some remarks in the learned Introduction of Prof. Kunhan Raja to the edition of Umbeka's Com. on the Śloka-vārtika invite criticism. Prof. Raja (on p. XLIX) states that his attempt has been only to raise doubts and to attempt at weighing the evidence for and against various theories. The present writer has no serious objection to this. But he thinks that Prof. Raja has gone wrong in his interpretation of words like 'anupāsita-guravaś-codayanti' (p 33) and 'anupāsita-guruprajñā-vilasitam-iti' 1951 grantha-jñāna-mānino manyante' (p 30). He starts (XLI) by saying "whether it meant (i e. 'anupāsita-guru' meant) one by

(Continued from last page)

Umbeka's guru. The शुक्तिहृदयपूर्णी writes 'अत्रोम्बेकभट्टैरिदं तु वार्तिककारीयं दृष्ट्वा समर्थनं सर्वत्रैवाल्लुचविशीर्णमित्यादिना इत्येनादौ न कस्याचिदुपनिषत्त्वम्... तस्यानर्थमिति पादनपर इत्येनो वज्र इत्यादि भाष्यसुपेक्षणीयम्। शूरोत्प. . विधीयते इत्यनेन ग्रन्थेन वार्तिकं भाष्यं च दूषितम्। It is quite clear that at least the शुक्तिहृदयपूर्णी holds that the vārtika view is discarded by उम्बेक. The words इदं वार्तिककारीयं दृष्ट्वा... विशीर्णम् occur on p 105 (at end) of the तात्पर्यटीका; the words इत्येनो वज्र इदम् occur in Śābarabhāṣya on p 18 (Āvan. ed.) The verse शूरोत्पवदितस्य occurs on p 108 of तात्पर्यटीका.

1951. The words are to be dissolved as अनुपासितं गुरु- येन (or ये: if अनु-पासितगुरु- occurs) तस्य (or तेषां) मज्ञा तस्याः विकसितम्, उपासितं. गुरुयेन (कुमारिलेन) तस्य भार उपा गुरुना (in the Introductory remarks in Tātparyatīkā to Śloka-
vārtika verse 2) In this last the word 'guru' is meant for Kumārila's guru (or gurus) to whom he makes obeisance in the 2nd verse, while with regard to the objector, who is ridiculed, guru is meant to refer to Kumārila.

whom the teacher was not respected or a teacher who was not respected (by his disciples)' and then proceeds 'but the expression 'upāsita-gurutām' (appearing in the commentary on the 2nd verse of the Śloka-vārtika) settles the point. It must mean 'one by whom the teacher was not respected'. 'Upāsita-guru' literally means 'one who waited on the guru i. e. listened to the explanations of his teacher and made them his own' 'Honoured' is at most a secondary meaning of 'upāśita'. Upa-ās literally means 'sit near, wait upon' I fail to see how it settles the point. The word 'upāśita-gurutām' (when introducing the 2nd intro. verse of the Śloka-vārtika) is applied by Umbeka to Kumārila himself in relation to the Śloka-vārtika verse 'abhi-vandya gurūnādaḥ'. It means 'the characteristic or quality of one who has served his teacher i. e. who has carefully listened to what the guru expounded and understood it.' The expression 'anupāsita-guru' (which, according to Prof. Raja, always refers to Prabhākara) frequently (vide also pp. 14, 52, 75, 291, 441) used by Umbeka means 'he or those who have not waited upon the guru and listened to his words carefully and therefore have failed to grasp the correct meaning of the passages'. The inference suggested by these words of derision is that the objector (either Prabhākara or some one else) has not understood the doctrine taught by Kumārila to him and the present author is disposed to hold that the frequent emphasis on the word 'guru' in 'anupāsita-guru' is a veiled reference to Prabhākara-guru (as Śālikanātha puts his name in his Prakaraṇa-pañcikā 'Prabhākara-guror-drstyā'), who was Kumārila's pupil but deviated from his guru's doctrines and wrote against them and Umbeka attacks and derides him for this. Supposing that Prabhākara had once been a pupil of Kumārila and later on propounded views that very much diverged from Kumārila's, it is natural if Umbeka took up the cudgels on behalf of Kumārila and attacked Prabhākara as one who had foreaken his Guru's views, had not digested them properly and had written a work (not now available but well-known to Umbeka) severely attacking Kumārila. Prof. Raja (Intro pp. XLIII and XLIV) throws out the suggestion that on p 14 and p 291 Umbeka possibly suggests that Prabhākara preceded Kumārila. There is nothing of the kind. Umbeka holds that Prabhākara had not grasped his master's doctrines and tries to show what the real doctrine misunderstood by Prabhākara was.

It appears desirable to set out a tentative chronological table of the outstanding works and writers of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, with

a few remarks here and there Most of the dates are a proximate and tentative.

Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra of Jaimini—400 B C to 200 B. C.

Vṛttikāra—There is great conflict of views about the person who the *Vṛttikāra* quoted several times by Śābara was. Parthasārathi in *Sāstradīpikā* p 48 (first line) holds that he is Upavarsa *Vṛttikāra* is cited with great respect by Śābara, but he also differs from him frequently The *Prapañcahrdaya* (p. 39) attributes to Bodhāyana an extensive commentary called *Kṛtakoti* on both *mīmāṃsās*. It is remarkable that Bodhāyana is not mentioned by name by any early work on P. M. S. nor does Śānkara mention him though he twice mentions Upavarsa. Rāmānujācārya in the opening words of his *bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* refers to the extensive commentary of Bodhāyana on the *Brahmasūtra*. But he does not say that Bodhāyana commented on P. M. S. The present author is not even now prepared to hold that *Vṛttikāra* mentioned by Śābara so often is identical with Upavarsa. Śābara cites at some length the different interpretation of PMS I. 1 3-5 by *Vṛttikāra* and in the midst of it mentions (on p 45) by name the view of Upavarsa on 'what is śabda'. He appears to regard the two as different. The fact that the *Tantravārtika* (pp 602-3 on II. 3. 16) appears to identify Upavarsa with *Vṛttikāra* is not conclusive. From Kumārila himself we know that several *Vṛttis* were written on PMS before as well as after Śābara. So even Upavarsa may have been deemed to be *Vṛttikāra* by Kumārila (on II. 3. 16) and his views quoted, though the *Vṛttikāra* in other places in Śābara's *bhāṣya* may be different.

Upavarsa—between 100 B. C. to 100 A. D

Bhavadāsa—The *Śloka-vārtika* (*Pratijñāsūtra*, v. 63) mentions him by name and verse 33 of the same as explained by the *Nyāyaratnākara* shows that *Bhavadāsa* was deemed to be earlier than Śābara by the *Śloka-vārtika*; between 100-200 A. D.

Sūlaka—between 200-400 A. D. (nearer the former date). From the *Tantravārtika* on II. 3. 23 p 612, on II. 3 27 p 620 and III 4 31 p 967 it appears that there was another person called *Bhāṣyakārāntara*, who was earlier than Śābara. From *Tantravārtika* on III. 4 12 (p 909) and *Tup-tikā* on VI. 5 10 (p. 1462) it seems that Kumārila sometimes applies the word *vṛttikāra* to Śābara also

Bhartṛmītra—On verse 10 of the Śloka-vārtika, the N. R. says that the former refers to Bhartṛmītra who so interpreted the Mīmāṃsā as to make it atheistic. According to Umbeka (in Tātparyatīkā p. 3) his work was called Tattva-suddhi; between 400-600 A. D.

Kumārīlabhātta—About 650-700 A. D. 1952

Prabhākara—author of Brhāti on Śābara's bhāṣya—between 675-725 A. D.

Mandana—Disciple of Kumārila or a younger contemporary, wrote on both P. M. and Vedānta; in Vidhiviveka p. 109 he quotes the Brhāti (vide Pro. of 3rd O. Conf. p. 479); his other works are Bhāvanāviveka, Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṃsā-nukramanikā; between 680-720 A. D. Vide ABORI vol. 18 pp. 121-157 (by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri), J. I. IL vol. XV pp. 320-329.

Umbeka—pupil of Kumārila and commentator of Śloka-vārtika and of Mandana's Bhāvanāviveka; generally identified with dramatist Bhavabhūti between 700-750 A. D.

Śālikanātha—pupil of Prabhākara and author of the commentary Rjuvimalā on Prabhākara's Brhāti and of an independent work 'Prakarana-pañcika'. It is noteworthy that in Rjuvimalā on Brhāti (p. 91) he quotes a verse from Śloka-vārtika (Vakyādhikarana verses 43-44) and refers to Kumārila with great respect as 'Yadāhur-Vārtikakāra-miśrāḥ'; 710-770 A. D.

Sureśvara—(called Viśvarūpa before he became a sannyāsin) disciple of Śaṅkarācārya. Between 800-840 A. D.

1952. One circumstance which fixes the earliest limit of Kumārila's time is furnished by the Kāśikā (com. on Aṣṭādhyāyī). In the lengthy pūrṇapakṣa against Grammar contained in the Tantravārtika on P. M. 5, 1, 3, 24 (from p. 254 onward), on p. 260 an objection is raised that Pāṇini himself violates his own rules laid down in 'trjakābhyām vartari' (Pān. II, 2, 15) in the sūtras 'janivartuḥ prārtiḥ' (Pān. I, 4, 30) and 'tatprajayako hetuḥca' (Pān. I 4, 55). The Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmana defends the sūtra 'tatprajayako hetuḥca' in the words 'नस्य प्रयोजनः नद्वयोजनः, निवाननात्मनः' (p. 91 of Benares ed.). The दुर्विपक्षी in नस्यप्रयोजनं on p. 260 does not accept this explanation of the Kāśikā in the words: न चेदां निवानने मापुनर्मिष्टिः। कुतः। यवानामनुमते नाम्नि न मिष्टयुनिवानने। अन्यवाच्यत्वानां नु प्रयोजं पापने श्युनि। स्वस्याचारविरोधे हि श्युनिन्य पक्षीयमी। अन्यद्वयनिवृत्तयश्च जलिकर्मोद्यमानाः। From I-tsing's remarks it appears that Jayāditya died in or about 661 A. D. Therefore the Tantravārtika in which fault is found with Kāśikā's explanation must be later than about 650 A. D.

Vācaspati-miśra—wrote famous works on all śāstras; author of Nyāyakanikā on Mandana's Vidhiviveka and Bhāmati on Śāṅkarabhāṣya; between 820–900 A. D.

Pārthasārathimiśra—author of Śāstradīpikā (pub. by Nirn. Press 1915), Nyāyaratnākara (com on Śloka-vārtika), Tantraratna (com. on Tūptikā) and Nyāyaratnamālā (pub. in G. O. S. with com. Nāyakarātna of Rāmānujācārya), between 900–1100 A. D.

Authors later than Pārthasārathi are placed below in one paragraph.

Sucaritamīśra—author of com called Kāśikā on the Śloka-vārtika (a part published in the T. S. S.), Bhavanātha (or Bhavadeva), author of the Nyāyaviveka, pub. in Madras Uni. Sanskrit series, with the com. Vivekatattva of Ravideva (on Tarkapāda, 1937), between 1050–1150 A. D. : Someśvara—son of Mādhava, author of the Nyāyasudhā or Rānaka (a voluminous commentary on the Tantravārtika), pub. in Chowkhamba S. S. at Benares, 1909, about 1200 A. D. Murārīmiśra—who is supposed to have founded a third school of Mīmāṃsā (Murāres-trītyah panthāh), author of Tripādīnītinayana (part pub. in J. O. R. Madras, vol. II pp. 270–273 and vol. V. pp. 1–5) and Angatvanirukti, Ānan. ed. pp. 1141–1190), between 1150–1220 (acc. to Intro. to Tattavabindu), Mādhavācārya, author of Jaiminiya-nyāyamālāvistāra (pub. by Ānan Press); vide H. of Dh. Vol. I pp. 374–381), between 1297–1386; Appayya-dīksita, author of Vidhīrasāyana (pub. at Benares), is deemed to have written 100 or 108 works on different śāstras, said to have flourished between 1520–1593 A. D., another view being that he flourished between 1554–1626 A. D.; Laugākṣībhāskara, author of Arthasangraha (text with translation, pub. by Dr. Thibaut in 1882 and by several others), Śāṅkarabhāṭṭa, author of Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya (Benares), between 1550–1620 A. D.; Āpadeva, son of Anantadeva, author of Mīmāṃsā-nyāyaprakāśa (pub. by B. O. R. I. Poona, with a lucid commentary by M. M. Vasudevasastri Abhyankar, 1937); there are several other editions of this work, one of which edited by Prof. Edgerton with transliterated text, translation and notes in Harvard O. Series is very useful; between 1610–1680 A. D.

Khaṇḍadeva, author of Bhāttakaustubha with Bhāttadīpikā (published in Mysore Govt Oriental series), and Bhāttaraḥasya About 1600–1665 A. D.

Gāgabhatta or Viśvesvarabhatta, son of Dinakarabhatta, author of *Bhāttacintāmaṇi* (part published at Benares); between 1620-1690 A. D.

Rāmānujācārya, author of *Tantrarāhasya* (G. O. S.), belonging to the Prābhākara school and of *Nāyakaratna* (com. on *Nyāyaratnamālā* of Pārthasārathi, G. O. S., 1956), about 1500-1575 A. D.

Mīmāṃsakośa (in Sanskrit)—An encyclopaedic and most learned work on *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*—prepared by Swami Kevālānanda Sarasvatī, published by the Prājñapāthasālāmandalā at Wai in the Satara District, Bombay State, four parts have been published so far, covering over 2400 pages and four more are to be published. The press copy of the whole is, it is understood, ready. Unfortunately the great Swami entered *Brahmī* state five years ago

Some of the works written in English on the P. M. S., apart from short papers and the translation of the *Śābarabhāṣya* (3 vol. in G. O. S.), the *Tantravārtika* and the *Śloka-vārtika* of Kumārila (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1900) by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha, may be noted here for those who desire to make further studies in P. M. S. The following works and papers are also useful

Max Muller's 'Six systems of Indian Philosophy' in collected works (ed. of 1899), pp. 197-214; The Prābhākara school of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* by M. M. Ganganath Jha (1911); *Karmamīmāṃsā* by A. B. Koith (1921); 'Indian Philosophy' by Prof. Das-Gupta, vol. I. pp. 367-405 (Cambridge, 1922); 'A Brief Sketch of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system' by the present author in A. B. O. R. I. vol. VI pp. 1-40 (1925); 'Outlines of Indian Philosophy' by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, pp. 298-325 (Allen and Unwin, London, 1932); Introduction on 'a short History of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-śāstra*' to the edition of the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspatimīśra by Pandit V. A. Ramaswami Sastri (Annamalai University S. Series, 1936); 'Indian Philosophy' by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vol. II. pp. 374-429 (1941); Introduction (pp. III-LI) to the edition of the *Tātparyatīkā* of Umbaka on *Śloka-vārtika* by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja (Madras Un. 1940), 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources' by M. M. Ganganath Jha (Benares Hindu University, 1949) with a critical Bibliography (pp. 5-51) by Dr. Umesh Mishra; 'Citations in *Śābarabhāṣya*' by Dr. D. V. Gargo (Poona, 1952), a painstaking work

in which the learned writer has been able to identify many of the quotations in Śabara's bhāṣya that had eluded such a deep scholar as M. M. Ganganath Jha, though even Dr. Garge has not been able to identify a large number; Introduction to the Tantrarahasya of Rāmānujācārya by Pandit K. S. Rāmaswami Sastri (G. O. S. 1956); Mimāṃsā—the Vākyaśāstra of Ancient India, by Prof. G. V. Devasthali (Book-sellers' Publishing Company, Girgaon Back Road, 1959); Mimāṃsā Jurisprudence by Shri Nataraja Aiyar, Allahabad (Jha Research Institute).

CHAPTER XXIX

Some Fundamental Doctrines of Pūrvamīmāṃsā

Some of the characteristic fundamental doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā will now be set out with some references and a few remarks as to some of them, the views of Prabhākara and his followers being also rarely referred to.

(1) Veda is eternal, self-existent, not composed by any author, human or divine, and is infallible. This is the core of the P. M. system. Vide P. M. S I 1, 27-32 and Śabara on I. 1. 5 (p. 53) and Ślokaṛtīka (Vākyaḍhikaraṇa, verses¹⁹⁵³ 366-368). The argument briefly is, Veda is learnt at present and was studied in the past also by students from teachers, that there is no evidence about the person who first composed it or who first studied it. If it be argued that such a reasoning may be put forward as regards the Mahābhārata, the reply is that people know that Vyāsa is the author of it. Similarly, the passages in Smṛtis and Purāṇas that Prajāpati created the Veda are merely arthavādas (laudatory) not based on any evidence or perception and are meant only to convey the absolute authoritativeness of the Veda. If the connection between word and sense is eternal and not brought about by any person, the same reasoning holds good as to the Veda. This view is opposed to the view of the Naiyāyikas who hold that God is the author of the Veda or the interpretation of V S. I 1 3 (Śāstrayoniṭāt) by Śaṅkarācārya based on Br Up II, 4, 10. Manu I, 21 (stating that Brahmā created from the words of the Veda the names and appropriate duties of all) seems to suggest that (according to

1953. On P M S I. 1. 5 Śabara comments (pp 52-53) 'तस्मान्मन्वाग्रे केनापि पुरुषेण ज्ञानदानार्थं सह सम्बन्धं कृत्वा सत्यगर्हते वेदाः प्रणीता इति। तदिदानीमुच्यते। अपौरुषेयत्वात्सम्बन्धस्य सिद्धिमिति। कथं पुनरिदमवगम्यतेऽपौरुषेय एव सम्बन्ध इति। पुरुषस्य सम्बन्धुरभावात्। कथं सम्बन्धो नास्ति। प्रत्यक्षस्य प्रमाणस्याभावात् तत्पुर्वकत्वाच्चेति चेत्, वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं शुद्धिर्वाच्यमपूर्वकम्। वेदाध्ययनमवगम्यत्वादधुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥ भारतेपि भवेदेन कर्तृस्मृत्या तु वाध्यते। वेदेपि तत्सद्वृत्तिर्या तु सार्थवादनियन्धना ॥ पारम्पर्येण कर्तार नास्तेतर स्मरन्ति हि। श्लोकवार्तिकवाक्याधिकरण verses 366-368, the प्रकरणपरिचिता (p 140), remarks 'कथं पुनरपौरुषेयत्वं वेदानाम्। पुरुषस्य कर्तृस्मरणात्। काठकादित्थमाख्यायते न कर्तृसद्भावाद्युपकल्पयितुमशक्यम्। प्रचक्षतेनापि तदुपपत्तेः। The argument when put in a syllogistic form would run like this. 'वेदाः अपौरुषेयाः, अस्मर्यमाणकर्तृकानां। यत्रैव तत्रैव यथा महाभारतरूपज्ञादि।' Śaṅkarācārya on वे सू I 3, 29 (अत एव च नित्यत्वात्) begins his भाष्य with the words 'स्यतन्त्रस्य कर्तृस्मरणादिभिः स्थिते वेदस्य नित्यत्वं'।

Manu) the Veda was self-existent. Similarly, the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 3 on Pāṇini IV. 3. 101 ('tena proktam') remarks¹⁹⁵⁴ that the Vedas were not composed by anyone, that they are eternal, that the meaning of the Veda is eternal, but the arrangement of the letters is not eternal and therefore we have different vedic texts like Kāthaka, Kālāpaka, Paippalādaka &c. The Smṛtis also sometimes state that there is no author of the Veda, that Brahmā remembers it and that Manu also has remembrance of Dharma in different Kalpas (Parāśarasmr̥ti I. 21).

In P. M. S. I. 1. 28 ('Anityadarśanāc-ca') the opponent of the eternity of the Veda puts forward such passages as 'Babara Prāvāhani (son of Pravāhana) desired' (Tai. S VII 1. 10. 2) and 'Kusuruvinda Auddālaki desired' (Tai. S VII 2. 2. 1), which mention men named Prāvāhani and Auddālaki (son of Uddālaka) that are mortals and argues that Veda did not exist before those mortals and is, therefore, not eternal. To this the Siddhānta replies in P. M. S. I. 1. 31 ('param tu śrūtisāmānyam') that such examples are to be explained differently viz, 'Babara' is a onomatopoeic word meaning 'rustling' and Prāvāhani (from 'pra' and 'vāha' causal of *vaḥ*) means the wind.

It may be noted that centuries before Jaimini and Yāska there was a school of Vedic interpreters called 'Āitihāsikas'. For example, Rg. X. 98. 5 and 7 refer to Devāpi, son of R̥stisena, and to Śāntanu. Yāska (in Nirukta II 10), starting with the words 'tatra-ītihāsamācaksate' states that Devāpi and Śāntanu were brothers of the Kuru family and the younger brother Śāntanu was crowned king ignoring the rights of the elder and that these verses refer to them. In Rg. X 10 there is a dialogue between Yama and Yami and Nir. V 2 refers to the 8th verse of it. Those who hold that Veda is eternal would explain Yama as Āditya and Yami as 'Night'. Rg. III. 33 is a dialogue between the sage Viśvāmitra and the rivers. The Nir. (II 25-27) explains verses 5-6 and 10 of that hymn from the Āitihāsika point of view and states that Viśvāmitra was son of king Kuśika and does not mention the Nairukta interpretation of these verses.

1954. ननु चोक्तं न हि ह्यन्दासि क्रियन्ते नित्यानि ह्यन्दासीति । यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यो पा तस्यो वर्णतत्पूरी सा नित्या । तद्देवाद्यैतद्भवति काठकं कालापकं मौदकं पैपलादकमिति । नराभाष्य on वार्तिक 3 on 'अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे' पा IV. 3. 87. पाणिनि emphasizes this distinction between being the author of a work and being only the expounder or transmitter in the two sūtras 'तेन मेक्तम्' (IV. 3. 101) and 'कृते ग्रन्थे' (IV. 3. 116). The पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र 1 3 30 'आख्या पवचनात्' also emphasizes the difference between कृत and मेक्त

About the *Āsvins* the *Nirukta* (XII. 1) states several views viz. they are Heaven and Earth, or Day and Night, or the Sun and the Moon and remarks that according to the *Aitiḥāsikas* they were kings who had accumulated great merit. Probably the *Nairuktas* were divided among themselves and explained that the *Āsvins* represented different natural phenomena. About *Vṛtra* (occurring in such verses as Rg. I. 32. 11) the *Nairuktas* (Etymologists) said in *Nirukta* II. 16 that the word means 'cloud', while the *Aitiḥāsikas* say that he (*Vṛtra*) was an *Āsura*, son of *Tvastr*. As to the hymn Rg. I. 105 of 19 verses (in the first 18 of which the refrain is 'vittam me asya rodasi') the *Nirukta* IV. 6 states that the hymn was seen by *Tṛita* who was thrown into a well. In Rg. VII. 33. 11 there is mention of *Urvaśi* and *Vasiṣṭha* (*Maitrā-Varuna*) as born of *Urvaśi* and *Nirukta* (V. 13-14) explains that verse and remarks that *Urvaśi* was an *apsaras* and Rg. X. 95 is a dialogue between *Aila Purūravas* and *Urvaśi*. But the interpretation of the *Nairuktas* and *Aitiḥāsikas* on this story are not expressly set out. Probably the *Nairuktas* would explain *Urvaśi* as lightning and *Purūravas* as the roaring wind. The hymn Rg. X. 108 is a dialogue between *Saramā* (*Indra's bitch*) and the *Paṇis* and the *Nirukta* XI. 25 explains the first verse and remarks that there is a story (*Ākhyāna*) therein viz. that there was a dialogue between *Saramā* sent by *Indra* and the *Paṇis* who were *Āsuras*. In all such legends the *Nairuktas* would insist that they are to be taken allegorically as referring to natural phenomena, while the *Aitiḥāsikas* would insist that there is historical basis in all these. Though it is not stated by the *Nirukta* expressly that the *Aitiḥāsikas* do not hold the doctrine of the eternality of the *Veda* it implicitly follows from their explanations that they did not subscribe to that doctrine.

2. The connection between word and sense is eternal.¹⁹⁵⁵ This is explained by the words of *Śābara* (in n. 1953) that there is no person who could be put forward as having brought about

1955. The sūtra (P. M. S. I. 1. 5) contains several conclusions. The first is औपचिकः (नित्यः) ज्ञद्वयस्य अर्थेन सम्बन्धः, the 2nd is तस्य ज्ञानमुपदेयः (exhortation is the means of knowing it i. e. dharma); here ज्ञान means ज्ञापते येन (श्रुतिक्रम औपचिकरूपेण verse 9); the next part is अद्वयविरक्तश्चायं ज्ञद्वयस्य (it is unfailling or infallible as to all that is not perceptible), तत्रमाणमनपेक्षत्वात् i. e. Vedic injunction is a valid means of knowledge since it is independent; बादरायणस्य (this is the view of Bādarāyaṇa also). The question 'what is a

the connection of word and sense. Vide P.M.S I 1. 6-23, Śābara's bhāṣya thereon, the elaborate treatment in 444 verses in Śloka-vārtika (pp 728-8'5) and Prakaraṇa-pañcika pp. 133-140 (seventh Prakaraṇa). On the question "what does a word like 'Gauh' denote," the P. M. S. replies that a word denotes 'akṛti' (or jāti) i. e. the universal, the class. Briefly, the Mīmāṃsakas hold that the word, the denotation and the relation of these two are eternal. Vide P. M. S. I. 3 30-35.

3 *The individual soul.* The P.M.S. does not expressly affirm the existence of the soul in any sūtra Śāṅkarācārya on V S III. 3. 53 refers to this fact, states that Śābara, the Bhāṣya-kāra, propounded the existence of the soul and that the venerable Upavarsa refrained from going into that question in his exposition of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā with the remark that he would expound it when dealing with Śāriraka (i. e. the Vedānta-sūtra). It was probably due to this fact of the absence of a statement about the soul that the Pūrvamīmāṃsā was interpreted by some as favouring atheism Kumārila complains that the Mīmāṃsā, though not really atheistic, was put forward as Lokāyata (atheistic) ¹⁹⁵⁵ by some and that therefore he endeavours (in the

(Continued from last page)

word' is answered differently by different writers. The revered Upavarsa said that in a word like 'gauh' it is the letters that constitute the word (vide Śābara quoting Upavarsa p. 45 on I. 1.5 and Śāṅkara on V S. I. 3 28). The other view is that the letters manifest the sphota and it is the sphota that conveys the sense. This subject cannot be dealt with in this work.

1956. प्रायेणैव हि नीमासा लोकं लोकायतीकृताः तामास्तिकपथे कर्तुमयं यत्नं कृतो नया॥ श्लोका verse 10 The न्याय notes that भर्तृमित्र put forward several wrong doctrines about the Mīmāṃsā such as the one that the performance of obligatory acts or of prohibited acts leads to no desirable or undesirable results Vide II of Dh. vol III. pp 46-47 note 57 and vol II. pp 358-359 on लोकायतिक and नास्तिक The meaning of लोकायत had changed from time to time कालिदास (I 2) included लोकायत under आग्नीषिक् along with सांख्ययोग पणिनि appears to have known the word लोकायत, his sūtra (IV 2. 20) is 'कर्तृधादिचान्ताहन्' and लोकायत is the 2nd word in the उक्थादिपण, the harsaka on this sūtra mentions लोकायतिक, at least before the 6th century A. D. लोकायतिक had come to be identified with one who did not believe in the existence of a soul independent of the body. The कादम्बरी (paragraph 153) has 'लोकायतिकवियवेषधर्मकः'. शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 3 54 says that the Lokāyatikas do not admit any principle other than the four elements (earth, water, heat and wind) and do not believe in the existence of a soul apart from the body Vide Prof. Das-gupta's 'Indian Philosophy' vol III, p 512-533 and 'Lokāyata' by Dr. W. Raben (Berlin 1954). From the Chāṇ, V p VIII. 8 it appears that Asura Vṛncana held that there was no soul

(Continued on next page)

it is so, the *phala* (the reward) is conferred by the sacrifice and not by the deities (Indra and Agni in this case) and the words 'Indra¹⁹⁶⁰ and Agni confer progeny on the sacrificer' are purely laudatory. P. M. S. IX. 1. 6-10 are very important in this connection. Śābara quotes Vedic passages like Rg. X. 47. 1, III. 30. 5, VIII. 17. 8 (where Indra's right hand, fist, neck, stomach and arms are mentioned), Rg. I. 95. 10, VIII. 77. 4 (where Indra is said to have put in his stomach all foods and to have drunk thirty vessels full of soma), Rg. VIII. 32. 22 and X. 89. 10 where Indra is said to be lord of the world, of heaven and earth, waters and mountains and then remarks that these are all *arthavādas*, though at first sight they appear to postulate that Vedic deities have bodies, eat and drink. The Śāstradīpikā advances the argument that if the devatā had a body, ate, drank and was pleased, devatā will be *anitya* (ephemeral) and could not in that case be treated of in the Veda that is eternal. He further asserts that men of limited intelligence not knowing the real import of the Vedic passages may hold wrong opinions. Śābara notes (on X. 4. 23) that there are various opinions as to who the Devatās are to whom either a hymn (*sūkta*) is addressed (as Rg. I. 94) or to whom 'havis' is directed by the Veda to be offered as in 'one should offer to Agni an offering cooked on eight potsherd'; that the devatā becomes connected with the sacrifice not in its own nature but by the word used with reference to an offering and that where the Veda directs an offering to be made to Agni, one cannot use a synonym for Agni such as 'Śuci, Pāvaka, Dhūmaketu, Kīśānu, Vaiśvānara or Śāndilya. Thus Devatā is a matter of words, as admitted by¹⁹⁶¹

1960 Note the following sūtras. विप्रतिपत्तौ हविषा नियस्येत कर्मणस्तदुपाय-त्वात्। VIII. 1. 32, अपि वा शब्दपूर्वत्वात् यज्ञकर्म प्रधान स्याद्वृणले देवताश्रुतिः। IX. 1. 9 इन्द्र's words on VIII. 1. 34 are quite frank and clear स्यादेतदेव यदि देवता-फलं स्यात्। यागात् फलं स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति श्रूयते। यत् 'वृत्त एवैनमिन्द्र' इति तत्रैदमुच्यते शुणत्वेन देवताश्रुतिः। यागे शुणभूता देवता। तस्या दातुल्यं स्तुत्या उच्यते। यथा अमात्येन मे ग्रामो दत्तः, यथा सेनापतिना मे ग्रामो दत्त इति। न चामात्यः सेनापतिर्वै ग्रामस्य प्रभवति। राजैव प्रभवति। इतरस्मिन् शुणभूते स्तुत्या दातुत्ववादः। शुणभूत means 'that has become a subordinate factor' as opposed to प्रधान

1961. तस्मान्मन्त्रले विधिश्च उपादातव्य इति। उच्यते। नन्वेव शब्द एव देवता प्रमेति। अत्रोच्यते। नैतदस्माभिः परिहर्तव्यम्। न हीदुश्च्यमानमस्मत्पक्षं बाधते। शबर on X. 4. 23, यागादीनां देवताराधनहेतुत्वे प्रमाणाभावात्। अतो देवतोद्देशेन ब्रह्मरूपो याग इति गौणं देवतापूजात्मकत्वमवगमयितव्यम्। प्रकरणपञ्चिका pp 185-186, यद्यपि देवता विग्रहवती परिग्रह्य शुक्त्वा वृत्त्यति प्रसीदति च तथापि यागादेव फलं विग्रहवती चानित्या स्यात्। शास्त्रदीपिका p. 580 on PMS IX. 1. 6-10.

Śabara. The Prakaranapañcīkā also states that there is no proof that a sacrifice (yāga) is a means of pleasing the deity and that to say that there is worship of a deity in a yāga is really metaphorical. From this and the preceding doctrine (No. 1) it follows that P. M. S., Śabara, and Kumārila discard the idea that the Veda is the word of God or that rewards of religious acts are due to the favour or grace of God. It is therefore that the Padmapurāṇa quoted (in note 1957a) above dubs Jaimini's doctrine 'nirīśvaravāda' (Godless)

When the Veda says 'one desirous of heaven should perform a sacrifice', three *ākāṅksās* (expectancies) arise. The first is 'what is to be brought about'; this is satisfied by the word *svarga*, stating the reward or the purpose. The 2nd is 'by what means' is the first to be brought about. That is satisfied by the meaning of the root 'yaj' (i.e. by yāga), the third is 'what is the procedure or in what manner', that is satisfied by the establishment of the sacred fires and other rites that are described in the context of the passage 'svargakāmo yajeta'. It is learnt from this passage that the reward or purpose (svarga) springs from (is brought about by) yāga and not by the devatā.¹⁹⁶²

Later writers could not digest all these ideas about the deities in sacrifices. Venkatanātha (or Venkatadeśika, 1269-1369 A. D.) composed a work called 'Śeṣvaramīmāṃsā', in which he criticizes both Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools and being an ardent Vaiṣṇava of the Rāmānuja school attempts a synthesis of the two mīmāṃsās and brings in the idea of God as the dispenser of the reward of sacrifices against the combined testimony of Śabara, Kumārila, Śalikanātha and others. Vide Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Indian Philosophy,' vol. II pp. 424-429 for 'God and world according to Pūrvamīmāṃsā'.

5. There is no real creation nor dissolution of the whole universe. The constituent parts may come and go but the universe as a whole has no beginning and no end. The descriptions of creation and dissolution are only meant to illustrate the power of *dharma* (fate, destiny) and the vanity of human effort and urge men to perform duties enjoined by the Veda. Without any human effort the world may come into being and in spite of

1962. यजेतदेवमादयः साक्षाद् यजेत किं केन कथमिति, स्वर्गकाम इत्यनेन प्रयोजनेन निष्कारणः। सपर on II.1.1. Vide दुप्लीका on IX 1. 9 अपि वा ..देवताश्रुति quoted in note 1960.

all effort it may come to an end. The world is real and has always been there and will go on for all time.¹⁹⁶³ Vide Śloka-vārtika (V. 112-117), Prakaranapañcika pp 137-140 and Nyāyaratnākara on the former. The Śloka-vārtika goes so far as to say 'it must be admitted that all these (worlds &c) existed before the creator, and again such a creator may be proved (by anumāna) to have been preceded by the Veda on account of his being an intelligent being, just as ourselves are preceded by the Veda'.

It would be noticed that the Mimāmsa idea of creation and dissolution is opposed to the Mahābhārata and Gītā (X. 8 'aham sarvasya prabhavo mattah sarvam pravartate').

6. The doctrine of *apūṛva* (invisible mysterious or subtle potency). The Veda lays down that one desirous of heaven should perform a sacrifice. But the reward heaven comes off only after a long time, while the sacrifice lasts only for a short time. There would thus be no direct connection between the sacrifice (the cause) and heaven (the reward) or purpose. It must be presumed from the Vedic injunction that there is some connecting link between the activity of man to perform a yāga and the reward. Before the principal and subordinate acts in a sacrifice are performed men have no capacity for svarga and sacrifices (described in the texts) are also incapable of producing the effect 'svarga'. The principal and subsidiary acts in a sacrifice when carried out remove the incapacity and produce a certain capacity or potency for svarga. This must be admitted by all. Unless such a capacity exists there would be the unacceptable conclusion that not doing the acts and doing them are on the same level. This capacity or potency either residing in the man (agent) or arising from the sacrifice that is performed is called *apūṛva* in this śāstra. It is true that this capacity cannot be proved by direct perception or other means of knowledge except by *śruti* and *āpti*. When we are told that a man

1963 तस्मादद्यदेवात्र सर्गप्रलयकल्पना। समस्तक्षयजन्मस्या न सिद्ध्यत्यप्रमाणिका॥ सर्वज्ञवाक्त्रिवेद्या च स्रष्टुः स्रष्टावकल्पना॥ तस्मात् प्रागपि सर्वेऽमी स्रष्टुरासन् पदादयः। स्यात्तत्पूर्वकता चास्य चैतन्यादस्मदादिवत्॥ एवं ये युक्तिभिः माहुरेतेषां दुर्लभमुत्तरम्। अनेन्यो व्यवहारोयमनादिर्वेदेवादिभिः॥ श्लोकवा (सम्बन्धाक्षेपः verses 113-117). बुद्ध was called सर्वज्ञ, as the अमरकोश states 'सर्वज्ञ सुगतो बुद्धो' &c The न्याय remarks on verses 113-114 'यथा च बुद्धादेः सर्वज्ञत्वं पुरुषत्वादस्मदादिवक्त्रिभिर्युक्तम्, एव प्रजापतेरपि स्रष्टृत्वं निषेधमित्याह सर्वज्ञवदिति। तेन दैवप्रभावकथनार्थोयं सृष्टिप्रलयवादः। समस्तपुरुषकाराभावेऽपि सृष्टिकाले दैववशेनैव सर्वं प्रवर्तते, प्रलयकाले च सत्यपि पुरुषकारे दैवोपरमादेवोपरमिति तस्माद्ब्रह्मसृष्टिप्रधान एव यत्तत्तत्प्रमित्येतत्परं सृष्टिप्रलयवचनमिति। न्याय. र. on श्लोक-वा (सम्बन्धाक्षेपपरिः verse 112).

who is fat does not eat by day we presume, in order to account for this, that he must be eating food at night. Similarly, the Veda brings sacrifice and svarga together; we have to presume that sacrifice gives rise to a subtle potency, though the sacrifice itself comes to an end in a short time, and that this potency is the cause of bringing about the reward svarga and that we may look upon it as abiding in the soul of the sacrificer or as an invisible effect (a reaching forth of the yāga itself that has vanished).¹⁹⁶⁴ Mimāṃsakas do not admit that the results of religious acts are given by God. The V S III 2 40 states that this is the view of Jaimini (dharmam Jaiminir-ata eva) and is opposed to the view of Bādarāyana, Śāṅkara and the Bhāmata that it is God who confers the reward. According to the Prakaraṇapāñcika (p 186) the invisible force or potency is not in the agent but arises as a subtle form from the action itself. Four kinds of Apūrva¹⁹⁶⁵ (with further sub-divisions) as regards Darśapūrnamāsa sacrifice are stated by Mādhavācārya.

The idea is that every rite as a whole produces an apūrva, and that each subordinate part (anga) of the rite has also an (apūrva) which is subordinate to the apūrva of the whole rite.

The Tantravārtika explains why it is called apūrva. The invisible potency was not in existence before the performance of

1964. चोदना पुनरारम्भः । पू मी सू. II 1 5, चोदनेत्यपूर्वं व्रतम् । अपूर्वं पुनरस्ति यत् आरम्भ. शिष्यते स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति । इतरथा हि विधानमनर्थकं स्याद्भित्तिवाद्यागत्य । यद्यन्यदुत्पाद्य भागो विनश्येत् फलमसति निमित्ते न स्यात् । तस्मादुत्पादयतीति । शबर, फलाय विहितं कर्म क्षणिकं चिरभाविने । तस्मिन्निमित्तेत्येवमपूर्वं प्रति गम्यते ॥ वेदवाक्योपात्तस्वर्गयोगादिसम्बन्धाद्युपपत्त्या चोदनवैवापूर्वमपि चोदितं भविष्यतीति प्रमाणवत् । तस्मादस्त्वपूर्वमिति । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 390. प्रधानकर्मणामङ्गकर्मणा वा प्राक्करणत्वादिप्राप्त्ययोग्याः पुरुषाः क्रतवश्च स्वर्गकार्यायोग्या । तादृभयानप्ययोग्यतां व्युद्भव्य प्रधानैरङ्गैश्च योग्यतोपजन्यत इत्यवश्यं सर्वेणाभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । असत्यां तस्यामकृतसमत्वप्रसङ्गात् । सैव च पुरुषगता, क्रतुगता वा योग्यता शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नापूर्वमित्युपदिश्यते । यत्तु प्रत्यक्षादिगम्यस्वमस्य नास्तीति सत्यं, श्रुतार्थापत्तिरित्यतिक्रान्ते गम्यते तत्त्वदोषः । तन्त्रवा p 394; in the श्रुतवाक्ये (अर्थोपपत्तिः) Kumārila says 'प्रीनो दिवा न सुकृते चेत्येवमादिवचः श्रुते । रात्रिभोजनविज्ञाने श्रुतार्थापत्तिरित्यते ॥ v. 51 तन्त्रवा further proceeds 'एवं स्वर्गादयोप्यङ्गुपादिस्थानीयां तावदपूर्वावस्थां प्रतिपश्यन्ते तथा चोत्पद्यमानया त एवोत्पन्ना भवन्तीति । तस्मादस्त्वपूर्वम् । सूत्रस्यापि च न प्रकृतौपाधिकमन्वयार्थं पश्याम । तेनारम्भचोदनैवापूर्वस्यापि चोदनेत्ययमेवार्थः । तन्त्रवा p. 400. शङ्कराचार्य on वे सू III 2. 40 puts briefly and clearly Jaimini's view 'श्रुतिश्चेत् प्रमाणं यथायं कर्मफलसम्बन्धः श्रुत उपपद्यते तथा कल्पयितव्यः । न चातुत्वाद्य किमन्यपूर्वं कर्म विनश्यत्कालान्तरितं फलं दातुं शक्नोति । अतः कर्मणो वा सूक्ष्मा काचित्पुत्ररावस्था फलदय वा प्रवृत्तस्यापूर्वं नामास्तीति तर्क्यते । vide भासती on वे. सू III. 2. 41.

1965. तत्रापूर्वं दर्शपूर्णमासयोरनेकविधम् । फलापूर्वं, सप्तदायापूर्वं, उत्पत्त्यपूर्वं, अद्वा-पूर्वं चेति । येन स्वर्ग आरभ्यते तत्फलापूर्वम् । This is जै स्या ना वि This फलापूर्वं is also called परमापूर्वं

the sacrifice and arises as something new after its performance and hence apūrva has a purely etymological sense.¹⁹⁶⁶

If one holds the view that apūrva is some potency coming to reside in the performer of a sacrifice one's views would be like those of some modern writers who hold that real prayer is not mere repetition of certain words deemed to be sacred, but it is an upward movement or a real increase in the intensity of spiritual power in the man who prays, it being immaterial to ask to whom he prays (vide W. James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 467).

7. *Svataḥ-prāmānya* (self-validity of cognition). It has already been stated that the *pramāṇas* are six (five according to Prabhākara). The P. M. system postulates that all cognitions as cognitions are intrinsically valid in themselves, do not require any extraneous help to establish their validity but invalidity of cognitions is (*parataḥ*) established extraneously by showing that there was defect in the organ that produced the cognition or it is established later on that a particular cognition was wrong.¹⁹⁶⁷ Prabhākara goes much further and holds that every experience as such is valid and no experience can be said to be wrong or illusory.

8. *Svarga*. The ideas about heaven entertained by Jaimini, Śabara and Kumārila are different from the description of heaven in the Veda and Purāṇas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV, pp.

1966. यागादिजनितं च पुंसां फलमपि सामर्थ्यमपूर्वशब्दवाच्यं यागाद्युष्ठानात्पूर्वमभूतम-
द्युष्ठानोत्तरकालं चापूर्वं जायत इति यौगिकत्वादेवापूर्वशब्दाभिधानं सर्वत्र लभ्यते । तन्त्रवा.
p 299 on I. 3 30; on पू. मी सू VII. 4 1 शबर says 'इदमपि चोक्तं यत्निरपूर्वं
साधयति ततश्चापूर्वात्कालान्तरे फलं भवतीति चोदना युनरारम्भ इत्यत्र ।'

1967 सर्वं विज्ञानविषयमिदं तावत्प्रतीक्ष्यताम् । प्रमाणत्वाप्रमाणत्वे स्वतः किं परतोऽथवा ॥
स्वतः सर्वप्रमाणानां प्रामाण्यमिति गम्यताम् । न हि स्वतोऽसती शक्तिः कर्तुमन्येन शक्यते ॥
तस्माद्बोधोदात्मकत्वेन प्राप्ता बुद्धेः प्रमाणता । अर्थान्वयथावदेतत्त्वदोषज्ञानादुपोद्यते ॥ श्लोकाभा-
(चोदनासूत्र) verses 33, 47, 53, the last two verses are respectively quoted by
शास्त्ररक्षित and कुमलशील in तत्त्वसंग्रह pp. 745 and 788 On verse 33 the व्या. १-
comments 'तद्दिदेव चिन्ता । किं ज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यमप्रामाण्यं च स्वतः एव निर्णीयते । किं बोध-
यमपि कारणगुणदोषादिना निरूपयितव्यम्, उताप्रामाण्यं स्वतः प्रामाण्यं परतो विपरीतं वेति ।'
Here four possible views are put forward about pramāṇya and apramāṇya. The
śāstraśāstra view is that cognition is स्वतःप्रमाण, while its invalidity has to
be established by other means (अप्रामाण्यं परतः). शबर on I. 1. 5 says
'तस्माद्यस्य च दुष्टं कारणं यच्च च निश्चेति प्रत्ययः स एवात्ममीचीनः प्रत्ययो नाप्य इति', 'यत्र
प्रत्ययेनान्विष्यमाणोऽपि कारणदोषो बाधरुज्ञानं वा नोपलभ्यते तत् प्रमाणम्, इतरथा-
प्रमाणम्' शास्त्रदीपिका on I. 1 5 p. 50 (of Nirṇ ed of 1915)

165-167 and 168-171 for descriptions of the joys of heaven in the Vedic literature, the Epic and the Purāṇas. From considerations of space the remarks will have to be brief. In Rg. IX. 113. 7-11 the sage prays to Soma to place him in that immortal world where there is continuous light, where all desires are fulfilled, where there are joys of various grades. Heaven was deemed to be the place where the souls of valiant men that fought battles and sacrificed their lives went (Rg. VI. 46. 12) and in Rg. X. 154. 2-4 the soul of the dead is asked to join those departed men that had become invincible by great *tapas*, that had died in battle, that had made gifts of a thousand cows, that had led a life of right and virtue and that were wise sages.

The Atharvaveda IV. 34.2 and 5-6 say that in heaven there are many women, they get edible plants and flowers of various kinds, there are streams of ghee, honey and wine (*surā*), milk, curds and there are lotus ponds all round. The Śatapatha Br. (XIV. 7. 1. 32-33) states that the joys of heaven are 100 times greater than those on earth. Vide Macdonnell's 'Vedic Mythology' pp 167-168 and A. B. Keith's 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda' etc. pp. 403-406 (1924). Even the Upanisads refer to the joys of heaven e. g. Chān. VIII. 5. 3. speaks of two lakes in the world of Brahmā, *āśvattha* tree showering down Soma and the city of Brahmā called *Aparājita*; the Kausītaki Up. (I. 3 and 4) elaborates this and adds that five hundred Apsarases go out to meet him (who reaches heaven), one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with ointments, one hundred with perfumes, one hundred with garments and one hundred with fruits. Poets like Kālidāsa love to dwell upon the instantaneous arrival of the soul of the warrior whose head was cut off in battle and who was at once joined by an apsaras in heaven (vide Raghuvamśa VII. 51 'Vāmāngasamsaktasurāṅgunah svam nṛtyat-kabandham samare dadarśa'). The Purāṇas furnish graphic descriptions of the joys of heaven. Vide Brahma-purāṇa 225. 6, Padma II. 95 2-5, Mārkaṇḍeya 10. 93-95, which enumerate Nandana garden, aerial cars with beavies of Apsarases, golden beds and seats, absence of sorrows, all pleasure &c. Sabara on P. M. S. VI. 1. 1 refers to two popular views about *svarga*; one is, whatever gives pleasure to a person such as silken garments of fine texture, sandalwood, damsels sixteen years old is designated *svarga*. Another popular view is that *svarga* is a certain place where there is no heat nor cold, no hunger nor thirst, no dissatisfaction, no tiredness.

Śabara and Kumārila say that popular¹⁹⁶⁸ ideas about *svarga* are invalid, that the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, being composed by men, need not be considered and that the Vedic descriptions of *svarga* are mere arthavādas for praise.

P. M. S. IV. 3 15. provides that *svarga*¹⁹⁶⁹ is the reward of all religious acts (such as Viśvajit) for which no express reward is provided by the texts. Śabara states 'happiness is *svarga* and all seek that'; an old verse says 'that state of happiness in which there is no mixing of pain, which is not immediately overwhelmed by pain, that comes to one when one desires it, is called by the word *śar* (*svarga*)'.

Medhatithi remarks that *smṛtis* sometimes state¹⁹⁷⁰ that the gift of a single cow yields all rewards and relieves from sins with the result that fruits of great religious acts and of slight ones would be deemed to be the same but it should be understood that the rewards differ in their duration; otherwise, no one would engage in great or difficult rites.

Some Vedic rites expressly declare fruits of sacrifices that are other than *svarga*. For example, the Tai. S. provides 'one desirous of (plenty of) cattle should offer the *citrū* sacrifice' (II. 4. 6. 1.) or 'one desirous of (leadership or control over) a village should offer the *Isti* called *Sāngrahaṇi*' (Tai. S. II. 3. 9. 2.).

1968. ननु च लोकादालयानेभ्यो वेदाच्चावगम्यते देश एवजातीयकः स्वर्ग इति । तत्र । पुरुषाणामेव विधेन देशेनासम्बन्धादप्रमाणं वच । आख्यानमपि पुरुषमणीतत्वादनादरणीयम् । वैदिकमपि ऋग्यजुर्वेदेषु विधिपरं नास्त्येव भवति तु विध्यन्तरेणैकवाक्यभूतं स्तुतिपरम् । शबर on VI. 1. 1 p. 1348

1969. स स्वर्गं त्पास्तर्गम्यत्वविशिष्टत्वात् । पू मी सू IV 3. 15; शबर says 'सर्वं हि पुरुषाः स्वर्गकामाः कृत एतत् । प्रीतिर्हि स्वर्गः सर्वत्र प्रीतिं प्रार्थयते ।'. स्वर्ग is the साध्य and याग is साधन acc to दुपट्टिका on P M S VI 2.4; यज्ञ इव खेन सम्भिन्नं न च अस्तमन्तरम् । अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्तुल्यं स्वर्गपदम् ॥ q. by साख्यसत्त्वकीमुदी of वाचस्पति p. 45 (Chow. edition) and by नीलकण्ठ on उद्योगपर्व 33 72. Some quote this verse as from the विष्णुपुराण. The मकरणपञ्चिका (pp. 102-3) appears to echo the words of the verse 'उद्येतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवमादि समान्याय सकलदुःखसम्भेदराहिताभिलाषोपनीतदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वेनार्थवादेः स्तुयमानं फलं दृश्यते ।...तथा च यावत्तावत्सुखसाधने स्वर्गशब्दं न प्रयुज्यते किन्तु सातिशयप्रीतिजननम् । मेधा० on मनु IV. 87 where narakas are said to be 21 remarks 'नरकशब्दो निरतिशयपदुःखजनः । अत्र विज्ञाति-संख्या अर्थवादः । The printed विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 46 is: मनःप्रीतिकरं स्वर्गं नरकतद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पुण्यपापे द्विजोत्तम ॥

1970 स्मृत्यन्तरे सर्वफलता पापप्रमोचनार्थतापि गोदानस्य श्रुता यावतामल्योपकाराणां महोपकारैः फलसाम्यमुच्यते तेषां लोकादपरिमाणतः फलविशेषोऽवगन्तव्यः । प्राप्यते तदेव फलं न तु चिरकालम् । आवाच्यो ह्ययं न्यायः । पणलभ्यं हि तरयाज्ञाः श्रीणाति वशभिः पले. —इति समानफलत्वे महाप्रयासानर्थक्यं प्राप्नोति । मेधा० on मनु III. 95.

Śabara says the Veda does not say that the result of such sacrifices cannot be had in this very life. This the Tuptika¹⁹⁷¹ expands in an interesting note. The remedy declared by the Veda for securing desired objects (son's birth and the like) is bound to yield the result in this life or in the next. If a man has committed evil deeds in a previous life he has to undergo the effects of those sins and while he is undergoing the effects of sins the fruits of sacrifices are postponed. But if the effects of sins have been extremely reduced he secures the fruits of *hāmya* rites in this very life. The words of the Veda laying down an injunction state only so much that the fruit of the rite performed does come about but they do not say that the fruit follows immediately (after the rite is performed). Therefore, there is no definiteness (about the time when the fruit will follow). But svarga is to be enjoyed only in another life (as a fruit of rites performed in this life). It (svarga) means unequalled happiness and is achieved in a degree proportionate to the actions, but it cannot be enjoyed in this life, since men experience in this world every moment both happiness and misery. Every happiness is not the fruit of Jyotistoma and every being does not perform Jyotistoma. But some happiness does come to a man. Therefore, it (happiness) is natural. The existence, however, of another body has to be imagined for the experience of unequalled happiness, there being no other reasonable explanation. That unequalled happiness does not come to a man unless he dies; therefore svarga is to be enjoyed in another life.

9. *Moksa* (liberation): Neither the P. M. S. nor Śabara nor Prabhākara deals with the topic of Moksa. Kumārila and

1971 शुद्धादीनि कामयमानस्योपायो विधीयते। उपाये च कृते नियतमुपेयेन भवितव्यम्। तदा पूर्वजन्मस्य शुभं कृतम्। तच्चाह भाष्यं तस्मात्पूर्वजन्मकृतमनुभूयते। तत्र यदि जन्मान्तर-कृतोऽधर्मः प्रकीणस्तत इदं जन्मनि फलम्। अथाक्षीणस्ततस्तेन यद्दसाधकं फलमुत्पद्यते। फलं भवतीत्येतदिति विधिः शब्दोऽस्ति न त्वनन्तरत्वे तस्मादनियमः। स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव। स हि निरतिशया प्रीतिः कर्मादुत्पत्त्या चेति न शक्येह जन्मस्य शुभमवितुम्। यतोऽस्मिंस्तुल्ये क्षणे क्षणे सुखदुःखे अनुभवन्ति। न च प्रीतिमात्रं ज्योतिष्टोमफलम्। प्राणिमात्रस्य च सा विद्यते न च प्राणि-मात्रं ज्योतिष्टोमं करोति। तस्मात्स्वाभाविक्यसौ। देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयप्रीत्यनुभवनायाप्यथाऽनुप-पत्त्या कल्प्यते। तच्चाह तस्य न भवतीत्यन्तो जन्मान्तरं स्वर्गः। दुप्टीका on IV. 3 28 It should be noticed that a distinction is drawn here between *prīti* (a moment of happiness) and *anuratiśaya-prīti*. The दुप्टीका on VI. 1. 1 says that the siddhānta view is that svarga means 'prīti' (happiness), while the pūrva-pakṣa holds that svarga signifies the means for things that cause happiness, but both do not hold that svarga is some place 'एकस्य प्रीतिः स्वर्गश्चद्वाच्या, अत्रत्य प्रीतिर्न द्वयम्। विशिष्टो देश उभयोरप्यवाच्यः।' दुप्टीका on पृ. मी. सू. VI 1 1 p. 1348.

Prakaranapañcika deal with it. They both say that liberation consists in not having to assume a body again.¹⁹⁷² The Śloka-vārtika states 'one desiring Mokṣa should not do any act that is forbidden or is *Kūṃya* (prescribed for those who desire an object like riches, son &c); he should perform obligatory rites (such as agnihotra) and *naimittika* (like bath, japa and gifts on eclipse &c.) in order to avoid the sin that would accrue owing to non-performance of those two; if he does not desire the rewards of doing *nitya* and *naimittika* acts they will not come to him, as such a reward comes to him who seeks it. The results of acts in a former life would be eliminated by undergoing them in the life in which he seeks liberation. This differs from Śāṅkarācārya's position who holds on V. S. IV. 3. 14 that, as declared in the Śvet. Up. III, 8, there is no other way to Mokṣa except knowledge and realization of the Ātman. In his bhāṣya on the same sūtra he seems to attack¹⁹⁷³ Kumārila's position. According to Kumārila Upaniṣad passages about the knowledge of the Ātman are only arthavādas as they convey to the performer the knowledge that he has a soul and that the soul has certain characteristics, while Śāṅkara maintains (on V. S. I. 1. 1) that the phala, the subject of investigation and the Vedic exhortation (codanā) are different in Pūrvamīmāṃsā and in Brahmanimāṃsā. There exist smṛtis that ridiculed the idea that the more

1972. तत्र ज्ञानात्मतत्त्वानां भोगात् पूर्वक्रियाक्षये । उत्तरमध्यासत्त्वादेशो नोत्पद्यते पुनः ॥ ... मोक्षार्थं न प्रवर्तते तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः । नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्त्यस्यवायजिहासया । प्रार्थयमानं फलं ज्ञातं न चानिच्छोर्भविष्यति । आत्मज्ञे चैतदस्तीति तज्ज्ञानमुपयुज्यते । श्लोकावा (सम्बन्धाक्षेपः vv. 108, 110-111) On v 111 न्या. र. quotes श्रौता VI. 1 अनाभितः कर्मफलं कार्यं कर्म करोति यः ।; the ह्युटीका on VI. 3. 2 propounds the same views. 'उपाचदुरितक्षयार्थानि नित्यानीति भट्टाद्विभिरभ्युपगमात्' चट्टिका on नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि I 83; प्रकरणपञ्चिका p. 156 says 'न अविद्यास्तमयो मोक्षः । आत्यन्तिकस्तु देहोच्छेदो निःशेषधर्माधर्मपरिक्षयनिबन्धनो मोक्ष इति सिद्धम् ॥'.

1973 Vide the passage (in शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 3. 14) यत्तु कैश्चिज्जन्तये नित्यानि नैमित्तिकानि कर्माण्युत्पद्यन्ते मयवायाद्युत्पत्तये काम्यानि प्रतिषिद्धानि च परि-
द्विषन्ते स्वर्गनिरकान्वाप्तये सांयतदेहोपभोग्यानि च कर्माण्युपभोगेनैव क्षप्यन्त इत्यतो पतमान-
देहपातादूर्ध्वं देहान्तरप्रतिस्थानकारणाभावात्स्वरूपावस्थानलक्षणं कैवल्यं विनापि ब्रह्मात्म-
तयैवंब्रह्मस्य सेत्स्यतीति । तदसत् । प्रमाणाभावात् । The तन्त्रवार्तिक on पु. मी. सू. I. 2. 7
remarks 'एतेन क्रत्वर्थकर्तृमतिपादनद्वारेणोपनिषदां निराकाङ्क्षं व्याख्यातम् ॥' p 114 and
श्लोकावा (सम्बन्धाक्षेपः) verses 103-104 'आत्मा ज्ञातव्य इत्येतन्मोक्षार्थं न च चेद्विदम् ।
कर्मवद्विद्वेदतत्त्वमात्मज्ञानस्य लक्ष्यते । विज्ञाते चास्य पाराध्यं यापि नाम फलश्रुतिः । साध्यादी
भवेदेव न स्वर्गादि. फलान्तरम् ॥' ; सुरेश्वरस्य वार्तिक on तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्भाष्य (शिक्षाध्याय I.
9-10) quotes the verses मोक्षार्थं न प्रवर्तते &c. cited in note 1972 and remarks
इति मीमांसकमन्यैः कर्माकं मोक्षसाधनम् ।

knowledge of the Self would lead to Mokṣa. For example, 1974 the Br. Y. Y. affirms that both knowledge and actions lead to Liberation, that to say that knowledge alone leads to liberation is a sign of indolence, that out of the fear of bodily labour ignorant men do not want to engage in actions.

The doctrines of the early and principal writers on Pūrva-mīmāṃsā are rather quaint and startling. Their arguments about the eternality and self-existence of the Veda are fallacious and were not accepted even by other ancient Indian systems. Both Prabhākara and Kumārila have in their scheme no place for God as the dispenser of rewards or as the ruler of man's destiny, as being pleased with men's prayers. They do not expressly deny the existence of God, but they assign to God or the deities mentioned in the Vedic texts a secondary role or rather practically no role at all. They raise yajña to the position of God and their dogmas about yajña seem to be based upon a sort of commercial or business-like system, 1975 viz. one should do so many acts, dispense gifts to priests, offer certain offerings, observe certain ethical rules, and other rules of conduct (such as not eating flesh, subsisting on milk) 1976 and then the reward would follow without the intervention of God. There is hardly any appeal to religious emotions, there is no omniscient Being, no Creator and no creation of the world. The Pūrvamīmāṃsā no doubt lays emphasis on (the rights and) duties of man in life. The other darśanas are far more concerned with the question of escaping permanently from the world and with man's destiny after death. The P. M. S., Śābara and Kumārila, however, make substantial contributions to the exegesis of Vedic

1974. ज्ञानं प्रधानं न तु कर्महीनं कर्म प्रधानं न तु बुद्धिहीनम्। तस्माद् द्वयोरेव भवेत् सिद्धिर्न द्वेकपक्षो विद्यते. प्रयति॥ परिज्ञानाद्भवेत्सुक्तिरेतदालस्यलक्षणम्। कायकेशशमयाद्यैव कर्म नेच्छन्त्यपण्डिताः॥ बृहद्योगिया. IX 29, 34 q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष) p. 146

1975 For a striking example of the spirit of bargaining with God, vide the mantra देहि मे ददामि ते नि मे देहि नि ते दधे। निहामिनि मे हरा निहारं नि हरामि ते॥ ते स 1 S 4. 1-2, वा सं III 50 (with slight variations), compare अथर्ववेद III. 15. 6.

1976 Vide Tai. S. II 5 5 6 about one engaged in Darsapūrnāmāsa : तस्यैतद्वर्तं नादृत पदेन मांसमदनीयात् स्विपसुपेयाकारस्य पलपुलनेन वासः पलपुलयेयुः and ते. सं. VI. 2 5 2-3 where पय, यमायूः and आमिक्षा are prescribed as the proper food for a चातुष्प, क्षत्रिय and वैश्य sacrificer respectively. Jaimini (IV. 3. 8-9) declares that this is *kratoṃvāṭha* (obligatory). Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 1139-1140 for the observances of the person who has undergone dīksā (consecration) for an Agnistoma sacrifice

texts. There are about three thousand quotations in Śābara's bhāṣya, out of which several hundred have not been yet identified. At least one thousand of these are taken from the Tai. S. and Br. About twelve adhikaranas are concerned with the Adhri-gupraisa (a long formula) which is quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1121 note 2504. Some adhikaranas are devoted to the explanation of certain words in that praisa e. g. PMS IX. 4. 22 explains urūka as 'vapā', IX. 4. 23-24 explain 'praśasā', IX. 4. 25-27 explain five words (śyena, śalā, kaśyapa, kavasa, srekaparna). Similarly, X. 1. 32 explains the word *brsaya* as meaning 'brhat.' Śābara's and Kumārila's stands on the individual soul and mokṣa confer on the P. M. system some status as a philosophical one. For a systematic and exhaustive study of Śābara's contribution to Vedic and post-vedic exegesis, vide Dr. S. V. Garge's citations in Śābara-bhāṣya' pp. 140-213 (Poona, 1952).

The doctrine that the Veda is eternal and of absolute and unquestioned authority has led to certain undesirable tendencies. Propounders of new doctrines make great efforts to show that there is Vedic authority for what they hold. For example, the sūtras in V. S. I. 1. 5-18 are concerned to show that the Upanisads do not postulate Pradhāna as the cause of the world, as the Sāṅkhyas imagine. Śāṅkarācārya expressly states that the Sāṅkhyas explain Vedānta passages as favourable to their theories and therefore a refutation of their arguments was¹⁹⁷⁷ provided in V. S. I. 1. 5-18. It has been shown above how followers of Śākta worship try to interpret a verse like Rgveda V. 47. 4 (catvāra im bibhrati &c) as referring to the Śākta doctrines and how treatises dignified with the title of Upanisads were produced by Śākta writers such as the Bhāvanopaniṣad. Śābara in his bhāṣya on PMS. I. 1. 5 states that the Vijñānavādi Bauddhas put forward Br. Up. IV. 5. 13 (Vijñānaghana evaitebhyo bhūtebhyah samutthāya tānyevānuvinaśyati na pretya sañjñāsti) as supporting their position. One of the most glaring examples of this tendency is the explanation of Rg. I. 141. 1-3 by Anandavīrtha, also called Madhvācārya, who in 'Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya' claims to be the third incarnation of Vāyu, the other two being Hanūmat and Bhīmasena, one

1977. सांख्यवादस्तु परिचिष्टं वस्तु प्रमाणान्तरगम्यमेवेति मन्यमानाः प्रधानादीनि कारणान्तराण्यनुमितानास्तत्परतयैव वेदान्तवाक्यानि योजयन्ति। शाङ्कर on वे. सू. I. 1. 5; सांख्यवादः स्वपक्षस्थापनाय वेदान्तवाक्यान्पुनरादृत्य स्वपक्षादुपपत्त्येवैव योजयन्तीत्याचक्षते। शाङ्कर on वे. सू. II. 2. 1.

of the Pāṇḍavas, and who endeavours to interpret Rg. I. 141. 1-3 as referring to these three avatāras.¹⁹⁷⁸ The words 'Madhvah' and 'Mātariśvā' (meaning 'wind-god') occur in Rg I. 141. 3. This was deemed sufficient to claim that Madhva, the propounder of the Dvaita system, was mentioned in the Rgveda. I do not know how Madhvācārya would have met the charge of Veda not being eternal if it referred to Bhīmasena (who even according to the traditional account in the Mahābhārata lived at the end of Dvāpara age i. e. about 5000 years ago) and to Madhva himself who lived barely seven centuries ago. The Veda would be later than these dates. The argument that this refers to a previous Kalpa would not be available to rebut the charge, as the Kalpa, Manvantara and Mahāyuga when Bhīma and Madhvācārya flourished and in the present day are the same. There was no *pralaya* (dissolution of the world) at the end of Dvāpara and Kaliyuga immediately set in. The Bhārata war was fought between Dvāpara and Kali (Ādiparva 2. 13) and Kaliyuga was about to start at the time of that war (vide Vanaparva 'etat kaliyugam nāmācirād-yaḍ pravartate' and Śalya 60. 25 '(prāptam Kaliyugam viddhi)'). It is on account of this pretention that he was very roughly handled by eminent writers like Appayya-dīkṣita who charges Madhva with citing fabricated Vedic and other texts in support of his doctrines. Vide I. A. vol. 62 at p. 189 where the writer, Shri Venkatasubbiah, sets out over thirty works mentioned by Madhva which he states occur nowhere else. M. M. Chinna-swami, who has edited (Benares, 1941) Appayya's work in 60 verses with the commentary of Appayya called Madhvamata-vidhvamsana and notes of his own, sets out on p. 4 thirty-six unknown works and the sūtras where they are cited by Appayya.

1978 तद्वत्तृतीया पवनस्य सेरं सद्भारतार्थप्रतिपादनाय । ग्रन्थं चकारेममुदीर्घनिष्ठा पश्मिन् रमन्ते हरिषादभक्ताः ॥ तृतीयकस्य वृषभस्य द्रोक्षे दक्षममति जनयन्त योषणः । निर्यद्वीं युधोन्महियस्य वर्षस ईशानासः शवसा कृत सूरयः । यदीमह मदित्रो मध आधने युहा सन्त मात-रिषा मथायनि ॥ यस्य त्रीण्युदितानि वेदवचने रूपाणि दिव्यान्पलं च तद्वैतमित्थमिव निहितं देवस्य भगो मदह । वायो रामवचोनयं प्रथमकं पुंसो द्वितीयं वज्रमेधो यत्तु तृतीयमेतदधुना ग्रन्थ-एन केशवे ॥ महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णय chap 32 verses 176-181 (Nirn. ed. of 1911; तृतीय ...योषणः form latter half of Rg I. 141. 2 and निर्यद्वीं ...मथायनि is Rg I. 141. 3. Rg I. 141. 1 begins with कञ्जित्या In the भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र the verse यस्य etc. quoted here reads the last line as 'महो यत्तु तृतीयकं कृतमिदं भाष्यं हस्ते तेन दि । The celebrated Appayyādīkṣita delivered a heavy onslaught on Madhvācārya in his मध्वनञ्जसुचमर्दन (Āvān.) for this claim of avatāra-ship.

It is remarkable that great ācāryas like Śāṅkara and Rāmānuja never claimed in their own works that they were the avatāras of some deity. It was left to their disciples to say so, if at all.

Having established that Veda is eternal and self-existent the Mimāṃsakas give free rein to their ingenuity, powers of reasoning and logic. They have a logic of their own which governed not only the interpretation of Vedic passages but also of the Smṛtis and the medieval works on Dharmatāstra (including law and procedure). As Colebrooke, one of the most accurate and level-headed of Western scholars of Sanskrit, said more than 130 years ago 'the disquisitions on the mimāṃsā bear therefore a certain resemblance to juridical questions; and in fact, the Hindu law being blended with the religion of the people, the same modes of reasoning are applicable and are applied to the one as to the other. The logic of the Mimāṃsa is the logic of the law; the rule of interpretation of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of law and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mimāṃsa' (Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. pp. 316-317, Madras ed. of 1837).

The first division of Vedic material is into *Mantra* and *Bṛāhmaṇa*. It has been already stated above (p. 1096 note 1776) that those are mantras that are recognized as such by the learned. P. M. S. (II, 1. 31-32) provides¹⁷⁷⁹ that mantra is that which simply asserts (and is not hortatory) or (to say the same thing in another way) 'those are mantras that are so called on account of their asserting something'. On P. M. S. I 4. 1 Śābara describes mantra as one that at the time when the procedure of a sacrifice is being followed, recalls or reminds or makes clear to the performer the matter that is prescribed e.g. 'I cut (the blades of) kuśa grass that is an abode for the deity'. This is only a general description of mantra and not an accurate definition. Mantras are not supposed to be useful in sacrifices by

1779 अपि वा भयोगसामर्थ्यान्मन्त्रोऽभिधानवाची रथात् । पू. मी. सू. II, 1. 31; शाबरभाष्य 'प्रयोगे क्रियमाणेऽस्य सामर्थ्यं विद्यते गोदानं गोयागं च प्रत्यापायितुं न विधातुम् । तद्योदकेषु मन्त्रारुपा । पू. मी. सू. II, 1. 32; शाबरभाष्य 'अभिधानस्य योदकेष्वेवजाती-यकेष्वभिधुक्ता उपदिशन्ति मन्त्रानधीमदे, मन्त्रान्ध्यापयामः, मन्त्रा वर्तन्त इति' । the तन्त्र-वातिक dissolves 'तद्योदकेषु' as तत् अभिधानं योदकं प्रयोजकं येषामिति बहुमीदृः । कश्चिन्मन्त्रो यो विदितमर्थं प्रयोगकाले प्रकाशयति । यथा यद्विद्वंसदनं क्षामि इत्येवमादि । शपर on पू. मी. सू. I, 4. 1. यद्विद्वंस occurs in मे. सं. I, 1, 2.

their mere utterance (*uccāraṇa*) but are really 'abhidhāyaka' (reminders of what is to be done or is being done). Śābara remarks that *laksana* is the only way for the recognition of mantras and not an enumeration of some characteristics of mantras as done by the Vrttikāra such as these viz. 1980 some end in 'asi' (thou art) or 'tvā' as in Tai. S. I. 1. 1 'ise tvā', prayer or wish (as in 'āyurdhā asi' in Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 1), praise ('agnir mūrdhā divah' in Tai. S. IV. 4. 4). Śābara points out that 'asi' and 'tvā' occur even in the middle of mantras, the other characteristics such as blessing and praise are found in Brāhmaṇas also. The M. B. P. remarks that there are (p. 66) one hundred kinds of mantras and that if we take into account the fourteen Vedic metres and their sub-varieties there would be 273 different varieties of *rk* mantras alone (p. 67). There are certain texts regarded as mantras (e. g. 'Vasantāya kapiñjalān-alabhate' Vāj. S. 24. 20) which are not merely assertive but rather relate to the procedure of a yāga (in the case of Vāj. S. 24. 20, of Aśvamedha).

Mantras are classified under three heads viz. *Rk*, *Sāman* and *Yajus*. These are defined in P. M. S. II. 1, 35-37; the name *rk* is applied to those 1981 mantras that are divided into feet, metrical *pādas* (often) based on the meaning. *Sāman* is the name applied to Vedic mantras that are sung. It has been established in P. M. S. VII. 2. 1-21 and IX. 2. 1-2 that the mantra 1982 texts are not called *Sāman* but only the music, that

1980. ऋषयोऽपि पदार्थानां नान्तं यान्ति पृथक्त्वशः । लक्षणेन तु सिद्धानामन्तं यान्ति विप्रश्चित्तः । q. by शबर on II 1 32, तत्त्ववार्तिक proposes to read this very śloka as 'ऋषयोऽपि हि लक्षणाः'.

1981. तेषामुच्यन्तार्थवशेन पादव्यवस्था । गीतिषु सामारण्या । हेपे यञ्च शब्दः । पू. मी. सू. II 1. 35-37 In अग्निमीलित इति (Rg. I 1 1) the first pāda has a complete sense, but in अग्निः पूर्वोभिरुदितिरिदञ्चो दूतनैरुत (Rg. I 1. 2) the meaning is not complete in the first pāda. Therefore, the only definition is 'पादव्यवस्था' and अर्थवशेन is only illustrative as शबर says 'यतो नार्थवशेनेति वृत्तादिवक्ष्यामः पृथक्, किं तर्हि अनुवाद एव प्रदर्शनीयः । . तस्माद्यत्र पादकृता व्यवस्था सा ऋगिति'.

1982. तस्माद्विद्यत सामानि न प्रगीतानि मन्त्रवाक्यानि । शबर on IX. 2. 2, साम-वेदे सहस्रं गीतुपायाः । ... गीतिनाम क्रिया । सा आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नजनितस्वरविशेषाणामभिधायिका । सा सामशब्दाभिलष्या । सा नियतपरिमाणा । क्वचि च गीयते । शबर on पू. मी. सू. IX 2 29 In the नदामात्र्य on the Vārtika सर्वे देशान्तरे in the first आदिक we read चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरस्वत्या बह्वधा विभक्ता एकशतमध्वरुश्रावः सप्तचत्वारिंशन्मन्त्रैरेकविंशतिधा यातृचर्य नपथाधर्वणो वेद &c. Here the word शास्त्रा is not used in relation to सामवेद but the word वर्त्मन् (way) As शबर expressly (Continued on next page)

gīta is an action which manifests various tunes owing to the internal effort made by the singer and in order to bring about the musical effect the singer has to resort to modifications of the letters of the *rk*, to disjunction (of parts of it), to omission (of a letter), to repetition, to pauses, to ¹⁹⁸³ *stobha*. In VII.2. 1-21 the PMS establishes that the words 'Rathantara-sāman', 'Brhat-sāman' refer only to the music and not to the *rk* or basic text set to music. Yajus means those Vedic mantras that are neither *rk* nor *sūman*. There is another word 'nigada' applied to certain mantras that are addressed to others as directions to do certain acts and are uttered loudly such as 'agnīdagnīn vihara', 'proksapīrāsādaya', 'idhmābarhirupasādaya'. They are Yajus (i. e. in prose), the only difference being that they are loudly uttered (in order that the persons to whom they are addressed may hear them), while ordinary Yajus is uttered inaudibly. Vide P. M. S. II. 1. 38-45 for discussion on Nigadas and Mai. S. III. 6. 5 for 'uccair-rcā kriyata uccaih sāmopāmsu yajusā'.

Mantra and Brāhmana constitute the Veda. The P. M. S. ¹⁹⁸⁴ states that all those parts of the Veda that are not or cannot be called Mantra constitute Brāhmana. Śābara notes that the Vrttikāra, in order to enable students to decide what texts are Brāhmana texts, pointed out certain characteristics found in Brāhmana texts such as abounding in the word 'iti' or 'ityāha' (so it is said), anecdote, stating the reason for an injunction, etymology, condemnation, praise, doubt, injunction, instance where another did something of the same kind, what happened in

(Continued from last page)

says that in सामवेद there are a thousand गीत्युपायः, सहस्रवर्त्म means 'सहस्रगीत्युपायवान्' and it is not correct to render सहस्रवर्त्म as सहस्रशालः, as many scholars do. The विष्णुपुराण III 6 gives a confused account of the recensions of the सामवेद, verses 3 and 6 speaking of 1000 संहिताः propagated by सुकर्म and 24 संहिताः propagated by a pupil of हिरण्यनाभ respectively.

1983. Stobhas are musical interjections and flourishes added or introduced in the chants such as 'hāu, haī, ī, ū, hum'. Vide Chān. Up. (I. 13. 1-3) where hum is said to be the 13th stobha and undefinable (identified with highest Brahma) and the other 12 stobhas are specified among which are हाउ, हाइ, ह्री, ऊ &c. Vide Jai. IX. 2. 39 (adhukam ca vivarnam ca jaimineḥ stobhasabdatvāt).

1984. शेषे ब्राह्मणशब्दः। पृ. मी. सू. II. 1. 33; 'मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः। तत्र मन्त्रलक्षणं उक्ते परिशिष्टसिद्धत्वात् ब्राह्मणलक्षणमवच्छनीयं मन्त्रलक्षणवचनेनैव सिद्धम्। शबर.

past ages, changing the meaning after considering the context.¹⁹⁸⁵ Śābara also quotes two verses summarising under ten heads the characteristics of Brāhmana texts, points out that all this is only illustrative and that the characteristics mentioned by the Vrttikāra sometimes occur in mantras also, such as 'iti' in Rg. X. 119. 1, 'ityāha' in Rg. VII. 41. 2, 'akhyāyika' as in Rg. I. 116. 3, reason (*hetu*) in Rg. I. 2. 4. The Rgveda alone contains over ten thousand mantras. Hardly one-third of them are employed in all the Vedic rites. The rest are employed in *japa*. Besides, the other Vedas also have thousands of mantras. Therefore, no formal definition of mantra is attempted and all that is stated is that mantras are those which have been recognised as such by the¹⁹⁸⁶ learned.

Brāhmanas are attached to each Veda, such as the Aitareya and Kausītaki Brāhmanas to the Rgveda, the Taittiriya to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, the Śatapatha to the Śukla Yajurveda, the Tāndya to the Sāmaveda and Gopatha to the Yajurveda. The Brāhmanas contain the oldest known specimens of prose in Indo-European languages, though prose formulas (probably earlier in date than those in the Brāhmanas) are found in the Kṛṣṇa and Śukla Yajurveda Samhitās. They are the primary source of information about sacrifices, ritual and priests. They contain numerous myths and legends put forward for illustrating ritual and sacrifices. They often mention contests between gods and *asuras* (titans) and abound in etymologies. Their contents can be divided into two broad classes, viz. injunctive (hortatory) passages (*vidhis*) and explanatory (or laudatory) passages (*arthavādas*). The scope and purpose of *arthavādas* will be explained later on. But one important point to be noted is that the Mīmāṃsakas are strongly opposed to holding that any part of the Veda, even the smallest, is useless or meaningless.

It is now time to see how the Mīmāṃsakas deal with the contents of the Veda. The extant Vedic literature is of

1985. हेतुनिर्वाचनं निन्दा प्रशंसा संशयो विधिः । परक्रिया पुराकल्पो व्यवधारणकल्पना । उपमानं दर्शते तु विधयो ब्राह्मणस्य तु । एतत् स्यात् सर्ववेदेषु नियतं विधिलक्षणम् ॥ ५ by शबर on II. 1. 33 The तन्त्रवा explains that the word विधि in विधिलक्षण here means ब्राह्मण About व्यवधारणकल्पना it says 'यत्रान्वयार्थः प्रतिभातः पौर्वापर्यालोचनेन व्यवधार्य अन्यथा कल्प्यते सा व्यवधारणकल्पना तद्यथा प्रतियुक्त्यादिति श्रुतं प्रतिग्राहयेदिति कल्पयिष्यते ॥' and परकृति and पुराकल्प as 'एकपुरुषकर्तृकमुपाख्यानं परकृतिः पराकर्तृकं पुराकल्पः' The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II 34.63-64 explains 'अन्यस्यान्यस्य चोक्तिर्या इधे सारना पुराकृतिः । यो ह्यत्यन्तपरोक्षार्थः स पुराकल्प उच्यते ॥'

1986 स्वाध्याये पश्यमानेषु तेषु मन्त्रपदं स्मृतम् । ते मन्त्रा नाभिधानं हि मन्त्राणां लक्षणं स्थितम् ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक on सू. मी. सू. II. 1. 34

enormous extent and of greatly varied content. Once it is admitted that the Veda is self-existent and not the work of any author, human or divine, every sentence in it apparently becomes of infallible authority. The Veda being the only means of knowing Dharma, the Mīmāṃsakas had to accept that whatever the Veda says was authoritative and binding on them, as Śābara¹⁹⁸⁷ admits. But many Vedic texts are apparently in conflict with each other and often are in conflict with ordinary experience. A few striking instances may be given to show how difficulties arose. The Tai. S. V. 2. 7 and Mai. S. state 'one should not pile the fire altar on (bare) earth, nor in the sky, nor in heaven'.¹⁹⁸⁸ No one can build a fire altar in the sky, nor in heaven. The Veda apparently prohibits something which is quite impossible and therefore this prohibition seems at first sight senseless. The Tai. Br. (III 8. 10. 5) states that by offering the Pūrṇāhuti the performer secures all desired objects. If Pūrṇāhuti yields all objects, then one need not perform any further rites of Agnihotra &c. Does the Veda mean this? The Veda contains stories and legends about individuals e. g. Tai. S. mentions Babara Prāvāhanī who desired to be an eloquent speaker and therefore performed a sacrifice called Pañcarātra and secured his object. The Veda would then be later in time than this Babara and this would forfeit the claim of being eternal &c. Therefore, Śābara states that a story that never happened is described for the sake of praise. This may be an escape from a tight corner but the explanation does not redound

1987 शब्दप्रमाणज्ञातं वयं यच्छब्द आह तद्वत्सार्कं प्रमाणम्। शबर on पू नी सू III 2 36. These very words occur in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 9 in the first आह्निक

1988. न पृथिव्यामग्निश्चेतस्यो नाग्निरिक्षे न दिवि - इत्याहुः। अमृतं वै हिरण्यममृते वा एतदग्निश्चीयते। मै. सं III 2 6 Vide P. M. S. 1 2. 5 and 18 on this and व्यवहारमयूख p 202 (which says it is निषेधात्प्रवादमात्रम्) All that is meant is that, just as agnicayana in the air or sky is not at all known, so doing it on bare earth also is unknown and it should be done after placing a piece of gold on the ground. This is a *stuti* (laudation) of gold. पूर्णाहुति is explained as पूर्णया क्षुचा आहुति by the com. on कात्यायनश्रौ सू IV 10. 5. शबर प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाच प्रवदिता स्यामिति स एतं पञ्चरात्रमाहरत् तेनायजत ततो वै स वाचः प्रवदिताऽभवत्। य एव विद्वान् पञ्चरात्रेण यजते प्रवदितैव वाचो भवत्यथो एनं वाचस्पतिरित्याहुः। मै. सं. VII. 1. 10 2-3. प्रावाहणि would mean 'son of प्रावाहन' Vide P. M. S. 1. 2. 6 and 18 for this शबर remarks 'असद्ब्रह्मसंज्ञावाक्यानां स्तुत्यर्थेन प्रशंसाया गन्धमानत्वात्' on I. 2. 10, on which तन्त्रवा remarks 'एवं वेदेऽपि विधिना तावत्कलमवगमितमर्थवादास्त्वसत्येन नाम प्रत्येक्यन्तु न तद्वत् सत्यासत्यत्वे किञ्चित् द्वयतः प्रवर्तनमात्राकारित्वात्। तस्मादुपाख्यानासत्यत्वमतन्त्रम्।' तन्त्रवा, on I 2. 10.

to the credit of the Veda which is here admitted to have manufactured a non-existent story for pushing up one of its injunctions; besides, if people come to know from what Śābara says that the story is false, people would not be induced to go in for performing that rite. A true story might encourage persons to follow the prescription of the Veda in this case. The *Tantravārtika* (p. 125) on this explanation of Śābara tries to meet the objection raised here. Sometimes Veda is divided into three portions viz. *Vidhi*, *Arthavāda* and *Mantra*, names of *yāgas* like *udbhīd* and *viśvaṇit* being placed under *vidhi*. The *Śloka-vārtika* refers to this threefold division in its last verse.¹⁹⁸⁹ Though the whole Veda is the only means of right knowledge about what Dharma is i. e. what should be done and what should not be done, the different parts of the Veda are not all directly related to right knowledge about Dharma. Large portions of the Veda are related only mediately to the principal part.¹⁹⁹⁰ In one place Śābara very succinctly but clearly defines the three classes of Vedic texts and illustrates them. The Veda is also divided into five parts viz. *vidhi*, *arthavāda*, *mantra*, *nāmadheya* and *pratiśedha*. These five have already been mentioned above. Here some details will have to be added on each of these. *Vidhi* is an injunction (or exhortation) that is meaningful on account of enjoining a matter that has a (useful) purpose and it prescribes

1989. इति प्रमाणत्वमिदं प्रसिद्धं युक्त्येह धर्मं प्रति चोदनायाः। अतः परं तु भविष्य वेदं त्रेधा ततो वदयति यस्य योः ॥ ५ ॥ मी. वा. प. 7, on this व्या. २ remarks 'तेन सिद्धेऽपि चोदनाप्रामाण्ये ततः परं विधयेवाद्मन्त्रात्मना वेदं त्रेधा विभज्य तत्सुत्यादि-प्रयोजनमतिपादनेन कृत्स्नस्य वेदस्य तन्मूलयोश्च स्मृत्यान्धारयोर्धर्मं प्रति प्रामाण्यरूपरितने पादवये प्रतिपादयिष्यत इति समस्तोध्यायः प्रमाणलक्षणं, जैवेह समाप्तमिति।' On the पूर्वपक्षद्वय 'उक्तं समान्ताद्येदमर्थं तस्मात् सर्वे तदर्थं स्यात्' (पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 1) शबर states 'अश्विदस्य (वेदस्य) भागो विधिर्योऽविदितमर्थं वेदयति यथा सोमेन यजेतेति। अश्विदस्यार्थो यः प्रोच्यते विधिं स्मरति यथा वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता इति। अश्विदमन्त्रो यो विदितमर्थं प्रयोगकाले प्रकाशयति यथा अहिर्देवसदनं दामि-हृदयेवमादिः। अयं अर्थः यस्य सः इदमर्थः तस्य भावः ऐदमर्थस्य। समान्ताय means वेद उक्तं refers to पू. मी. सू. I 2 1 (आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वात् &c.).

1990 The शास्त्रदीपिका on I. 4. 1 states 'तत्र चोदनेन ताक्षात्मनाम्। अर्थ-वाद्मन्त्रस्यतिनामधेयानि तच्छेषत्वेन तन्मूलत्वेन च प्रमाणं भवन्तीति धर्मप्रमितेरितिकर्तव्यता-रथानि नियतं निपतन्ति।' (p. 54). That विधि means something not known before or from another source follows from the पूर्वपक्षसूत्र I. 2. 19 विधिर्योऽस्यादपूर्वत्वात् &c. On I. 4. 4 (p. 333) शबर says 'अविदितवेदनं च विधिरित्युच्यते।' अज्ञातस्य हि ज्ञापनं विधिः। शबर on X 3 20, on I 4. 8 p. 339 'यद्यज्ञातस्ततो विधिः, यदि ज्ञातस्ततोऽज्ञातः।... न ज्ञातस्यातन्मन्त्रेण कृत्यं या नामशब्दार्थन्यापारो विधीयते।' this last states that ordinarily a *vidhi* is laid down by a verbal form or by a potential passive participle (ending in य, तस्य, or अनीय).

something that does not follow (or is not established by) from any other authority. Śābara himself describes in many places what vidhi means. For example, the injunction 'one desirous of (attaining) Heaven should offer Agnihotra' prescribes (the performance of) homa that does not follow from any other authority and that has a beneficial purpose, its meaning being 'by the Agnihotra offering one should effect (the attainment of) svarga'. Where, however, a rite is otherwise established, all that can be done is only to enjoin an accessory with regard to it. Thus in the sentence 'one should offer an oblation with curds' the homa being already established by the words 'one should offer Agnihotra (if one desires heaven)' all that is enjoined is the offering of curds with regard to it, the meaning being 'by curds one should effect the oblation'. Vide *Tup-tika* on P. M. S. VI, 3, 17 and M. N. P. p. 17 (B. O. R. I ed.).¹⁹⁹¹

The collection of vidhis in the Vedic texts forms the core of the Veda and refers to many specific rites. The central element in a vidhi is the verb or verbal form, which will be analysed later on. The question is: how is one to recognize a vidhi. Śābara quotes a verse which those who know the propositions about the meanings of words and sentences declare traditionally, viz. in all the Vedas the fixed (or definite) sign of a vidhi is the words 'one shall do', 'it should be done', 'it ought to be done', 'it should be so', 'it ought to be so'.¹⁹⁹² From this it follows that a vidhi is ordinarily couched in the optative form (called vidhiling in Sanskrit), and that a verb in the present tense cannot ordinarily be taken as laying down a vidhi.¹⁹⁹³ But sometimes a vidhi may be inferred even from a text in which the verb is in the present tense. For example, there is a vedic text occurring in the *Mahāpitrayajña* which states "he should follow holding the

1991. यच्च तु कर्म प्रकारान्तरेण प्राप्तं तच्च तदुद्देशेन शुणमात्रविधानम्। यथा 'दध्ना छुह्यात्' इत्यत्र होमस्य 'अग्निहोत्रं छुह्यात्' इत्यनेन प्राप्तत्वात् होमोद्देशेन दधिमात्रविधानम्, दध्ना होमं भावयेत् इति। सी. न्या. प्र. p. 17.

1992. एवं हि पदवाक्यार्थन्यायविदः श्लोकमाननन्ति। कुर्यात् क्रियेत कर्तव्य भवेत्त्यादिति पञ्चमम्। एतत्स्वास्तवेदेषु नियतं विधिलक्षणम्॥ शबर on पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 3.

1993. शबर himself says on पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 13, 'अतिविजो वृणीते... देवयजनमध्यवस्यन्तीति। नात्र विधिर्गम्यते वर्तमानकालप्रत्ययनिर्देशात् न चात्र वाक्यशेषः स्तावकीति।' and on III. 4. 15 (while discussing ते. सं. II. 5. 2. 4 तस्माज्छम्यमानोऽहुव्यान्मापि दक्षकृत् इति प्राणायानवेवात्मन्यत्ते) 'नात्र विधायकं शब्दसुपलभामहे य एष प्राणायानवेवात्मन्यत्ते इति। वर्तमानापदेश एष न विधायकः स्तावकस्तु भवति मन्त्रवचनरयः', similarly, on IV. 1. 32 (p. 1215) 'नात्र विधिविभक्तिः, वर्तमानापदेशो ह्ययमिति।'। मेधातिथि on मनु V. 40 employs very similar words.

fuelstick below the handle of the ladle in the pitryajña, since the performer of rites for the gods holds the fuel-stick above the handle.¹⁹⁹¹ This has been construed as a vidhi (exhortation) and not as a mere arthavāda. Another example is that of Rātrisatras (Soma sacrifices occupying more than twelve days). A passage in the context of Rātrisatras states 'those who perform *rātrisattra* attain stability (or fame), are endowed with *brahma* lustre and eat or possess food'. This looks like a mere praise (arthavāda) of the performance of *rātrisatras*, but really it is a vidhi about the reward of *rātrisattra* mentioned in the above passage and states an exception to the rule that *svarga* is the reward of a rite in which no reward is specified by the Vedic texts. This is employed in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 which states that the sin committed through ignorance is removed by the performance of penances. Ordinarily, a sinful act is deemed to be destroyed by undergoing the penalty that God may inflict, but Yāj. states a special rule. Medhātithi on Manu V. 40 (stating that animals, birds and herbs dying by being offered in yajñas reach higher levels) says that this is merely an arthavāda and no vidhi can be imagined from this by the maxim of Rātrisattra.¹⁹⁹³ Vide Par. M. (I. 1. p. 149) which holds that an

1994. दिष्टगताग्निहोत्रे महापितृयज्ञे वा श्रूयते । अधस्तात्समिधं धारयन्ननुवेदुपरि हि देवेभ्यो धारयति । quoted by तन्त्रवा. on III. 4. 6 (Śabara has dropped this sūtra along with five preceding ones); it then proceeds 'पिन्धे होमिऽधस्तात् सुग्दण्डस्य समिद्धारयितव्या ।' देवे च पुनरुपदिष्टादिति । विधित्वे चैवमादीनामुक्तः कल्पनामकारः । तस्माद्विधिरिति ॥' p. 899. It may be noted that the सूत्रिच (I. pp. 72-73) mentions this Vedic passage and the conclusion in its discussion about the validity of marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or one's paternal aunt's daughter, after quoting a Śatapatha text 1. 8. 3. 6 'तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादृच्छा चारयश्च जायते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छामहे इति विदेवं दीप्यमाना जात्या आसते' (where the verbs are in the present tense and not in the optative mood and yet the Sm. C. holds that it is not a mere anuvāda, but it leads to the formulation of a vidhi). Vide also परा मा. I. 2 pp. 66-67 for a similar treatment. It was held that the use of words like 'hi' indicating a reason or 'vai' (indicating what is well-known) is not generally allowed in a vidhi. Vide शबर on पू. नी सू IX. 1. 41 (p. 1690) 'न च विधीयमाने वैशब्दे भवति प्रसिद्धवचनो ह्यप हट', न वै ज्ञेयानि सख्यानि सन्ति— इति यथा ।' न वै &c occurs in Rg. X. 95. 15

1995. रात्री. प्रकृत्य श्रूयते । प्रतितिष्ठन्ति ह वा य एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति । ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनोऽ-
भादा भगन्ति य एता उपयन्ति । The words प्रति... यन्ति occur in ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4. This is considered in पू. नी सू IV. 3. 17-19. The इष्टीका holds that there is a vidhi here. The निता on Yāj. III. 226 says 'न चेदमर्थवादमात्रम् । अपिन्नसिद्धोपपादाकाशानां रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थवादिकफलस्यैव कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात् । अतो उक्त मायश्चित्तैर्येन इति ।' This अधिकरण contains an exception to the
(Continued on next page)

adhikāra-vidhi about one desirous of stability has been assumed from the passage about *rātrisattra*. Raghunandana in *Ekādaśitattva* (p. 28) explains the *sūtras* (P. M. S. IV. 3. 17-19) and illustrates this *nyāya*.

Following the Vedas, the *Smṛtis* also lay down numerous *vidhis* by means of verbal optative forms or participles ending in 'ya, tavya &c.'. For example, vide *Manu* IV. 25 'agnihotram ca jubuyāt' and XI. 53 ('caritavyam-ato &c.') as instances of the two ways. From different points of view *vidhi* is classified in various ways. One classification is into four, *Utpattividhi* (originative injunction), *Vinayogavidhi* (applicatory), *prayoga-vidhi* (performance), *adhikāra-vidhi* (eligibility). *Utpattividhi* is one which shows in a general way the nature of the rite, as in 'agnihotram juhoti' (he offers the agnihotra oblation); an applicatory injunction is one which conveys the connexion of a subsidiary matter with the main rite as in 'dadnā juhoti' (he offers oblation with curds) and this is dealt with in the 3rd chapter of the P. M. S.; a *prayogavidhi* is an injunction that governs the order of parts in a rite and suggests non-delay or promptness in the performance, though often times it is implied rather than expressly stated. This is considered in the chapters IV and V of the P. M. S. An *Adhikāra-vidhi* (injunction of qualification or eligibility) is one that points to the ownership of the fruit of an action as in 'svargakāmo yajeta' (he who desires to secure heaven should perform a yāga).¹⁹⁹⁶ This is the subject of the 6th chapter of P. M. S.

(Continued from last page)

general rule in पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 15 'स स्वर्गः दयात्सर्वान्प्रत्यविशिष्टयात्'. About such special passages Sabara remarks 'ननु वर्तमानापदेशोऽयम्. सत्यमेवमेतत्. आनर्थक्य-परिहाराय फलचोदना सम्बन्ध एवितन्वो भवति।' on पू. मी. सू. III. 4. 24 (p. 935) and the तन्त्रवातिक on the same states 'सत्यपि चार्थवादस्वरूपत्वे पारादर्शन्यप्राणादे-वञ्जतीत्येकेषु फलविधित्वं वक्ष्यति 'फलमात्रेयो निर्देशात्' इति.'. फलमा is the सिद्धांत in पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 18 (about रात्रिसत्र)

1996. The मी. न्या. प्र. gives the following definitions 'तत्सिद्धं विधिः प्रयोजनवन्तमप्राप्तार्थं विधत्ते। तत्र कर्मस्वरूपमात्रबोधको विधिरित्यतिविधिः, यथा अग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति। अङ्गप्रधानसम्बन्धबोधको विधिर्विनियोगविधिः, यथा दध्ना जुहोतीति। ... प्रयोग-मांशुभाषबोधको विधिः प्रयोगविधिः। स चाङ्गभाष्येकतामापन्नः प्रधानविधिरिव। ... फलस्वात्म्य-बोधको विधिरधिकारविधिः। फलस्वात्म्यं च कर्मजन्यफलभोक्तृत्वम्। स च यजेत स्वर्गकाम इत्येव-रूपः।' pp. 66, 72, 171, 193 (BORI ed of 1937). The आन्व. सू. (I. 2.1) prescribes 'सार्थं प्रातः सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य जुहुयात्.' Here जुहुयात् is उत्पत्तिविधिः, सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य would be विनियोगविधिः. The अर्थसंग्रह gives another definition of प्रयोगविधि as 'अङ्गाणां क्रमबोधको विधिः प्रयोगविधिरित्यपि लक्षणम्' (p. 11 text) i. e. *prayogavidhi* is one that conveys the order of the subsidiaries in a principal rite,

Another and an important classification is apūrva-vidhi (injunction of something quite new and not otherwise established as in 'svargakāmo yajeta'), niyamavidhi (a restrictive injunction) as in 'he pounds the rice' and parisankhyāvidhi (an injunction in form where two alternatives being simultaneously possible one is precluded). The Tantravārtika defines these three in a well-known verse.¹⁹⁹⁷ For a sacrifice a plot of land is required which may be quite flat or may have ups and downs. Here there are two alternatives only and both cannot be availed of at the same time (i. e. a man cannot perform a sacrifice at the same time on even as well as on uneven ground). Therefore, 'same dese yajeta' (one should offer a sacrifice on an even spot) is a *nyama* (it restricts the performance to flat land only) and excludes the use of uneven land for a sacrifice. 'Five five-nailed animals are to be eaten'. This is a *parisankhyā*. This sentence is not a *vidhi*, as eating flesh is already established by men's appetites. Nor is it a *niyama*, since one can eat the flesh of five-nailed animals as well as of other animals at the same time. It is a *parisankhyā*, i. e. it prohibits the eating of the flesh of animals other than of five five-nailed animals. In form the sentence is a *vidhi* (as it employs the word 'bhakṣyāḥ' (which is optative or potential passive participle), but in substance it is a prohibition of eating the flesh of animals other than the five five-nailed ones. The

1997. विधिरत्यन्तमासे नियमः पाक्षिके सति। तत्र चाप्यत्र च मासे परिसंख्येति कीर्यते ॥ विधिरेव हि केनचिद्विशेषेणैवं भिद्यते। तत्र योऽत्यन्तमासो न च प्राप्स्यति प्राग्वचनादित्यवगम्यते तत्र नियोगः शुद्ध एव विधिर्यथा व्रीहीन्मोक्षतीति। यत्र तु प्राग्वचनात् पाक्षिकी प्रातिः सम्भाव्यते तत्रमासिपक्ष इत्यन्यो विधिः प्रवर्तते स नियन्तुलाजियम इत्युच्यते यथा व्रीहीनपदन्तीति। तन्त्रवा. on I 2, 34 p 152. On P. M S. VI, 3. 16 the दुपुटीका says 'यस्य कदाचिदपि प्राप्नोति स विधिः। यथा, अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्—इति। पूतीकाः प्राप्नुवन्ति तस्माद्युक्तमुक्तं नियमार्थं क्वचिद्विधिः।'. 'मेधा० on सनु. III. 45 (क्तुकांलाभियासी०) reads अंती in both halves and परिसंख्या नस्त्रिज्जिव'. नस्त्रिज्जिव refers to the sentence पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या' If these words are taken as परिसंख्या the three faults are; 'पञ्च भक्ष्या इति यदान्वयतः पञ्चनखविषयं भक्षणं प्रतीयते तदा तत्रयत्कं भवति, तद्व्यतिरिक्तनिषेधपरत्वाद्वाक्यस्य। अश्रुतश्च निषेधः, अतः परार्थकल्पना। अर्थित्वाच्च सर्वविषयभक्षणं दृग्भावं तस्य पाथ' मेधा० on सनु. III. 45. The sprinkling of water on rice in a rite is not established by any other means and is therefore a *vidhi*. Rice can be unhusked with the nails or by being pounded by the use of a mortar and pestle Therefore 'vrihīn avahanti' is a *niyama*, since it does not allow the use of nails and puts the restriction of pounding

word *parieankhyā* occurs in P. M. S. X. 7. 4 and 7 and Śabara notes that it is liable to three faults.¹⁹⁹³

Dharmaśāstra writers make frequent use of the doctrine of *niyama* and *parisankhyā*. Medhātithi on Manu III, 45 (*rtukālabhigāmi eyāt*) has a long note on *niyama* and *parisankhyā*, quotes the verse of Tantravārtika and explains the passage about five five-nailed animals. The Mit. also on Yāj on I. 79 (*tasmin yugmāsu samviśet* 'the husband should approach the wife on every even night next to the 4th night up to the 16th after her monthly illness starts') and on I. 81 holds a lengthy discussion whether there is a *vidhi* or *niyama* or *parisankhyā*. The Mit. defines the three in prose, cites examples and tells us that some thought that there was only a *parisankhyā*, while Bhārucci, Viśvarūpa, and others (including the Mit.) hold that there is a *niyamavidhi* only in I. 79 and 81. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 17 deals with the same subject as Yāj. I. 79 and 81 and Haradatta says it is a *niyama*, while others thought it was a *parisankhyā* and that in any case it is not a pure *vidhi*. On Gautama V. 2 Haradatta comments that the *ācārya* (i. e. Gautama) holds that there is a *parisankhyā* only (the *sūtra* is '*sarvatra vā pratisiddhavarjam*'). Compare Yāj. I. 81 (*yathākāmi bhaved-vāpi* &c.), on which the Mit. emphatically says that in both Gautama and Yāj. there is a restrictive rule (*niyama*). Gautama prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* should eat at the houses of persons of the three higher classes that are commended for the performance of their duties and should receive gifts also from such persons. Haradatta treats these two rules as¹⁹⁹⁹ *parisankhyāvidhis*. Āp. Dh. S. II. provides the rules of conduct for husband and wife after their marriage, the first being 'taking food two times (morning and evening)'. Haradatta takes it as a *parisankhyā*, meaning that eating a third time is prohibited (but they may or may not eat twice in the day), while others take it as a *niyama* meaning 'they must eat twice in the day'.

1998. On पू. मी. सू. X 7. 5 शबर says 'न चैतदस्ति परिसंख्येति। तत्र हि त्रयो दोषाः। स्वार्थप्राप्त्यर्थं परार्थकल्पना प्राप्त्याशयेति।' Vide शबर on III, 7. 33 for the same words. As said in the भाट्टदीपिका 'शब्दतः फलतो वा यस्य शास्त्रस्याप्यनिवृत्ति-विषयः स परिसंख्याविधिः। तत्र चान्यत्र च प्रतिनिर्णयः सापि लक्षणचदिकेति ध्येयम्।' (p. 9. B. I ed.)

1999. छुद्रपदातार्था भोजने प्रवृत्तिः। शर्कया च यस्य कस्यचिद्बुद्धे शुक्रानि शुद्रपदन्तु। तत्र परिसंख्ये एवमेव युद्धे ब्राह्मणो शुद्धीव नान्येषामिति। हरदत्त on गौतम 17. 1. पाणिग्रहणादधि युद्धेभ्योर्निर्वातम्। कालयोर्भोजनम्। आप. ध. सू. II 1. 1. 1-2; कालयोर्भोजनयोर्भोजनं कर्तव्यं सायं प्रातश्च। हरदत्त (this is a नियम and not परिसंख्या).

Niyamavidhis are of three classes, viz. those concerned with *pratipatti* (substitutes), those about *pratipatti* (concluding act or final disposal of certain materials employed in a sacrifice), and those that are concerned with matters other than the preceding two. The Tandyā-brāhmaṇa says²⁰⁰⁰ 'if one is not able to obtain the soma plant, one may extract juice from *pūtikas*'. Jai. III. 6. 40 and VI. 3 13-17 deal with this matter and Jai. and Śābara prescribe that if no soma plant is available in a soma sacrifice, the sacrificer should substitute *pūtikas* for Soma and no other substance, even if the latter be more similar to Soma, can be used.²⁰⁰¹ The word *pratipatti* is used in several sūtras by Jai; vide IV. 2. 11, 15, 19, 22. The casting into water of all utensils and things smeared with *soma* (such as the dregs left after Soma is extracted, the stones, two wooden boards and the post of *udumbara* in the midst of the *sadas*) at the time of the final purificatory bath (*avabhrtha*) in *Jyotistoma* is said to be *pratipattikarma* (P. M. S. IV. 2. 22). This terminology is employed in Dharmaśāstra works. Manu (III. 262-263) provides that out of the three *pinḍas* (balls of boiled rice) that are offered to the three male ancestors of the performer of *śrāddha* the wife desirous of a son should eat the middle *pinḍa* (meant for the paternal grandfather) and Devala provides that the *pinḍas* may be given to a brāhmaṇa or may be eaten by a goat or a cow or cast into fire or water.²⁰⁰² This is the *pratipatti* of the *pinḍas* according to Aparārka (on Yaj. I. 256) and the Sm. C. II p 486. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 480-481. The word *pratipatti* is opposed to *athakarma*. For example, in Tai. S. we read 'after the soma plant is bought, he gives the staff to the Maitrāvaruṇa priest'. Here the staff had been first given to the performer (*Yajamāna*) at the time of *Dikṣā* and then transferred to the Maitrāvaruṇa who has several uses for it, viz. he can walk with its help in darkness, may enter water, can prevent cows and snakes from coming near him and he can

2000 यदि सोमं न निन्देयुः पूतीकानभिपुण्ययुर्वादि न पूतीकानर्जुनानि च । ताण्ड्य IX 5. 3

2001. नियमार्थं शुणष्टिः । पू मी सू. III. 6 40; नियमार्थं क्वचिद्विधिः । पू मी सू VI. 3 16, on which Śābara comments 'सोमाभावे बहुषु सदृशेषु प्राप्तेषु नियमः कियते । पूतिका अभिषेक्तव्या इति । तस्मात्प्रतिनिधिपुण्यादाय प्रयोगः कर्तव्य इति ।'

2002. तेन पत्नीप्राप्तये नश्यमपिष्टे पिष्टद्वयस्यापि प्रतिपत्तिः कार्या । अपारर्क p 550 (quotes मत्स्य 16 52-53 which are similar to चाङ्ग. I. 25C).

support himself on it. So this is different from pratipatti, where the substance is finally disposed of and no further use is made of it. This is dealt with in P. M. S. IV. 2. 16-18. This (giving of the staff) is *arthakarma* as opposed to pratipatti-karma. This is mentioned in Tai. S. VI. I. 4. 2 (krīte some maitrāvaruṇāya dandam prayacchati &c.). Another example of pratipatti is the casting of the horn of the black antelope on the *cātvalā* (Tai. S. VI. I. 3. 8 and PMS IV. 2. 19). PMS XI. 2. 66-68 deal with an example of arthakarma. Cremating a sacrificer when dead with his implements of sacrifice (mentioned in Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2-3) is pratipattikarma of the implements (P. M. S. XI. 3. 34). Manu V. 167 provides that if the wife of an *āhilāgni* dies before him she is to be cremated with the sacred fires set up by him and with the sacrificial implements. An example of the third kind of niyama (which is not concerned with pratinidhi or pratipatti) is 'one should take his meal,²⁰⁰³ facing the east'. A man can take food facing any direction but this restricts him to the east alone. Here no question of a pratinidhi or of pratipatti arises.

Vidhis are also divided into *Kratvartha* (for the rite) and *Purusārtha* (for the man). They are concerned with 'Prayukti' (motivating force) which is the subject of chapter IV of the P. M. S. P. M. S. IV. 1. 2 defines²⁰⁰⁴ *purusārtha* and Śabara advances three interpretations of that sūtra, one of which is '(Purusārtha) is that matter on doing which follows the happiness of man, as its understanding is due to man's desire for obtaining it (happiness) and *purusārtha* (man's purpose) is not different (from happiness)'. From this rather obscure and clumsy definition it appears to follow that *purusārtha* is what a man ordinarily undertakes for securing the reward of happiness, while *kratvartha* is that which helps in the accomplishment of *purusārtha* and does not itself directly yield any reward to the performer. All principal sacrifices like Darśa-pūrnāmāsa are included under *purusārtha*, while under *kratvartha* are put all those auxiliary acts that have the

2003. प्रादुर्लभोऽस्मानि सुखीत—occurs in आप घ सू. I. 11. 31. 1.

2004. 'चस्मिन्मिति: पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्ताऽर्थलक्षणाविभक्तत्वात्।' पू. मी. सू. IV. 1. 2. The meaning of the sūtra as given by मयूखमालिका on शास्त्रदीपिका is 'यस्मिन् यदार्थे कृते पुरुषस्य मिति: स्वर्गादिलक्षणोपजायते स दर्शपूर्णमासादि: पुरुषार्थ: यतस्तस्य लिप्ता अन्वष्टात अर्थलक्षणं पुरुषार्थस्य ग्रीवा अविभक्तत्वात्।' The words of the sūtra are underlined in this explanation. लिप्ता is a desiderative noun from the root 'labh' (to get) and means लब्धुमिच्छा. The नित्ता. on वा. II. 114, therefore, calls it लिप्तासूत्र.

purpose of accomplishing the principal rite itself e. g. the five ²⁰⁰⁵ *prayājas* that are auxiliary to the Darśapūrnamāsa are Kratvartha, while Darśapūrnamāsa itself is puruṣārtha. The importance of this distinction lies in this that if what is kratvartha is not followed the rite itself becomes defective, while if what is puruṣārtha is not followed, the result is that the man-himself becomes blamable or sinful but the undertaking or rite does not become defective. One set of the three interpretations of P. M. S. IV. 1. 2 given by Śābara is that it refers to the rules about the acquisition of wealth viz. that a brāhmana should earn wealth by receiving gifts, a ksatriya by conquest and a vaiśya by agriculture and the like (vide Gaut. X. 40-42, Manu X. 76-79). These are in the nature of niyamas. If the acquisition of wealth is kratvartha and, if one acquires wealth by means other than those prescribed by the Śāstra and performs a sacrifice with such wealth, the sacrifice itself would be defective and would not yield the desired reward. But if the acquisition of wealth be puruṣārtha, then, by whatever means wealth with which a *yāga* is to be performed be obtained, the sacrifice would not be affected. The Mīt on ²⁰⁰⁶ Yaj. II. 114 quotes a passage from Guru Prabhākara (vide note 1947) which is quoted by the Dāyabhāga also (II. 67) but without name, while the Sm. C. II. pp. 257-58), Madanaratna (on Vyavahāra pp. 324-325) and Vyavahāraprakāśa (p. 420) quote a similar passage from the Nayaviveka. Viśvarūpa also on Yaj. II. 144 holds that rules about acquisition of wealth are 'puruṣārtha'. To acquire wealth is natural to man and acquisition of wealth does not depend upon Śāstra. Besides, every one can directly perceive that wealth when earned confers pleasure on the acquirer. Therefore, wealth is puruṣārtha and sacrifices which are performed with wealth are also puruṣārtha. The general rule is that all angas (auxiliary rites) are kratvartha and all principal rites (like

2005 The Tai. S III. 6. 1. 1 mentions five *prayājas* (oblations of clarified butter) introductory to the principal offerings of Darśapūrnamāsa viz. 'Samidho yajati, tanūnapātam yajati, ido yajati, barhir-yajati, sākāraṁ yajati'. There is a difference of view as to whether these are names of rites or of devatās. Vide H. of Dh. vol II p. 1057 note 2361

2006. The Miṭta explains 'पदा इत्यार्जननियमानां कर्तव्यं तदा नियमार्जितेनैव इत्येव क्रतुसिद्धिर्न नियमातिक्रमाजितेन इत्येवेति न ह्युपर्य नियमातिक्रमदोषः पूर्वपक्षे। सिद्धान्ते स्वर्जननियमस्य उपपार्थक्यद्वयिकमेणाजितेनापि इत्येव क्रतुसिद्धिर्भवति, ह्युपर्येव नियमातिक्रमदोष इति नियमातिक्रमाजितत्वापि स्वत्वमङ्गीकृतम्। अस्या क्रतुसिद्धयभावात्।' Intro. to vol. II. 114.

Darśapūrnamāsa, Somayāga) are puruṣārtha; all texts prescribing the rewards of rites are puruṣārtha. Some individual examples may be given.

In the Śāṅkhāyana Br. (VI.6) after saying that certain observances (*vrata*) must be followed by the sacrificer, it is provided that he should not see the sun rising or setting. These observances are called 'Prajāpativratāni' by Śābara and are declared by him to be puruṣārtha, the meaning being that the sacrificer should make a resolve not to see the rising or setting sun.

This distinction between Kratvartha and Puruṣārtha is often taken over into Dharmaśāstra matters. For example, Yāj. I. 53 provides that one should marry a girl who is free from diseases, has a brother and who does not belong to the same *gotra* or *piavara* as that of the bridegroom. The Mit. ²⁰⁰⁷ explains that the status of being a wife does not at all arise if the girl is a *sapinda* or is of the same *gotra* or *piavara* as the bridegroom (i. e. marriage itself is null and void), but a girl who has some disease when married becomes a wife, the only result being that there is a visible defect (such as a diseased wife is a constant source of anxiety and unhappiness). Kullūka on Manu III. 7 (providing that one should not marry a girl from a family in which prevail diseases like phthisis, epilepsy, white and black leprosy, refers to this doctrine of Śābara elaborated above. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 quotes a verse 'a wise man should not marry a girl who has no brother, nor father, for fear that she may be a *putrikā* (daughter appointed as a son).' Here the prohibition is like the prohibition of marrying a deformed girl i. e. it is a perceptible purpose. Therefore, the marriage would be valid i. e. the prohibition is puruṣārtha. Manu says (IX. 168) 'that is known to be an adopted son whom the mother or father might give (to another) with water in a time of distress &c.'. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 130 quotes this verse and remarks that, as the word 'distress' is specifically mentioned, a son is not to be given in adoption to another when there is no distress and that this prohibition would affect only the giver (but not the act of adoption) i. e. this prohibition would be

2007. सपिण्डा-समानगोत्रा-समानप्रवरासु भार्यात्वमेव नोत्पद्यते रोमिष्यादिषु तु भार्यात्वे उत्पद्येऽपि वृद्धविरोध एव। मिता. on या I. 53; this means that the provision against marrying a sapinda, sagotra or sapravara girl is कर्तव्य, while that about not marrying a diseased girl is only दुरुचार्थ.

puruṣārtha and not kratvartha.²⁰⁰⁸ It may be noted that the Vyavahāramayūkha disagrees and holds that the prohibition is kratvartha. It may be said in a general way that those prescriptions that have an invisible, spiritual or other-worldly result or reward are kratvartha, while those that have a visible result are puruṣārtha.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to analyse the notions underlying the word 'yajeta' used in such Vedic sentences as 'one desiring heaven should offer a sacrifice' (svargakāmo yajeta). In the word 'yajeta'²⁰⁰⁹ there are two parts viz. the root 'yaj' (to sacrifice) and the termination (of injunctive third person singular). In the termination also there are two parts (elements) viz. general verbal nature and injunctiveness (or injunctive force). General verbal nature is found in the ten *lakṣaṇas* (verbal forms in ten moods and tenses), but injunctiveness is found only in the injunctive form. Both general verbal nature and injunctiveness express only *bhāvanā* (force that brings into being something, efficient force). *Bhāvanā* (lit.) means a particular operation or activity of an agent which conduces to the coming into being of the result (lit. which is to come into being). And this *bhāvanā* is of two kinds, *śābdī* (word force) and *ārthī* (result-producing force).

It has been already stated that vidhis are the very core of the Veda. The doctrine of *bhāvanā* is the very heart of vidhis and is therefore one of the most important doctrines of the *mīmāṃsā*.

In ordinary life when a person says to another 'this should be done by you', the prompting to do something comes from a person. But Veda has according to the *Mīmāṃsā* no author, human or divine. Therefore, in a Vedic vidhi the prompting arises from the injunctive or the optative form of the word; there is no person, human or divine, behind the injunction; hence the *bhāvanā* is said to be *śābdī* (i. e. based on the word itself and not on the will or direction of a person). There-

2008. आपद्ग्रहणादनापदि न वेद्यः। दातुरयं प्रतिषेधः। सिता on या II 130; the *स्य*. n. p. 107 disagrees. अयं निषेधो दातुरेव पुरुषार्थः, न कर्त्तव्यं इति विज्ञानेश्वरः। तत्र। अस्म्यप्यप्यदृष्टार्थतया कर्त्तव्यविग्रमात्।

2009. यधाणि यजेतेत्यत्रास्त्यंशद्वयम्, यजिर्धाति मत्स्यश्च। तत्र मत्स्येऽप्यस्त्यंशद्वयम्, आरण्यातम् लिङ्गत्वं च। आरण्यातत्वं च दशसु लकारेषु विद्यते। लिङ्गत्वं च पुनः केवलं लिङ्गत्वेन। तत्राप्यप्यतत्त्वलिङ्गत्वाभ्यां भावर्त्तव्यत्वे। भावना नाम भवितुर्भवनाद्यङ्गुली भावकस्यापारविशेयः। सा च द्विविधा शाब्दी भावना, आर्थी भावना चेति। मी. व्या. n. pp. 4-6 (BORI ed.).

fore, śābdi-bhāvanā is defined as a particular operation (or activity) of an agent (here the word of the Veda) that conduces to the activity of a man; and it is expressed by that part or element which is optative. It is called 'śābdi' because it is 'śābdanistha (centred in the word of the Veda) and not purusanistha (centred in a person). In a śābdi-bhāvanā there are three elements viz. (1) there is prompting of the agent to activity, (2) the injunction is the instrument and (3) the manner is furnished by the desirableness proclaimed by arthavāda passages. The śābdi-bhāvanā gives rise to arthi-bhāvanā. In an arthi-bhāvanā (that aims at or seeks the artha, the *phala*) also there are three elements viz. (1) svarga is the *phala* that is 'to be brought about, (2) the means or instrument is yāga, (3) there is also the procedure or method (itikartavyatā) of the yāga. All this is based on the P. M. S. sūtra II. 1. 1, on Śābara's bhāṣya and certain important verses of the Tantravārtika quoted below. This whole discussion leads on to the idea of *apūria*. Yāga lasts for a short time, while svarga comes to a man after death, which may be years after the performance of the sacrifice. What is the connecting link between yāga and svarga (the cause and the result)? It is the force or potency generated by yāga that brings about svarga.

Briefly, the idea is; both the root and the affix together express the sense of the affix and as the bhāvanā is the principal element in this, it is held to be the sense of the affix. There are numerous ²⁰¹⁰ 'bhāvaśabdas' such as yajati, juhōti, dadāti,

2010. भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दास्तेष्व. क्रिया प्रतीयेतैव तेषां निधीयते। पृ. मी. प्र. II. 1. 1; in the मयूरमालिका on शाखदीपिका this is explained as follows: भावार्थाः भावना-प्रयोजनकाः ये कर्मशब्दाः धातुस्तेष्वोऽपूर्वं प्रतीयेत एव हि धात्वर्थः पदश्रुत्या भावनाकरणत्वेन निधीयते. कर्मशब्दाः means कर्मप्रतिपादकाः. कः शुभर्भोग के ते शुभर्भोगशब्दा इति। यजति ददाति जुहोत्येवमाद्यः।... यजेतेत्येवमाद्यः भाकादृक्षा यजेत किं येन कथमिति स्वर्गकाम इत्येतेन प्रयोजनेन निराकादृक्षाः। इष्वर (q above in note 1962); अभिधाभाभानामाहुरस्यामेव लिटादयः। अर्थान्भावना तस्या सर्वाख्यातेषु गम्यते। तन्त्रवा. p. 378; शास्त्रे तु सर्वत्र प्रत्ययार्था भावनेति व्यवहारः। तन्त्रायमभिधायः। प्रत्ययार्थं सह ब्रूतः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ सदा। माघान्याद्भावना तेन प्रत्ययार्थोऽवधार्यते॥ तन्त्रवा. p. 380. The मयूरमालिका on पातिका 2 on पा. III. 1. 67 has the maxim प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ सह ब्रूतः and इष्वर refers to it as आचार्यपिदेक्ष on III. 4. 13 p 922. Pāṇini coins special technical names for tenses and moods and does not employ words expressive of meaning, present, past or future. They begin with लृ and therefore are called लृकारः. They are: लृट् (वर्तमान, present); लृट् (Vedic subjunctive), लिट् (परोक्षे लिट्, perfect), लृट् (Aorist), लृट् (अनद्यतनपूत Imperfect), लिट् (optative, पा. III. 3. 161, 173), लृट् (blessing or prayer, पा. III. 1. 173), लृट् (distant future in

dogdhi, pinasti. These are of two sorts, viz. -pradhāna (principal) and gunabhūta.²⁰¹² Those by which a substance is not intended to be produced or embellished (or made fit) for a religious rite, are expressive of principal karma (such as prayājas), while those which are meant to produce a substance or to make a substance fit are *gunabhūta* (such as pounding rice grains or chiselling a piece of wood for making a sacrificial post, wiping *śruc* ladle). Therefore the latter kind of actions are called gunakarma. There are two kinds of verbal forms (1) those in which the form only conveys that the *kartā* (doer of the action) exists such as the forms 'asti, bhavati, vidyate'; (2) there are others where not only there is the existence of the *kartā* but there is also the understanding of some activity that produces a result such as 'yajati' (meaning 'yāgam karoti'), 'dadāti' (i. e. dānam karoti), 'pacati' (pākam karoti), 'gacchati' i. e. gamanam karoti). That is, in such cases the sense of *karoti* is also understood. Jaimini (in P. M. S. II. 1. 4) divides words into two classes viz. *Nāmāni* (nouns) and *Karmaśabdāḥ* (verbs). Under the first Śābara would include pronouns and adjectives. The 2nd is called 'ākhyāta' Śābara (on II. 1. 3.) paraphrases (*nāmāni* as 'dravya-gunaśabdāḥ' and remarks that in the sūtra (II. 1. 3) the word 'nāmāni' is employed in the sense of *dravyagunaśabdāḥ*.²⁰¹² Śābara remarks that *dhātvartha* (the

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तत्), लट् (future in स्य), लृट् (conditional). The words भावार्थः कर्मशब्दाच्चा the निश्चयः I, 1 भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्

2011 ननु केयं शाब्दी भावना। उच्यते पुरुषमेवैवमुक्तं व्यापारविशेषः। स एव विषयः (i. e. विधिशाब्दी-विषयः)। लिङादिश्रवणेऽयं सा प्रवर्तयतीति नियमेन प्रतीतेः। मी. न्या प्र. p. 267 (BORI ed.) and अतश्च शब्दनिष्ठ एव प्रेरणापरपर्यायो व्यापारः शाब्दी भावना। मी न्या प्र. p. 269, स्वर्गेच्छाजनितो यागविषयो य. प्रयत्नः स भावना (आर्थः) स एव व्याख्यातशेनीच्यते। यजेतेत्याख्यातश्रवणे यत्नेन यजेतेति प्रतीतेर्जायमानत्वात्। मी न्या प्र. p. 274 Vide तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 376-377.

2012 तानि द्वेयं गुणप्रधानभूतानि। यैर्द्रव्यं न चिकीर्ष्यते तानि प्रधानभूतानि द्रव्यस्य गुणभूतत्वात्। येषु द्रव्यं चिकीर्ष्यते गुणतश्च प्रतीयेत तस्य द्रव्यप्रधानत्वात्। पु मी छ II 1 6-8 and शबर thereon, विहिते कर्मणि तदङ्गत्वात् द्रव्यदेवतादिविधायकं वाक्यं गुणधारणं दधा शुभयादिति। मी परिभाषा p. 2

2013 वेदा शब्दानामुच्चारणोत्पत्तौ स्वेऽयं प्रयुज्यमानानां रूपमुपलभ्यते। यत् सकृदुत्पन्नं फलान्तरं तिष्ठति न क्रियेवोत्पन्नमात्रं विनश्यतीत्यर्थः। तानि नामानि। ते द्रव्यगुणशब्दाः। ईदृशी द्रव्यगुणशब्दानामर्थः। ते द्रव्यगुणशब्दा इति वक्तव्ये तानि नामानीति सूचितम्। अतो नामानीत्येव पर्यायशब्दाः। शबर on पु मी छ II. 1. 3. When we say पक्वः it is a nāman and denotes an accomplished fact, while when one says 'pacati' it is not one accomplished fact but includes from beginning to end several acts, such as preparing fire, placing on it a pot containing water, putting rice

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meaning of a verbal root) can have no ākāṅksā (expectancy) for Dharmas but it is the pratyayārtha that has ākāṅksā for the procedure (itikartavyatā).

We must now turn to the 2nd great division of Vedic texts, viz. Arthavādas. They are dealt with in P. M. S. first adhyāya, 2nd pāda. There are numerous Vedic passages such as 'he roared; because he roared he came to be called Rudra' (Tai. S. I. 5. 1. 1.), 'Prajāpati cut out his own fat' (Tai. S. II. 1. 1. 4), 'the gods, having reached the sacrificial ground, did not know the directions' (Tai. S. VI. 1. 5. 1.); 'who knows whether one lives in the other world or not' (Tai. S. VI. I. 1. 1.); 'there should be no piling of fire altar on the earth nor in the sky nor in heaven' (Tai. S. V. 2.7.1). The objector says 'you have yourself declared that enjoining religious rites is the purpose of the Veda' (P. M. S. I. 1. 2). The above and similar passages do not serve any purpose in the matter of religious acts, they are therefore useless and are non-eternal (or do not refer to any permanent matter). The reply is that these passages form one syntactical or connected whole with hortatory passages of the Veda and they serve the purpose of commending (or glorifying) the hortatory passages. Śābara cites on I. 2. 7 the passage 'one desiring prosperity should sacrifice a white animal in honour of Vāyu; Vāyu indeed is the swiftest deity; he runs near Vāyu with the share proper (to Vāyu); he (Vāyu) leads the sacrificer to prosperity'.²⁰¹⁴ These words form one whole passage; the first

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grains therein when the water is boiling, stirring it and taking it down from the fire. The निरुक्त says 'भावमधानमाख्यातम् सत्त्वमधानानि नामाणि ... पूर्वोपरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाच्चे ब्रजति पचतीति उपक्रममभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तम्' (I, 1). शबर also follows this 'एवं तस्याख्यातस्यार्थोपदिशन्ति, उपक्रममभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तमाहेति। उपक्रमादारभ्य यावत्परिममातिरित्येतावान् व्यापारविशेषस्तस्यार्थो न यथा पाकः, त्यागः इति। तत्र हि पाकस्तत्तामात्रं निर्दिश्यते नारभ्य परिसमापयितव्यमिति।' on पू. मी. सू. VI. 2. 13; न हि धात्वर्थस्य च धर्माणां च परस्परैणाकाक्षा विद्यते, मय्यर्थेन हीतिकर्तव्यताकाङ्क्षते कर्तव्यं कथमिति न यजिः कीदृश इति। तस्माद्यत्कर्तव्यं तस्यैवेतिकर्तव्यतया सम्बन्धः। अपूर्वं च तत्। तस्मादपूर्वमयुक्ता इति। शबर on पू. मी. सू. IX 1. 1 p. 1639

2014. आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्शनां तस्मादनिवृत्त्युच्यते (पूर्वपक्षः)। विधिना त्वेकवाक्यत्वात्स्तुत्यर्थेन विधीना स्युः। पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 1 and 7. The passage quoted on I. 2. 7 is 'वायव्यं श्वेतमालभेत धृतिकामः। वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता वायुमेव स्तेन भागधेयेनोपधावति। स एवैनं भूतिं गमयति।' This अर्थवाद (वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता) is an auxiliary (क्षेप) to the विधि 'वायव्यं... लभेत' etc.; this occurs in तै. सं. II. 1.1.1. The भाष्य on I. 2. 10 (शुणवाद्दत्त) points out the passages of which the three passages cited under I. 2. 1 are अर्थवादः. For example, the passage 'सोऽरोदीचवरोदीच-

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part 'vāyavyam ..bhūtikāmah' is clearly a vidhi, as the word 'ālabheta (in the optative form) shows. The latter portion is an arthavāda for the purpose of commendation. People are familiar with the fact that Vāyu is swift. Therefore, the latter portion (Vāyurvai &c.) merely repeats what is already well known (that is, it is an anuvāda). In sūtras 19-25 of I. 2 the P. M. S. considers certain passages that look like vidhis but are declared to be arthavādas. For example, (Tai. S. II. 1. 1. 6) 'the sacrificial post is to be of udumbara wood; the udumbara wood is indeed vigour (or food or sap); cattle are vigour; by this strong (or juicy) post, he (sacrificer) secures cattle, for 'the securing of strength'. The objector says that this is a *phalaudh* (an injunctive text about a result) as the words 'urjosvaruddhyai' contain the purpose and there is no word of commendation. The reply is that there is only commendation.

There are some passages in the Veda in which occur words like 'hi' (because) such as in 'one should offer into fire the oblation with the winnowing basket, because food is prepared by means of it' (Tai. Br. I. 6. 5).²⁰¹⁵ The question that arises is

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दुग्धस्य सद्बलम्' is an arthavāda of 'वर्हिषि रजते न देयम्'। तै. स. I. 5. 1. 1-2. This arthavāda (सोऽसौदीद् etc.) is an auxiliary (ज्ञेय) to the प्रतिषेध 'वर्हिषि रजते न देयम्'. The word अनित्य in the sūtra is purposely used. Veda is nitya and therefore pramāṇa. Hence the passages not referring to any religious rite are different from the portion dealing with rites and anitya i. e. apramāṇa (not authoritative). Vide p. 927 note 1482 about calling घृताग्नय as merely arthavādas

2015. हेतुर्वा स्यादर्थवत्त्वोपपत्तिरित्याह। स्तुतिरहु 'शब्दपूर्वत्वादाचोदना च तस्य। पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 26-27. अथ ये हेतुवस्तिगदाः शूर्पेण जुहोति तेन ह्यर्घ्यं क्रियत इत्येवमादयः। तेषु सन्देहः। किं स्तुतिस्तेषां कार्यसुत हेतुरिति; अस्मत्पक्षे पुनः शूर्पं स्तूयते। तेन ह्यर्घ्यं क्रियत इति वृत्तान्तात्कारणं न च वृत्तान्तज्ञापनाय किं तर्हि प्ररोचनायेव। तस्माद्धेतुवस्तिगदस्यापि स्तुतिरेव कार्यमिति। शबर on I 2 30 शूर्पं was used like a *gulu* ladle to make a homa of Karambhapātras (pots full of husked grains of yava slightly fried, ground and mixed with curds) in the Varunapraghāsa, one of the cāturmāsya. The position of the P. M. S. is that what Veda declares is authoritative, there is no need to cite reasons for the statements of the Veda. It may cite a reason for its declaration, even though no necessity exists. As stated by the Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi "अनेन वेदविहितेऽर्थे हेत्वपेक्षा नास्तीति पार्थसारथिमतिपादितानपेक्षत्वं हेतुगदस्येति सूचितम्। उक्तं च 'न हि वेदेनोच्यमानं हेतुमपेक्षते' इति"। Vide for a detailed discussion of this हेतुवस्तिगदाधिकरण in connection with the rule of Vasistha 15. 3-4 (na tvekam putram dadyāt pratigrhñyādvā, sa hi santānāya pūrvacīm) in H. of Dh. vol III. pp 676-77 n. 1277. Here the first is a vidhi, 'dadyāt' and 'pratigrhñyāt' being in the optative mood,

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whether this and other passages containing words denoting reason should be construed as arthavādas commending what is enjoined in the preceding sentence or whether as stating a reason for the injunction. The established conclusion is that they are commendatory. If the other view were adopted (viz. that śruti gives a reason for the vidhi) then it may be argued that the ladls, pan and other utensils also may be used for making an offering (not merely the śūrpa), as they also are required in preparing food. Raghunandana in *Mānāsātattva* p. 760 relies upon and explains this maxim with reference to Laghu-Hārīta's words 'cakravat parivarteta sūryah kālavaśād yatah'. It should not be supposed that commendation (*stuti*) is the purpose of all arthavādas. In 'he lays down anointed pebbles, ghee is indeed brilliance' (Tai. Br. III, 2. 5. 12) a doubt arises about the material with which pebbles are to be anointed. That doubt is removed by the remainder of the passage that it is ghee with which they are to be anointed (P. M. S. I. 4. 24)

Arthavādas are of three kinds viz. *gunavāda*, *anuvāda* and *bhūtārthavāda*; 'when an arthavāda text is in conflict with ordinary experience it is metaphorical, when something is definitely ascertained by other means of knowledge and becomes the subject of a text it is called *anuvāda* and when a text is not opposed to other *pramānas* or is not definitely ascertained otherwise, it is called '*bhūtārthavāda*' (statement of an accomplished fact, or of a past event); in this way arthavāda is of three kinds'.²⁰¹⁶ An example of the first kind is 'during day-time

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while the latter part containing a reason (in 'sa hi &c') is on arthavāda, lauding the importance of a son) This topic of *Hetuvan-nigadādhikarana* figured very much in the case of *Beni Prasad vs. Hardai Bibi* I. L. R. 14 All 67 (F B). The court was misled on two points, by counsel as to the first and by Mandlik's wrong statement (in 'Hindu law' p. 499) as to the 2nd, viz. that Jaṃini flourished in the 13th century A. D. and secondly (p. 73, 125) 'it is a rule of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* that all texts supported by the assigning of a reason are to be deemed not as *vidhis* but simply as arthavādas (commendatory)'. This case went up to the Privy Council as *Radha Mohan vs. Hardai Bibi* L. R. 26 I. A. p. 153, where the Privy Council was more cautious and did not accept in its entirety the wrong statement of Mandlik

2016. निरुक्त 1. 16 speaks of उद्दिताद्यवादः स भवति. विरोधे गुणवादः स्यादङ्ग-
वादोऽवधारितः. भूतार्थवादस्तज्ज्ञानादर्थवादस्त्रिधा मतः॥ q. by मी. घा. प्र. p. 48; अङ्ग-
वादोऽवधारित इत्यर्थोदाहरणं तु दृष्टिदात्रनैकम्। अग्निहिमस्य भेषजम्-इति। तत्साम्याया-

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only the smoke of fire is seen and not its flame' (this is Tai. Br II 1. 2 10). One sees both smoke and fire during the day and night. What this text desires to emphasize is that by day the light of fire is not so well seen as at night (or not well seen from a distance by day as at night).

'Fire is the medicine (antidote) for cold' (Vāj. S. 23. 10 and Tai S VII. 4. 18. 2) is cited by some as an example of anuvāda. The M. B. P. finds fault with this on the ground that it is well-known as a mantra and does not form part of a vidhi by syntactical relation, and that it is cited by Nrsimhāśrama as an example owing to neglect of the study of the Veda or absent-mindedness. A proper example would be 'Vāyu indeed is the swiftest deity' cited above. 'Prajāpati cut off his own fat' is cited by some as an example of bhūtārthavāda, but the M. B. P. does not approve of it and cites the verse 'yan-na dukkhena sambhinnaṃ' (cited above in note 1969) as an example.

The Mīmāṃsāparibhāṣā of Kīrtanayajvan classifies Arthavādas into four kinds, viz. nindā (censure), stuti (praise), *parakṛti* (performance by another great person) and *puṭkālpa* (what

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अथानैधुर्गद् वैचित्र्याह। श्री वा. प्र p 48 It may be noted that मधुसूदन-सरस्वती in प्रधानभेद, अर्थसंग्रह (p 26, Thibaut) and M. M. Jha cited this very text as an anuvāda (in 'Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in its sources' p 201). A strict definition of अनुवाद is 'स नामादिवादी भवति योऽन्यस्तस्मानार्थत्वेनावधार्यते।' (तन्त्रवा. p 911 on II. 4. 13). Medhātithi on Manu II 227 (=Matsya 211. 22) saying that a man cannot requite even in a hundred years the parents for the troubles they undergo in the birth and upbringing of the child holds that it is a सूतार्थवाद मधुसूदनसरस्वती in प्रधानभेद and अर्थसंग्रह (p 26) cites इन्द्रो वृत्राय यज्ञमुदयच्छत् as an example of सूतार्थवाद. and अर्थसंग्रह defines it as 'प्रमाणान्तर-विरोध-तत्प्राप्तिरदितार्थयोषको वादो सूतार्थवादः.' When the Tai S I 7. 4. 4. or II. 6. 5. 3 says 'yajamānah prastarah' or 'yajamānah yūpah' the literal meaning is opposed to our perception (there is pratyaksavirodha), therefore the sentence has to be understood in a metaphorical sense' (as when a boy is called 'fire') and is therefore a गुणवाद, that is, the meaning in 'yajamānah yūpah' is that he stands up (or erect) like a sacrificial post and looks brilliant. Where a statement (not being a vidhi) is neither an anuvāda nor a gunavāda it is called vidyamānavāda or bhūtārthavāda. This is lucidly explained by Śābara in P. M. S. I 4. 23 and by Śāhkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3 33. The first handful of darbha grass cut is called 'prastara'. These passages have to be interpreted in such a way as to avoid conflict with perception and other pramāṇas but also as intended to convey praise (of some vidhi already expressed). Vide भामती 'न च आदित्यो वै यूप इति वायव्यादिष्वेव यूपत्वमतिपादनपरम्, अपि तु यूपस्तुतिपरम्'. The गुण stressed is तेजस्विता (brilliance) since the post is smeared with पूत

happened in bygone ages). ²⁰¹⁶ Devala states that sages have laid down expiation for the first wrong, for committing a second double of that, for committing a third time thrice as much but there is no expiation for committing it a fourth time. The *Prāyaścitta-prakarana* of Bhavadeva says that this is not to be taken literally, but it is only *nindāarthavāda*. The P. M. S. itself (VI. 7. 26 and 30) states that *parakṛti* and *purākāla* are *arthavādas*.

The *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* quotes a verse of Devala ²⁰¹⁷ 'on the father's death the sons should divide the paternal wealth, for they have no ownership as long as the father who suffers from no blemish (that deprive him of ownership) is alive'. Here the first half lays down a time for partition (it is a *vidhi*), the latter half is only an *arthavāda* praising the *vidhi* and means that, as long as the father is alive, the sons are not independent and not that they have no ownership in ancestral property.

Smṛtis also abound in *arthavādas*. For example, *Medhātithi* on *Manu* V. 56 (*na māmsabhaksane dosah*) says that from V. 28 up to V. 56 all verses except two or three are *arthavādas*. *Medhātithi* points out in several other places in the *Manusmṛti* a few *vidhis* and numerous *arthavādas*. For example, *Manu* II. 117 contains a *vidhi* about *abhyūdāna*, while verses II.

2016. स (अर्थवादः) च चतुर्विधः निर्दो-प्रशंसा-परकृति-पुराकल्पभेदात् । ... पौषे महता पुरुषेणेदं कर्म कृतमिति प्रतिपादकोर्थवादः परकृतिः-यथा अग्निर्गो अक्रानयत-इत्यादिः । परमपुत्रकार्थदिप्रतिपादकः पुराकल्पः-यथा तमशपद्धिं या धिया या पश्यातु-इत्यादिः । मी० परि. pp 27-28. On मनु II. 151 where an Āṅgīrasa taught his pītra and is said to have called them 'putrakāh' मेधातिथि remarks 'पूर्वस्य पितृपुत्रादिविशेष-वादोऽयं परकृतिनामा । The पातुपुराण (59.134-137) defines निधि, स्तुति, निर्दोष, परकृति and पुराकल्प. The same four are said to be the constituents of अर्थवाद in न्यायसूत्र II 1. 65. परकृतिपुराकल्पं च मनुष्यधर्मः स्वाद्वर्थाय ह्यनुकीर्तनम् । ... अर्थवादो वा विधिक्षेपत्वाच्चस्मादित्याहुः स्वात् । पू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 26 and 30 The story of Sunahśepa whom his father sold to Hariscandra's son and was willing even to kill him as offering to Varuna (narrated in the Ait. Br.) is really an अर्थवाद of the परकृति type. Vide मनु X. 105 where this legend is mentioned and मेधा thereon.

2017. यत्तु देवत-पितर्युपरते पुत्रा विभजेत्युच्यते पितुः । अस्मान् हि भगवो निर्दोषे पितरि स्थिते-तत्र पूर्वार्थं तावद्विभागकालविधायकं निधिप्रत्ययश्रवणात्, उत्तरार्थं तु तस्यैव स्तुत्यर्थतयाऽस्मान्न्यपरं न तु स्वत्याभावापरम् । व्य. न p. 90. The व्य. न. extends this to a sūtra of Sāṅkha which forbids partition by sons during the father's life-time even of property earned by them after they are born and states that they have no independence as regards wealth and religious ceremonies during the father's life and that the words about absence of independence are only an *arthavāda* enlogising the prohibition about non-division.

118-121 are arthavādas in relation to it. In Manu II. 165 a vidhi is laid down for the study of the whole Veda by persons of the three upper classes; when Manu (X. I) again lays down that the three classes should study the Veda, this is merely an anuvāda. Medhātithi on Manu. IX. 135 remarks that many verses in Manu contain arthavādas.

The Vasistha-dharmasūtra and Visnudharmottara²⁰¹⁸ provide that cow's urine, excreta, milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which *kuśas* have been dipped and a fast for a day and night will purify even a *śvapāka*. A *Śvapāka* was the lowest amongst untouchables and followed the same avocations as a *cāṇḍāla* and was governed by the same rules (vide Manu X. 51-56). This verse is not to be taken literally, as nothing could make a *cāṇḍāla* touchable. Therefore, this is a mere arthavāda meant to praise the purifying effects of *pañcagavya* and a fast.

It would have been noticed that every Vedic passage is not of the nature of a vidhi (of an injunctive or exhortatory character). There are numerous Vedic passages that are commendatory of a vidhi, condemn an act that is prohibited, give an illustration of some one having performed the vidhi in the past or put forward an easily understood reason for the specific act which is enjoined. These commendatory, condemnatory and illustrative passages are not to be treated as unnecessary or purposeless, but are to be taken along with the *vidhi* passages to complete their full import. This doctrine of arthavādas saves a huge portion of Vedic texts from being neglected or treated as unnecessary.

The Garudapurāṇa states 'Gāndhārī, who observed a fast on *Ekādaśī* mixed with *daśamī*, lost her hundred sons, therefore *Ekādaśī* mixed with *daśamī* should be given up'. Here the first part is only a *nindānuvāda* (i. e. it indirectly supports the positive rule 'tām parivarjayet'), as the maxim is that '*nindā* in a text is not meant for the mere sake of condemnation but for prescribing the opposite of what is condemned.' Vide *Kṛtyarat-nākara* p. 635 for this interpretation. The M. B. P. (pp. 50-58) gives another classification of arthavādas into 38 varieties. They are passed over here from considerations of space.

The arthavādas constitute the largest part of the Veda, particularly in the Brāhmaṇa texts. About arthavāda the

2018. गोदूत गोमयं क्षीरं दधि सर्पिः कुशीदकम् । एकरात्रोपवासश्च श्वपाकमपि
क्षीयेत् ॥ श्रुति 27 3, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर 11 42 31-32.

Tantravārtika makes²⁰¹⁹ a general statement that arthavāda passages coming after *vidhi* passages are weak, while those that come before *vidhis* are stronger.

The 3rd class of Vedic texts are mantras. They have already been treated above (vide p. 1220, notes 1979 ff.). Some mantras also lay down an injunction as in Rg X. 117. 5 'prniyād-in-nādhamaṇāya-tavyān' (the strong must bestow wealth on one who begs), also the mantra 'vasantāya kapiñjalānālabhate' (Vāj S. 24. 20) cited above on p. 1221. But generally mantras are only expressive or assertive and call to mind things that are connected with the acts enjoined by *vidhi-vākyas* (injunctive passages). The Tantravārtika²⁰²⁰ notes that it is definitely understood that religious acts that are performed with mantras that recall to the mind the things enjoined lead to prosperity (or to *svarga*). The reader would notice how the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system came to relegate mantras to a secondary place and made them play a passive role in the sacrificial system. The R̥gveda contained sublime prayers, but in the mīmāṃsā system the most prominent place was given to Brāhmaṇa texts, that contained almost all the *vidhis*. It has been seen above pp. 950-952 how R̥gveda mantras are full of faith (*bhakti*) in God and fervent appeals to God after confession of sin and repentance, vide Rg. VII. 86. 4-6 (kim-āga āsa varuna jyestham &c.); Rg. III. 39 is a hymn full of beatitude, verse 2 of which says 'this prayer (dhīh) born of yore in heaven, sung in the holy assembly with earnestness, dressed in pure (lit-white) and auspicious garb is ours, anoint and inherited from our forefathers'

The 4th part of Vedic texts bearing on Dharma is 'Nāma-dheya' (proper names of sacrifices). There are such texts as 'one should sacrifice with the *udbhud*' (Tāndya Br. 19. 7. 2-3), 'one desirous of possessing cattle should sacrifice with *citrā*'²⁰²¹ (Tai. S. II. 4. 6. 1) The question is whether in these passages what is laid down is some substance to be offered in some rite (as in

2019. ये हि विधुद्देशात्परस्तादर्थवादः श्रूयन्ते तेषामस्ति दौर्बल्यम्। य पुरस्ताच्छ्रूयन्ते ते मुख्यत्वाद् बलीयांसो भवन्ति। तन्त्रवा on III 3 2.

2020. शबर on पू. मी. सू. I. 2 32 says अर्थप्रत्यायनार्थमेव यज्ञे मन्त्रोच्चारणम्। यज्ञाद्भूयकाशनमेव प्रयोजनम्। मन्त्रैरेव स्मृत्वा कृतं कर्मांशुदयकारि भवतीत्यवधार्यते। तन्त्रवा. on II. 1. 31 p. 433.

2021. यज्ञकामो यजेत। यदुद्भिदा यजेते घलमेवास्मै विद्याययति यद्वलभिदा यलमेवास्मै भिनत्ति। ताण्ड्य. 19 7. 2-3. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p 269 n 618 for the application of the Udbhidadhikarana (P. M. S. I. 4 1-2) by संस्कारप्रकाश and above p. 137 by the समयमयूख.

'dadhnā juhōti) or whether they are names of sacrifices. No substance is well-known as 'udbhīd' (as *dadhi* is a well-known substance). *Citrā* means a female animal of variegated colour. If it is *gunavidhī* (in the case of '*citrāyā yajeta*'), there would be the fault of *Vākyaabheda* (one sentence broken up as laying down two *vidhis*) i.e. the injunction would be that a female *paśu* was to be sacrificed (not a male) and further injunction that its colour should be variegated. Therefore, *Udbhid*, *Citrā*, *Balabhid*, *Abhijit*, *Viśvajit* (*Kausītaki Br.* 25. 14) and *Agnihotra* (*P. M. S. I 4 4*), *Vājapeya* (*P. M. S. I 4 6-8*), *Vaiśvadeva* (*P. M. S. I 4 13-16*) are names of rites and are not substances. Similarly, in '*Śyenenābhicaran yajeta*' (one practising black magic for bringing about the death of an enemy may perform a *yāga* called *śyena*). Here '*śyena*' is the name of a *yāga*, because the *yāga* swoops down upon the enemy and seizes him just as a falcon swoops down upon its victim and catches it (*Sadvimśa Br.* III 8. 1. 3). The point to be noted is that these names serve the purpose of²⁰²² particularising the meaning of what is enjoined. The Vedic text '*svādhyāyosdhyetavyah*' enjoins the study of the Veda consisting of all parts including *nāmadheyas* of sacrifices and we directly see that in such Vedic *vidhis* as '*Citrāyā yajeta paśukāmah*' the name *citrā* is a part of the *vidhi*. Therefore, *nāmadheya* also is a *purusārtha* and is authoritative like other parts of the Veda (vide *Śāstradīpikā* on *Jai. I. 4. 1*) In the sentences mentioned above *yāga* is enjoined with the fruit as the object, since it is not otherwise established. Since it is not intended to lay down a general injunction to sacrifice, a specific variety of sacrifice has to be enjoined. When one wants to know the specific variety enjoined, from the word '*udbhīd*' it is known that it is the sacrifice called *udbhīd* *Dharmaśāstra* writers apply this maxim called '*Udbhid-nyāya*' to '*Upanayana*' which literally means '*taking (a boy) near an ācārya*' (teacher of the Veda). The *Samskāraprakāśa* says so²⁰²³

2022 नानधेयानां विधेयार्थपरिच्छेदकतयाऽर्थवत्तम्। तथाहि-उद्भिदा यजेत पशुकाम इत्यत्र उद्भिच्छब्दो यागनामधेयम्। तेन हि विधेयार्थपरिच्छेदः क्रियते। अनेन हि वाक्येना-मात्मत्वात्करोद्वेदीनं यागो विधीयते। यागसामान्यस्य चाविधेयत्वायागविशेष एव विधीयते। तत्र कोऽसौ विशेष इत्यपेक्षया उद्भिच्छब्दादुद्भिद्रूपो यो याग इति ज्ञायते। मी. न्या. प्र. प. 206 (ACORI)

2023 तन्निषेधनयनशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम्। तच्च योगिकमुद्भिद्व्यायात्। योगश्च भाव-पुत्रत्वात्। ऋणपुत्रत्वात् वेत्ताह भावचिः। स यथा। उप नमीपे आचार्यादीनां षट्तेनयनं पण्यगुपनयनम्। मनीपे आचार्यादीनां नीयते पशुपण्यं तदुपनयनमिति वा। संस्कारप्रकाशः प. 331.

The fifth (and last) part of Vedic texts consists of 'pratisedha' (nisedha, prohibition). Prohibitions²⁰²⁴ serve the ends of man by causing men to desist from actions which would produce undesirable results. To explain, just as vidhis, which express an urge or prompting (to do something), suggest, in order to effectuate their prompting quality, that the matter to be enjoined such as a sacrifice is the means to attain a desirable result and so urge a man to do it, so also prohibitions such as 'one should not eat Kalañja (red garlic)' or 'one should not utter what is false' (Tai. S II. 5. 5. 6) denote a turning away and in order to effectuate their own deterring quality, suggest that the thing to be prohibited viz. eating kalañja or speaking untruth will be the cause of bringing about an undesirable result and so make a man desist from it. The particle 'na' may come before a verbal form, a noun or an adjective and 'na' becomes in certain cases 'a' (as in 'abrāhmana,' 'adharma') and 'an' in certain others when it is prefixed to a word beginning with a vowel (as in 'anaśva', 'anusna'). Pāṇini devotes several sūtras to 'na' and expressly refers to 'pratisedha' as one of the meanings conveyed by 'na' (vide Pān. II. 2. 6, VI. 2. 155 &c.)²⁰²⁵; 'na' is said to convey six senses as noted in the verses quoted below.²⁰²⁶

The first meaning of 'na' is 'abhāva' (non-existence). But that meaning would not suit all cases. When one says 'bring abrahmana' the meaning conveyed is not 'non-existence' since, if that were the meaning, one could not bring non-existing brāhmana and so might not bring any one at all, or might

2024. अनर्थहेतुकर्मण सकाशात्पुरुषस्य निवृत्तिकारत्वेन निषेधानां पुरुषार्थोत्पत्तिरिति। तथा हि। यथा विधयः प्रवर्तनामभिदधतः स्वप्रवर्तकत्वनिराहार्यं विधेयस्य यागादेः श्रेयसाधनत्वमाक्षिपन्तः पुरुषं तत्र प्रवर्तयन्ति, एवं न कलञ्जं भक्षयेदित्यादयो निषेधा अपि निवर्तनामभिदधतः स्वनिवर्तकत्वनिराहार्यं निषेधस्य कलञ्जभक्षणादेरनर्थहेतुत्वमाक्षिपन्तः पुरुषं ततो निवर्तयन्ति। सी न्या. प्र pp. 248-249. Some read मेरणां for प्रवर्तनाम् The meaning of both is the same आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 17. 26 forbids the eating of कलञ्ज, पलाण्डु and परारिक and हरदत्त explains 'कलञ्जं रक्तलङ्घुनम्' and कल्पतरु on नियतकाल p. 280 explains it as लङ्घुनविशेषः.

2025 नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे सम्पाद्यर्हद्वितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः। पा. VI. 2. 155.

2026. तत्सादृश्यमभावश्च तदन्वयत्वं तद्व्यपत्ता। अयाशस्त्रं विरोधश्च नञोर्धा एद प्रकीर्तिताः। न q on p 430 of the com. भाट्टालंकार on सी. न्या. प्र (Chowkhamba S S.)/ अभाह्वण means ब्राह्मणादन्य (i. e. नञ् suggests here तदन्वय) and अपर्ण means धर्मविरोधि, as stated by श्लोकवा (अपोहवाद verse 33) 'नामधात्वर्थयोमी न चैव नञ् प्रतिषेधकः। वदतोऽब्राह्मणधर्मोऽन्यमात्रविरोधिनी'। The महाभाष्य on पतञ्जलि 4 on पा. III. 1. 12 says 'नञ्विद्युत्तन्मन्यसदृशाधिकरणे तथा ह्यर्थगतिः' and explains 'अभाह्वणमानयेत्युक्तौ (के?) ब्राह्मणसदृश आनीयते नासी लोहमानीय कृती भवति'.

bring a clod of earth which would not fulfil any purpose of the person addressing these words and therefore, on hearing this, a person not a brāhmana but resembling a brāhmana (such as a ksatriya) is brought. So in this case 'abrāhmana' means a person other than a brāhmana; 'na' also conveys the opposite (*urodha*) of that to which it is prefixed. It has been seen above that the verb is the main part in a sentence and in the verbal form it is the termination that is the principal part. So, in 'one must not eat kalañja' the negative particle 'na' must be held to be connected with the optative termination in 'bhak-sayet'. In a vidhi²⁰²⁷ (or on hearing a vidhi) one perceives that the sentence urges the listener to be active. When 'na' is prefixed to an optative from it conveys the opposite of urging viz. 'nirantana' (desisting from something). The phala that one understands from a vidhi is as in 'yajeta svargakāmah' *svarga*, while in a prohibition the phala is cessation of harm (*anartha-nivṛtti*). The adhikāri in a vidhi is one who desires *svarga*; in a nisedha the adhikāri is one who is afraid of harm and desires to avoid what is undesirable. Therefore, these considerations establish that exhortation and prohibition are entirely different in their import.

But when there is an obstacle or difficulty in construing 'na' with the verbal termination, then it is construed with the meaning of the root. These obstacles are of two sorts; one is where the whole passage is introduced by the words 'his vows are' or where an option will emerge if the meaning of prohibition is stuck to. In the case of these two obstacles in sentences where

2027. अतो लिङ्त्वान्तेन नञ् सम्प्रत्यये। तस्य सवपिस्वया प्राधान्यात्। नञश्चैव स्वभावो यत्त्वसम्प्रत्ययतिपक्षबोधकत्वम्। .. तद्विद्वद् लिङ्गार्थस्तावत्प्रवर्तना। अतस्तेन सम्प्रत्यय-मानो नञ् प्रवर्तनाप्रतिपक्ष निवर्तनां गमयति। अतश्च सर्वत्र निषेधेषु निवर्तनैव वाक्यार्थः। एवं च विधिनिषेधयोर्मिसाधकं सिद्धं भवति। यथाहुः। अन्तरं यादृशं लोके ब्रह्महत्याश्वमेधयोः। दृश्यते तादृशेव विधानप्रतिपक्षयोः॥ इति। तथा। . सर्वथापि तु नञ्. प्राधान्यात्प्रत्ययेनान्वयः। यदा तु तदन्तर्ये किञ्चिद्व्यापकं तदागत्या धातुर्थेनान्वयः। तच्च व्यापकं द्विविधम्। तस्य प्रतन्नि-युपक्रमो विनश्यत्प्रसक्तिश्च। तेन च व्यापकद्वयेन नञ्युक्तेषु वाक्येषु पर्युदासाश्रयणं भवति। तदभावे निषेध एव। पर्युदासः स विज्ञेयो यत्रोत्तरपदेन नञ्। प्रतिषेधः स विज्ञेयः क्रियया सह यत्र नञ्॥ इति च तथोक्तं। तत्र-नेहलोच्यन्तादित्यम्-इत्यादौ पर्युदासाश्रयणम्, तस्य व्रतमित्युपक्रमम्। तथाहि व्रतशब्देन कर्तव्यार्थो उच्यते। मी न्या म pp 250-253. The न्यायसुधा (or राघव) p 201 on तन्त्रत्रय, quotes the verse अन्तरं.. वेधयोः, as from the हट्टोक्तौ (of कुमारिल) and cites verses explaining the five points (फल &c.) in which तिथि and निषेध differ. The word उत्तरपद is a technical śānta word and means the termination in the verbal form and पूर्वपद means the pada means the termination. तिथिः प्रवर्तनानो दि श्रेयःनिर्द्ध्यं प्रवर्तनं। प्रतिषेधः पुन पापास्तित्यति भेदः। तन्त्रत्रय on सू मी सू. III. 4, 13 p. 911.

'na' occurs, we would have to resort to *paryudāsa* (exclusion or exception). In the case of the *Prajāpativratas*²⁰²⁸ (which are *purusārtha* as decided in P. M. S. IV. 1. 3) the passage starts with the words 'his vows are' and then comes the sentence 'he must not see the sun rising or setting' (Kausitaki Br. VI. 6). *Vrata* means a mental act, a resolve not to do a certain thing, the meaning being 'he should make a resolve to act in such a way as not to see the rising or setting sun and stick to it'. This really is *niyama* (restriction). This passage does not mean that he should never look at the sun (there is no prohibition of seeing the sun) but it only excludes the sight of the rising or setting sun; therefore, this is only exclusion and he who observes this *niyama* (restriction) secures the reward while in the case of eating *kalañja* there is a total prohibition. '*Paryudāsa* (exclusion) is to be understood where the negative particle is taken with another word (i. e. with the verbal root or a different word such as a noun); prohibition is to be understood where the negative particle is taken with the verbal form'.

In *Dharmasāstra* works, 'na' is frequently explained as laying down a *paryudāsa* (proviso or exception). In the section on the duties of a *snātaka* in Yāj. I. 129-166 'na' occurs very often. The Mit. explains (on Yāj. I. 129) that in this section wherever 'na' occurs it is meant to denote a *paryudāsa* (*sarvatrāpi asmin snātakaprakaraṇe nañ-śabdah pratyekam paryudāsārtha eva*). To take only one example, Yāj. in I 132 provides that one should not speak (to a man or woman) what would be painful without any necessity or cause. This does not altogether prohibit speaking what is painful; what it means is that a *snātaka* may say to another what is painful except when there is no proper reason nor proper occasion to do so. One may have to speak what is painful to an erring son or friend or near relative. Aparārka (pp 206-207) quotes two well-known

2028 शुक्तं यत्प्रजापतिव्रतेषु शास्त्राणामर्थोऽस्येन पुरुषार्थो विधीयते। तत्र निगमः कर्तव्य-
तयोपदिश्यते। ... तस्य व्रतमिति प्रकृत्य प्रजापतिव्रतानि समागतानि। व्रतमिति च मार्ग-
कर्मोच्यते। इदं न करिष्यामीति यः सङ्गृह्यः। कृतमत्तद् व्रतम्। नोद्यन्तमादित्यमग्नौति। यथा
तदीक्षणं न भवति तथा मानसो व्यापारः कर्तव्यः। तस्य च पाठनम्। तत्र तस्मात्पुरुषार्थोऽस्ती-
त्यवगन्तव्यम्। ... न हि कलशं भक्षयन् प्रतिपेयमिति नास्तिमागति। इह पुनरादित्यं पश्यन्नाति-
क्रामति मिथिम्। न हि तस्य दूर्धानं प्रतिपिद्यम्। नियमस्ततोपदिष्टः। यस्तं नियमं करोति
स फलेन सम्बध्यते। इह तु प्रतिपिद्यते कलशादि। शबर on पृ गी सू. VI. 2 20. In
the कीर्त्तौ. भा. VI. 6 (or शा भा) we read तस्य व्रतमुद्यन्तमेव नोद्यन्तम् 'नोद्यन्तम्' चेति।
मनु IV. 37 has a similar provision 'नेक्षतोद्यन्तमादित्यं नारतं पान्तं यदाद्यन्'। Vide
अष्टाशतनवर्ष 104. 18, वसिष्ठ XII. 10 (among स्नातकव्रतः), विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 17-18
for almost the same words.

verses on the distinction between *paryudāsa* and *pratishedha* (the two halves of which are quoted and underlined in note 2027) on the interpretation of a verse requiring a man having a son not to observe a fast on certain days &c. The first halves of those verses are; 'Pradhānatvam vidhauyatra pratishedhespradhānatā (paryudāsaḥ...nañ) || aprādhānyam vidhau yatra pratishedhespradhānatā | prasajyapratī ..nañ' ||

When the particle 'na' is employed in a sentence, it is either a prohibition or a *paryudāsa* or an *arthavāda*. These three have to be clearly distinguished. In *Darsāpūrnāmāsa* the two *ājyabhāgas* are an *anga* (P M. S IV. 4 30) and a passage states that the two *ājyabhāgas* are the eyes of the *Darsāpūrnāmāsa* sacrifice ²⁰²⁹ In connection with this the Veda says 'these two are not performed in an animal sacrifice nor in a Soma sacrifice'. The question is; is this a prohibition or a *paryudāsa* or an *arthavāda*. A *pratishedha* occurs only when there is the possibility of what is prohibited following as a matter of course. As the *ājyabhāgas* are prescribed in *Darsāpūrnāmāsa* there is no possibility of these two being required in a *Somayāga* and there is no real prohibition. Nor is there *paryudāsa*, for if it be a *paryudāsa* there would be no proper connection, since in *paryudāsa* one would have to say 'there are *ājyabhāgas* in *darsāpūrnāmāsa* except in *somayāgs*', which would be absurd. Therefore, these words 'na tau paśau karoti na some' contain an *arthavāda*. A true ²⁰³⁰ prohibition would occur only when something is first prescribed and then prohibited. The stock example is of the *Sodaśin* cup; there are two Vedic sentences of equal authority 'he takes the *sodaśin* cup in *Atirātra*' and 'he does not take the *Sodaśin* cup in *atirātra*'; owing to this conflict an option is allowed. Similarly, there is a Vedic passage 'Vrihibhir yajeta yavairvā' (one shall offer a sacrifice with grains of rice or with yavas) Therefore, in the above two cases where the two texts are irreconcilable, there is

2029. चक्षुषी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ पजति चक्षुषी एव तद्यज्ञस्य प्रतिधाति।
तै. सं II. 6 2. 1

2030. शिष्टा तु मातिपेधः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. X 8. 6. क्षपर explains 'यथा नातिरात्रे
यज्ञाति पोऽशिनमिति। न तत्र शस्त्रं धर्तुं पर्युदास इति। सम्बन्ध एव हि न स्यात्। अतिरात्र-
चक्षुषीतिरात्रे यज्ञाति पोऽशिनमिति। नापि कस्यचिदर्थवादत्वेन सम्भवति। ... यत्र पुनरन्या
वचनपरिकल्पिते पाठस्य तत्र न विकल्पो भवति। एवमेवोऽदोपोऽपि यद् व्रीहियववाक्ययोः।
विद्यत्स्य अभिनस्तत्र गतिरन्या न विद्यते। व्रीहिशस्त्रमवृत्तौ हि यवशास्त्रेण कृष्यते। श्रोता तत्र
मृत्योपि व्रीहिशस्त्रेण कृष्यते। तत्रा on I. 3 3 p. 175 Vide also मातिपूर्वो हि
नतिपेधो भवति। क्षपर on पू. मी. सू. VII 3. 20 and VII 3. 23.

no way except that of allowing an option (*vikalpa*). But 'vikalpa' is liable to eight faults.²⁰³¹ Therefore, an effort has to be made to avoid option and accept as far as possible a *paryu-dāsa* or *arthavāda*, since by accepting an option, the authoritative statement in one case or the other has to be regarded as unauthoritative and not binding. Śābara and *Tantravārtika* provide that *vikalpa* should be resorted to only in case there is no other way. The P. M. S. lays down that *vikalpa* may be accepted when several things having the same object (or sense) are stated by several authoritative texts.

There is one more word that must be explained, viz. *nityānuvāda*.²⁰³² This word occurs in *Āpastambadharmasūtra* II. 6. 14. 13 (vide n. 1877 above). It occurs frequently in Jaimini (vide II. 4. 26, IV. I. 5, VI. 7. 30, VII. 4. 5, VIII. 1. 6, IX. 4. 36, X. 2. 38) and Śābara uses it oftener still. He explains that where the Vedic text apparently prohibits something when there is no possibility of what is prohibited as happening, there is *nityānuvāda* (as in 'the fire altar should not be piled on bare earth nor in the sky nor in heaven'). The *Tuṭṭikā* states the same thing in a different form when it says that where a prohibition amounts to an *arthavāda*, that is *nityānuvāda*.

Vikalpas (options) are grouped under three heads viz. those indicated by logic or reasoning, (2) those due to express words and (3) those dependent on the will of the performer. An example of the first kind is the option about rice grains and barley grains (*yavair vrihibhir-vā yajeta*). The 2nd may be exemplified from *Manu* III. 267, which says that the Manes derive satisfaction for a month when offerings are made of sesame or of rice or of barley or of *māsa* pulse or of water or of fruits and roots.

2031. एकार्थास्तु विकल्पेन सहज्ये ह्याहुतिः स्यात्प्रधानस्य । पू मी सू XII. 3. 10. The eight faults of allowing an option between two provisions are set out in मी. न्या म p. 151 and Prof. Edgerton's translation of मी न्या म paragraph 318 pp. 163-164, n. 212. The *एकादशीतत्त्व* (p. 42) discusses the *ब्रीहियन्वहार्य*, quotes the verse *एवमेवोष्टदोषोपि* and points out the eight *dosas*. The three words *पर्युदास*, *प्रतिषेध* and *विकल्प* occur in one *sūtra* viz पू मी सू X. 8. 15 'अपि तु वाक्यशेषत्वादिनरपर्युदासः स्यात्प्रतिषेधे विकल्पः स्यात्' which is quoted in the *शाङ्करभाष्य* on वे. सू III. 3. 26. The *भाष्य* remarks (on this *sūtra*) that these words are only a summary of the original *sūtra* which is 'अपि वा वाक्यशेषः स्यादस्याप्यन्वहिकल्पस्य विधीनामेकदेशः स्यात् ।'

2032. असति प्रसङ्गे प्रतिषेधो नित्यानुवादः । शबर on I. 2. 18. यथार्थवादत्वेन प्रतिषेधस्तत्र नित्यानुवादो भवति । दुपुटीका on VII. 3. 21; on IX. 4. 36 (परो नित्यानुवादः स्यात्) शबर explains: नित्यमेतन्मर्थं सन्ततमनुवदति.

An option depending on the will of a person occurs in the Jābālopaniṣad²⁰³³ (4) 'after finishing the period of studenthood one should become a householder, after becoming a householder, one should become a forest hermit and after becoming a forest hermit one may become a wandering ascetic (sannyāsin or parivrāḍ), or following another method one may become a wandering ascetic after finishing studenthood or after becoming an householder or after becoming a forest hermit.' The latter part of this passage gives an option as to āśramas.' This option is referred to by Gautama in the words 'some sages allow an option as to āśramas to him (to brahmācārīn).' When Yāj. I. 14 provides that the *Upanayana* of a brāhmaṇa boy may be performed in the eighth year from conception or from birth there is an option depending on the will of the father.

Manu IV. 7 provides that a *dvija* should amass as much corn as would fill a granary (i. e. as would last for a year) or a Kumbhī (for six months) or as much as would suffice for three days or may not care to amass even for to-morrow. These are four options and then Manu IV. 8 provides that a *dvija* who is an householder may choose one of these four, but each succeeding one is superior in point of merit and otherworldly rewards.

A *vikalpa* may also be *vyavasthita* (restricted or limited to a certain set of circumstances) or *avyavasthita* (not restricted). The Āp. Dh. S. provides²⁰³⁴ that one should offer *bali* with his hand in the *aupāsana* fire or in the kitchen fire with the first six mantras. Haradatta remarks that 'This is a limited option' viz. in the *aupāsana* fire *bali* should be cast every day by those who have kept up that fire and in the ordinary kitchen fire by

2033. ब्रह्मचर्यं परित्यज्य गृही भवेत्। गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेत्। वनी भूत्वा मन्त्रजेत्। यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादिव मन्त्रजेद्ब्रह्मा वनाद्वा। जाबालोप. 4, 9. by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र III. 4. 20 with the remark 'अनपेक्षयैव जाबालश्रुतिमाश्रयन्तरे विधापिनीत्यपमाचार्येण विचारः प्रवर्तितः'. The विषयवाक्य of ब्रह्मसूत्र III. 4 18-20 is छान्दोग्य II 23. 1 'त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः ... ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति।' and the ब्रह्मसूत्र mentions the views of जैमिनि and वादरायण on this छान्दोग्य passage and the established conclusion is 'विधिर्वा धारणवत्' III 4 20. गौतमधर्मसूत्र says 'तस्याः अमविकल्पमेकं ब्रूयते' III. 1, तस्य referring to ब्रह्मचारिण. The जाबालोपनिषद् does not appear to have been known to the author of the Brahmasūtra while views similar to those propounded by it were known to Gautama. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 refers to the Jābālopaniṣad as allowing an option 'तथा च विकल्पो जाबालश्रुतौ श्रूयते ब्रह्मचर्ये ... वनाद्वा। इति। ... एतेषां ससूत्रपविकल्पप्राधपक्षाणां सर्वेषां सतिमूलत्वादिपक्षो विकल्पः'.

2034. औपासने पचने वा पशुभिरापीः प्रतिनष्टं हस्तेन जुहुयात्। आप. ध. सू. II. 2.3. 16. 'औपासनवतर्मापासने निधुरादेः पचने इति स्पष्टयिती विकल्पः। इदञ्च.

him whose wife is dead. Manu III. 82 prescribes that one should offer *Śrāddha* everyday with food, water, milk etc. Here there is *vyavasthita-vikalpa* i. e. first food, then in its absence milk, fruits and roots, and in the absence of these water. When Manu IV. 95 prescribes "Having performed the *Upākarma* rite according to proper procedure on the Full Moon of *Śrāvana* or of *Bhādrapada* a *brāhmaṇa* should diligently study the Vedas for four months and a half," *Medhātithi* says that this is a 'vyavasthita-vikalpa' viz. the *Sāmavedins* should perform *upākarma* on *Bhādrapada* Full Moon, while *R̥gvedins* and *Yajurvedins* on *Śrāvana* Full Moon. Vide the *Mit.* on *Yāj.* I. 254 about the *supinḍana* of a mother, where the *Mit.* introduces order among conflicting texts. When *Gaut.* prescribes (III. 21) that a *sannyāsin* should completely shave the head or keep only a top-knot, there is an option depending on the will of the person. *Gaut.* II. 51-53, *Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 11*, Manu III. 1 prescribe *brahmacharya* for Veda study for 48, 36, 24, 12, 3 years. Here there is an option depending on the capacity and wish of the student. It should be noted that the eight faults about accepting an option do not occur in a *vyavasthita*²⁰³⁵ *vikalpa* nor do they apply where the option is dependent on the volition of the performer nor where option is given by express texts. Those eight faults apply only to an option indicated by reasoning.

The *Mīmāṃsābālāprakāśa* (pp. 153-165) provides a long list of the divisions and subdivisions of *Vikalpa*.

Śāstra is meant to give definite rules as stated by *Patañjali*²⁰³⁶ and therefore all *Śāstrik* works try to reduce options to the minimum and assign to apparently conflicting passages separate and definite provinces of application (*Viśayavyavasthā*). Sometimes, the options are so many that commentators give up the task of assigning them different scopes e. g. the *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 22, after quoting the conflicting passages on impurity on birth and death, for *ksatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras*

2035. सर्वस्मिन्श्च व्यवस्थितविकल्पे पूर्वोक्ता अष्टौ दोषा न सन्ति। ... एवमैच्छिकविकल्पेऽप्यष्टौ दोषा न सन्ति कस्यापि शास्त्रस्य प्रतीतप्रामाण्यस्यागाद्यभावात्। ... एवमेव वाचनिकेपि विकल्पेऽष्टौ दोषा न सन्ति। ... तस्मादप्यायगम्ये विकल्प एवाष्टदोषत्वमिति सिद्ध्यति। श्री. वा. प्र. pp. 161-162.

2036. न ह्यव्यवस्थाकारिणां शास्त्रेण भवितव्यम्। शास्त्रतो हि नाम व्यवस्था। महाभाष्ये on धार्तिक 4 (तथा चानवस्था) on वा. VI 1. 135; एवमेवेकोच्चार्य्याचार्योच्यकल्पा वृत्तिता। तेषां लोके क्षमाचाराभावाच्चातीय व्यवस्थामदर्शनमुपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था भवत्येति॥ मिता. on वा. III. 22.

from Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasistha and Atri gives up the effort to bring order because it would be of no use as people do not accept the dicta of these in practice.

Two other words require some explanation. They are 'ārādupakāraka' and 'sannipatyopakāraka'. In the 3rd chapter of the PMS the author deals²⁰³⁷ with *śeṣa*, its definition and explains how to determine what things are called *śeṣa* and what are *śeṣin*. Kumārila sets out five definitions of the word *śeṣa*, discards four and accepts one, viz. 'śeṣa' is that which serves the purpose of another. Śābara comments that what serves to help another is called *śeṣa* and the other is called *śeṣin*. Śābara adds a qualification viz. that is *śeṣa* which is of very much help to another. Bādari holds that there are three groups of *śeṣa* viz. *dravya* (materials for sacrifice such as rice-grains), *guna* (such as the reddish colour of the cow that is the price of the *soma* to be purchased), *samskāras* (purificatory acts such as the pounding of the grains in mortar and pestle which make the grains fit for turning them into *puroḥāsa*) Jaimini adds that rites (*karmāni*) like *yāga*, fruit or result (of *yāga*) are *śeṣa* as regards the performer and the performer is *śeṣa* with reference to the *yāga*. According to Bādari, *dravya*, *guna*, *samskāra* are always *śeṣa*, while according to the established conclusion, *yāga*, reward and performer (*yāga*, *phala* and *purusa*) may be according to circumstances either *śeṣa* or *śeṣin*. After a long discussion the Tantravārtika sums up the discussion that *dravya*, *guna*, and *samskāra* are with reference to *yāga* invariably *śeṣa*, though they may be *śeṣin* with reference to their own constituent elements, while as regards *phala*, *yāga* and the performer they can be both *śeṣa* and *śeṣin* with reference to each other. For example, in the Darśa-Pūrnāmāsa sacrifice there are various items, such as taking out handfuls of rice grains (for sacrifice), sprinkling water on them, pounding them; then certain acts are to be performed with reference to *ānya* (clarified butter) viz. purifying it with two blades of *kuśa* grass, melting it, also bringing a branch, starting the cows towards the meadows &c. These auxiliaries are of two kinds, viz. (i) that are already accomplished, (ii) that are of the nature

2037 शेषः परार्थत्वात् । पू. मी. सू. III. 1. 2. क शेषः केन हेतुना शेषः कथं च विनिर्गुण्यते । इति । श्रुत्यादीनि च विनियोगे कारणादीनि वक्ष्यन्ते च । तेषां च मलनद्वयलक्षणा । शेषः शेषत्वं केचिद्विच्छिन्नं प्राविनाभावलक्षणम् । प्रयोज्यलक्षणं त्वन्ये तदाधिक्येन चापरे । अन्ये स्वगन्तवा तदा विषयन्तत्वापरिग्रहात् । उपकारेण शेषत्वं यदुभयैव लक्षितम् । तन्त्रशा. ०० III. 1. 2 p. 634

of actions. The first comprehend substances, number &c.; those that are of the nature of acts are two-fold viz. *sannipatyopakāraka* and *ārādūpakāraka*. In the Paurṇamāsī rite there are such auxiliaries as Prayājas, the Āghāras, the Ājyabhāgas. These are *ārādūpakāraka*. *Sannipatyopakārakas* are also called *sāma-vāyika*, or *āśrayikarmāni*; they are such as the pounding of grains, *proksana* etc. The *Ārādūpakāraka* are ²⁰³⁸ rites prescribed without being meant to do something about substances and are directly the *angas* of the principal rite. These do not give rise to any *samskāra* (embellishment or making fit) in the substance meant to be offered in sacrifice, are helpful in producing the *paramāpūrvā* that yields the fruit of the whole rite. They produce a subordinate *apūrvā* of their own. They are directly *angas* of the principal rite and are distinguished from *sannipatyopakārakas*, which are *samskāra* (bring about some embellishment or fitness). The *Sannipatyopakārakas* are more powerful than *Ārādūpakārakas* and therefore the *Tantravārtika* states the proposition that where it is possible to hold an act ²⁰³⁹ in a rite to be *sannipatyopakāraka* or *sāma-vāyika*, it is not proper to regard it as *ārādūpakāraka*. It is somewhat remarkable that Prof. Keīth in his 'Karmamīmāṃsā' (p. 88) inverts the meaning of these two words. The explanation of *sannipatyopakāraka* in 'Prābhākara School' (by M. M. Jha) p. 181 also is rather obscure. The *Ekādaśī-tattva* (p. 97), while discussing the substitutes (*pratidinidhis*) to be employed on *Ekādaśī* for ghee, for milk and honey (being milk-powder, curds and jaggery) quotes P. M. S. VI. 3. 18 'na devatāgnisabdakriyam-anyārthasamyogāt', explains that in place of a prescribed *kruyā* like *prayājas* (that have an unseen or spiritual reward) there is to be no substitute, since what has an invisible result is *ārādūpakāraka*, but in place of rice grains (that are the means of preparing *puroṣā*) a substitute may be employed, since the rice grains are *sannipatyopakārakas* and have a seen purpose viz. preparing *puroḥsa*. Śāṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on

2038. अपि च द्विविधान्यङ्गानि। आरादुपकारकाणि सामवायिकानि च। आरादुपकार-
केन्यः सामवायिकानि गरीयांसि। तत्र हि साक्षाद्वाक्यम्। आरादुपकारेषु प्रकृतेन पराक्षेपिक-
वाक्यता स्यात्। तस्मात्संस्कारकर्मेति। शबर on X. 4. 38. आरात् means हारात् acc. to
शबर on X. 8. 16. तत्र कर्मोद्देश्यव्युद्देशेन विधीयमानं कर्म संनिपत्योपकारकम्, यथावयाव-
शोक्षणादि। इदमेव चाश्वपि कर्मोच्यते। सी न्या. प्र pp. 163-164, द्रव्याद्यद्यदिदं केवलं
विधीयमानं कर्म आरादुपकारकम्। यथा प्रयाजादि। ibid p. 168; vide सीमासापरिभाषा
p. 13.

2039 न च सामवायिकत्वे सम्भवत्पारादुपकारककल्पना युक्ता। तन्मन्त्रा. on III 4.
12 p. 902.

V. S. IV. 1. 16 states that the performance of obligatory vedic rites (like Agnihotra) by a man who has to acquire knowledge of brahma is helpful for attaining it as an ārādupakāra. ²⁰⁴⁰

Apart from the Veda and smṛtis the Pūrvamīmāṃsā relies upon or refers to *loka* or *lokavat* (usage of the ordinary people) for elucidation. For example, I. 2. 20, I. 2. 29, II. 1. 12 (Lokavat), IV. 1.6 'tathā ca lokabhūtesu' meaning 'lokepi', VI. 2. 16 (loke karmāni vedavat-tato'dhipurusajñānam), VI. 5. 34 (na bhakti-tvād-esā hi loke), VI. 8. 26 (yāncā-krayaṇam-avidyamāne lokavat), VII. 4. 11 (Lingahetutvād-alinge laukikam syāt), VIII. 2. 22 (payo vā tat-pradhānatvāl-lokavad-dadhnas-tadārthatvāt) gives the illustration that in order to solidify milk a little of curds is enough; VIII. 4. 6, (na laukikānām &c. where 'laukikānām' means 'lokānām'); X. 3.44 (śabdārthaścāpilokavat), X. 3. 51, X. 6. 8, X. 7. 66 (Lokavat, Śābara saying 'Yathā matsyaṇa na payasā samaśniyāt'), XI. 1. 23, 26, 62. Śābara himself uses the word 'Laukikanyāya' in bhāṣya on PMS III. 4. 13 (evam varnyamāne laukikayāyānugataḥ eūtrārtho varni-to bhavisyati' p. 926). ²⁰⁴¹

Jaimini dealt with the eternal, self-existent and absolutely authoritative character of the Veda as regards Dharma in the first *pāda* of the first chapter and also dealt with the means of knowledge, the eternal character of the relation of words and senses. In the second *pāda* of the first adhyāya he pronounced that arthavādas which form a very large portion of the Veda were meant to laud the *Viḍhṛs* with which they were connected and were not to be treated as useless. He also provided that mantras (that formed part of the veda) had a purpose to serve viz. that of recalling to the mind the meaning of the rites performed, that some mantras like 'catvāri śrṅgā' ^{2041a} (Rg. IV.

2040. तद्वत्कर्मणोऽपि ज्ञानसंयुक्तरप्य नोक्षकार्योपपत्तेः। नन्वानारभ्यो मोक्ष. कथमस्य कर्मकार्यत्वमुच्यते। नैप दोषः। आरादुपकारकत्वात्कर्मणः। ज्ञानस्यैव हि मापकं कर्म प्रणाड्या नोक्षकारणमित्युपचर्यते। वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्य IV. 1. 16.

2041. शबर on VII. 4. 12 explains the *nyāya* स्थालीशुलाक. यथा स्थाल्या तुत्पपाकानां शुलाकानामेकमुपस्थान्येषामपि सिद्धता जानाति। शबर on VIII. 1. 11 employs it 'अलिङ्गास्यपि स्थालीशुलाकवत्सिद्धिः'; the तन्त्रवार्तिक employs it on III. 5. 19 (p. 991) 'एकदेशरूपमपि लिङ्गं स्थालीशुलाकन्यायेन समस्तद्योतकं भविष्यति'.

2041a The objections about 'catvāri śrṅgā' and the quotations are raised in P. M. S. I. 2. 31, which is a very long sūtra, and are answered in I. 2. 32-45 P. M. S. I. 2. 38 deals with the verse चत्वारि शृङ्गा This verse is explained in Nīroḥta XIII 7, in पतञ्जलि's मद्रभाष्य, by Śābara. by Kumārila
(Continued on next page)

58. 3) are laudatory of *yāga*, by means of a metaphor, that the sense of some words in the mantras like 'Jarbhari turpharita' (Rg. X. 106. 6) or 'Indrah somaaya kākukā' (Rg. VIII. 77. 4) about which it is argued that no sense can be made out of them are really explicable with the help of Nirukta (etymology) and grammar, that some words like 'Kikata', 'Naicāsākha', and 'Pramaganda', that are claimed to refer to a country, a city, a king and therefore are claimed to make the mantra (Rg. III. 53. 14) non-eternal, can be explained in a different way. In this way, no part of the Veda is anarthaka (without sense or useless) or non eternal. The Mimāṃsikas are very keen on avoiding *anarthakya* of any Vedic words or sentences.

In the third pāda of the first chapter Jaimini deals with the authoritativeness of *smṛtis*, the usages of respectable and learned people (*śādhūcāra*), the *Vedāṅgas* &c.

It appears that before Jaimini composed his *sūtra*, *smṛtis* had come into prominence and the usages of the *śiṣtas* had been recognised as one of the sources of Dharma. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, and²⁰⁴² others had declared that the Vedas, the *Smṛtis* and the usages of those who know the Vedas are the sources of Dharma. Therefore, the *Śāntiparva* (137.

(Continued from last page)

(in *Tantravārtika* p. 155-156), by Durga and Śāyana. These differ a good deal (even Kumārila widely differs from Śābara). जर्भरी तुर्फीरु are epithets of the *Asvins* and explained in *Nirukta* (XIII. 5), *Kānukā* (in *Nirukta* V. 10), *Kikata* and other words in *Nirukta* VI. 32. Yāska says 'Kikata is a country in which non-Āryans resided, while *Tantravārtika* (p. 158) first explained it as meaning a country and affirmed that a country is eternal. Then Kumārila proposes that *Kikata* means 'close-listed', *Pramaganda* 'usurious man', 'naicā-śākhā' means wealth of an impotent person. Śābara on P. M. S. I. 2. 41 (pp 156-157) विद्यमानोऽर्थः प्रमादादस्मादिभिर्नोपलभ्यते । निगमनिरुक्तव्याकरण-वशेन धातुवैर्यः कल्पयितव्यः । यथा सृष्टेव जर्भरी तुर्फीरु इत्येवमादीन्यपि त्रैलोक्ये भिन्नानि द्विवचनान्तानि लक्ष्यन्ते । सृष्टेव जर्भरी तुर्फीरु occur in Rg. X. 106.6, the words निगम ... कल्पयितव्यः again occur in *Śāntiparva* on P. M. S. I. 3. 10 In *तन्त्रवार्तिक* p. 259 (on I. 3. 24) we find 'कात्स्न्येति व्याकरणस्य निरुक्ते हीनलक्षणा' यद्येता वदन्ति यद्वदन् ब्राह्मणे अवनादिति । The *निरुक्त* I. 15 has the words तद्विदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कात्स्न्यम् Vide *तन्त्रवार्तिक* pp 268-269 for other references to *निरुक्त* On P. M. S. XI. 1. 24 Śābara quotes भावप्रधानमाख्यातं (निरुक्त I. 1).

2042. वेदो धर्ममूलं तद्विदा च स्मृतिर्हीनो । गौ. I. 2. धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 2-3. तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः पुराणम् । गौ. XI. 19, where ह्यद्वयं तस्य राज्ञः व्यवहारो लोकमयोदास्थापनम् Vide मनु II. 6 and या. I. 7.

23, 135. 22 in Citrao ed.) mentions Dharmaśāstras and Anuśās-anaparya (45. 17) quotes gāthās from Yama's Dharmaśāstra. Therefore, Jaimini had to consider whether smrtis and usages were authoritative in the matter of Dharma and, if so, to what extent. Even if smrtis were held to be unauthoritative, the authoritativeness of the Veda would not be affected; but the very first sūtra (of P. M. S.) postulated that the work would consider the question about the characteristics of Dharma and, therefore, smrtis that were called Dharmaśāstra (Manu II 10) were connected with the discussion about Dharma. Besides, from VI. 7. 6 it follows that²⁰⁴³ Jaimini knew Dharmaśāstras as he provides that in a Viśvajit the performer cannot make a śūdra a subject of gift simply because he serves a man of higher caste on account of the ordinances of Dharmaśāstra. Even in the Upani-sads (as in Tai. Up. I.11) the teacher after the pupil had completed Veda study impresses upon the latter that whenever he would have a doubt about the rites enjoined or about proper conduct he should follow the conduct of brāhmanas in his country that act after proper consideration, that are devoted to their duties and are not driven to do anything by another, are not harsh of character, that are intent on doing their duties. This amounts to following 'sadācāra' as a source of dharma. Jaimini employs the word 'smṛti' in the sense of works in several sūtras as in VI. 8. 23 (which contains the very words that the Āp. Gr sūtra employs), IX. 2. 1, XII. 4. 43. Śābara mentions 'smṛti' and the word 'smaratī' and 'smarantī' more than a dozen times.

The following passages may be noted On²⁰⁴⁴ P. M. S. I. 3. 2. Śābara says "pramānam smṛtiḥ"; on P. M. S. I. 3. 3 he

2043. शुद्धश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात्। पृ. मी. छ. VI. 7 6: विश्वजित्वेव सन्दिह्यते। किं परिचारकं। शुद्धो देवो नेति।... एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूम। शुद्धश्च न देय इत्यन्वादेशः। कुतः। धर्म-शास्त्रत्वात् धर्मशास्त्रोपनतत्वात्तस्य Vide मनु X. 123 for śūdra's duty to serve higher varnas and गौतम (XI, 57-59).

2044. अद्याचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं जातयुजः कृष्णकेशोऽशीनादधीत इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्। क्रीतप्राजकोऽभोज्यात् इति 'तस्मादशीयोमीये संस्थिते यजमानस्य गृहेऽस्तिष्ठात्पमितयेन विरुद्धम्। शबर on I 3. 2; वी ध छ I 2.1 is अद्याचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यम्; आप ध. छ I. 6. 18. 16 and 23 are सङ्काशमभोज्यम्। दीक्षितोऽनीत-प्राजकः, Manu X. 89 forbids the sale of horses and other animals that are claspapha, while Tai. S II. 3. 12. 1 stating that Varuna seizes him who accepts the gift of a horse practically forbids it. The Rgveda highly praises donors of horses e. g. in X. 107. 2 उवा दिवि क्षिणावन्तो अयुयं अश्वदा सह ते ह्येन। On p 226 of 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources' Sir. G. Jha translates 'giving and accepting in gift and buying and selling of lions, horses &c.' क्षिणन् means 'hon' and also as an adjective 'having a mane' qualifying 'horses', vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 550 n 1647 criticizing this translation.

mentions three *smṛti* rules, two of which can be said to correspond with extant *smṛtis*; on PMS VI. I. 5, while dealing with the question whether lower animals (dogs &c.) have *adhikāra* for Vedic rites, Śābara denies their *adhikāra*, since they do not study the Veda nor the *smṛtisāstras* (as men do), on PMS VI. 2. 21-22 (when the question is whether the *smṛta* rules that a teacher should be followed or obeyed and obeisance be made to him and whether one should get up and honour an old man apply to even children whose *upanayana* is not performed) Śābara states that *smṛti* is equal to Veda (*Vedatulyā hi smṛtiḥ, vaidikā eva padārthā smaryanta ityuktam*). On VI. 8. 23 he quotes one quarter of a *śloka* as *smṛti* (*smaranti-tesu kalesu daivāni-iti*). On VI. 7. 31 he says that *smṛti* speaks of *gandharvas* living for a thousand years. On VI. I. 20 Śābara says a woman owns no wealth, if one follows *smṛti*, but is owner of property if *śruti* be followed. On IX. 2. 2 Śābara says '*naisā smṛtiḥ pramānam, dṛṣṭamūlā hyeṣā*'; on X. 1.36 Śābara says that from the usage of respectable people *smṛti* is inferred and from *smṛti* *Śruti* text is inferred; on X. I. 42 Śābara says '*Smṛti* is stronger than usage'. On X. 3. 47 Śābara says 'there is a *smṛti* that one should not sell a horse'. In one place Śābara employs the words '*pramānāyām smṛtau*' instead of '*pramāne smṛtau*' as one would expect and the *Tantravārtika* is at great pains to show that this lapse on the part of Śābara may be somehow justified (pp. 183-184) on I. 3. 3. The Baudhāyana Dh. S. (1. 1. 19-26) sets out five practices peculiar to the countries of the South (Southern India) and five others peculiar to the North and says that if one belonging to the South follows any of the usages peculiar to the North and *vice versa* he would be guilty of sin. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III, p. 858 and note 1663 for the passage from Baud. Dh. S. The objector says²⁰⁴⁵ that *smṛtis* should be

2045. धर्मस्य शब्दद्वयत्वाद्दशवचनपक्षे स्यात्। अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात् प्रमाणमनुमाने स्यात्। I. 3. 1-2. The words कर्तृसामान्यात् are explained by the भाष्यकार as also observe the *Smṛti* prescriptions are the same; they would not do so unless they firmly believe that *smṛti* prescriptions are based on Vedic authority though it may not be possible in every case to point out Vedic passages expressly or impliedly referring to them. मेधातिथि on मनु II. 6 clearly puts it, quoting from his own work called स्मृतिविवेक, the following verse: प्राप्तेपकारणं मुख्यं वेदविद्भिः परिग्रहः। तद्वक्तुं कर्तृसामान्यादनुमानं श्रुतिः प्रतीतिः। the words underlined are taken from पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 2 मनुस्मृति (II, 7) has 'यः कश्चित्कस्यचिद्वर्गं

discarded, since smṛtis were composed by men (i. e. they are *pauruṣeya* and not *apauruṣeya*, as the Veda is) and men are often deluded and forgetful. This is the main basis of the objector. To this the reply is that for prescriptions of the smṛtis, there are passages in the Veda that suggest some of the smṛti rules e. g. that the Astakā *śrāddha* was prevalent long before the smṛtis is indicated by the Vedic mantra 'yām janāḥ pratinandanti'.²⁰⁴⁶ The usages about obeying the teacher, about providing cisterns for travellers have a seen purpose, viz. the benefit of others. Even the Veda mentions 'prapā' (Rg. IX. 4. 1 'dhanyanniva prapā asi 'meaning' O Agni! thou art like a prapā in a desert'. The Tantravārtika is most exhaustive on this and the following sūtras, differs from the Bhāṣyakāra in many places, finds fault with him and gives alternative matters as the subjects for discussion. He puts forward two theories about smṛti provisions for which it is impossible to suggest Vedic indications. He says (firstly) that Smṛti²⁰⁴⁷ prescriptions may be based on lost Vedic śākhās, or (2) they may be based on texts contained in the very parts of the Veda that are available at present. If any one asks 'how is it that they are not found', Kumārila gives the reply: the several branches of the Veda are scattered about (in many distant territories), men are negligent, and the texts are contained in different sections of the Veda; on account of these one cannot point out the texts that are the basis of the smṛtis.

That many Vedic texts were lost or are unavailable now was the view even before the days of the Āp. Dh. S (I. 4. 12. 10), which states 'rites were promulgated in the Brāhmana texts, but the exact words (of the Brāhmana texts) are lost and have to be inferred from the performance of the rites (or from procedure prescribed in Smṛtis)'.²⁰⁴⁸ There was danger in relying on the

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मनुना परिकीर्तितः। स सर्वोपहितो वेदे सर्वज्ञानमयो हि सः ॥'. मेधातिथि, गोविंदराज and some other commentators take सः as referring to Veda, while Kulīka refers it to मनु. Vide H. of Dh. III. p. 828 n. 1612 for another meaning of these words.

2046 The verse या जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं occurs in अथर्ववेद III. 10. 2, आप. न. पा. II. 10. 27. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 828 note 1612.

2047, तेन वर्ग मलीनश्रुत्यनुमानमेव। यद्वा विद्यमानशाखागतश्रुतिमूलत्वेनेवास्तु। कथमनुपलब्धिरिति चेदुच्यते-शाखानां विपकीर्णत्वाद्युपपादां प्रमादवः। नानामकरणस्थत्वाद् स्मृतेर्मूलं न दृश्यते ॥ तत्रैवा on I. 3. 1 p. 164, quoted by विश्वरूप in his com. on राज्ञः I 7 p. 14 (without name).

2048 ऋग्वेदोक्तं विधयस्तेषामुत्सृज्याः पाठाः प्रयोगादनुमीयन्ते। यत्र मूल्यपलम्बितः यद्वर्णिनस्तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 10-11.

theory that Smrtis were based on Vedic texts that are lost (or disappeared), because that very argument might be urged by heterodox sects like the Bauddhas.²⁰⁴⁹ Therefore, Kumārila put forward the other theory viz. the basis of smrtis are texts that are not found in the existing vedic texts because the Vedic *śākhās* are scattered about (as said in the verse quoted above)

This whole subject about Smrtis according to the views of the Mīmāṃsakas has been dealt with at great length by the author in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp 827-841. Therefore, only a few examples and conclusions may be mentioned here. Śābara himself proposes that PMS I. 3. 4²⁰⁵⁰ should form a separate *Adhikarana* by itself and puts forward an important maxim viz. where one can find out or ascribe a visible motive for an act one should not postulate an unseen Vedic text or a transcendental motive.²⁰⁵¹ The result of Śābara's dealing with PMS I 3 3-4 is neatly put by the Śāstradīpikā as follow; Smṛti rules that are opposed to Śruti rules and such smṛti provisions as can be shown to have a clear worldly motive are not authoritative or binding, while the rest of smṛti texts are authoritative. This doctrine is older than the Āp Dh S (I 4 10. 12) which provides 'where men act because they find pleasure in doing that act there Śāstra has no scope' Kumārila does not agree with Śābara. He says that visible and invisible or spiritual motives are often inextricably mixed up. 'Unhusking rice grains' has a visible purpose in order that they may be well boiled and the boiled rice may be offered in a sacrifice. In this act then there is a visible purpose and yet this act is prescribed by the Veda. In a trenchant, finely worded and very accommodating passage redolent of a cosmopolitan outlook and the desire to give even the devil his due, Kumārila examines (in pp. 166-168) all the known classes of Sanskrit works with regard to their usefulness

2049. यदि तु प्रलीनशाखाभूतता कल्पयेत् ततस्तासां बुद्धादिस्मृतीनामपि तद्द्वारा मामागम्यं प्रसज्यते। तन्त्रवा. on I 3. 1 p. 163.

2050. विरोधे त्वन्येक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम्। हेतुदर्शनाच्च। पू मी सू 1. 3. 3-4. There is another reading in I. 3. 3 viz. अनपेक्ष्यम् Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 193 quoted on p. 833 n. 1622 of vol. III. of H. of Dh.

2051 On I 3. 2 Śābara says 'ये ह्यदार्थस्ते तत एव प्रमाणं ये त्वदार्थास्तेषु वैदिक-शब्दादनुमानम्।'. The तन्त्रवा on this says 'उपपन्नतरं चैतद् वेदवाक्यानुमानतः। दृष्टे हि सत्यदृष्टस्य कल्पना निष्प्रमाणिका।' (p. 186). Vide H. of Dh vol. III. p. 837 n. 1628. It appears that Kumārila thought that Śābara stated his case as merely a counter blast and his own opinion is that a smṛti text which has a visible purpose may still be Vedamūla.

and relation to Veda and ordinary worldly experience. Only a few sentences will be set out here and in the notes. Therefore, he provides that all Smrtis are authoritative according to the purpose they serve. Those parts of Smrtis that are concerned with Dharma and Moksa have the Veda as their source, while whatever parts of Smrtis are concerned with wealth (*artha*) and worldly pleasures (*kāma*) are based on worldly practices. The same rule applies to the hortatory passages of *Ithāsa* (the Mahābhārata) and Purānas, both of which are often spoken of as Smṛti. The episodes and tales in these two should be taken as *arthavādas*. Then he refers to the descriptions of the divisions of the earth and the vamsās (dynastic lists) (both of which are among the subjects treated of in the Purānas) and sets out the purposes they might serve. The six Vedāṅgas (grammar, metrics, etymology, astronomy &c.) are useful as *kratvārtha* and *puruṣārtha*, and Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya (logic) have been established (worked up) from worldly experience by means of *pratyakṣa* (direct perception) and inference based upon the technique evolved by a continuous and unbroken line of learned men; that no single person would have been able to put together for the first time such a large collection of arguments²⁰⁵² (as in the Mīmāṃsāśāstra). For the necessity of Nyāya (in the interpretation of the Veda) he relies upon Manu XII. 105-106. Kumārila is prepared to concede that philosophical systems in which are postulated *pradhāna* and *puruṣa* (Sāṅkhya) or the supreme Lord or atoms (Vaiśeṣika) should be deemed to explain the creation and dissolution of the world, should be looked upon as exhibiting perceived, minute and gross substances divided into causes and effects due to the knowledge derived from *mantras* and *arthavādas*. The purpose of these is to make known the distinction of *svarga* and *yūga* as result and cause. The purpose of the description of creation and dissolution is to show the

2052. सर्वत्र च यथा कथञ्चित्कथञ्चित् (पक्षि?) सदायोपादानत्वरक्षणधीत्युत्पादिका दृष्टार्थना भाष्यकारोक्ता शङ्का वक्तुम् । न चावशात्तादीना दृष्टिकामयागादीनां च दृष्टार्थनामवेदिकत्वम् । तस्मात्सत्यपि दृष्टार्थत्वे सम्भान्यते वेदमूलत्वं नियमादृष्टसिद्धेरनन्यप्रमाणत्वात् । तन्त्रवा p. 166 (on p. नी सू I. 3.2); मीमांसा तु लोकादेव प्रत्यक्षाद्यमानादिभिरविदितसंभवापपत्तितत्त्ववद्गते । अत्राह । न हि कश्चिदपि प्रथममेतावन्तं सूक्तिकलापमुपसंहरति । एतेन न्यायवित्त्वं प्याचक्षीत । तन्त्रवा p. 167 on I. 3. 2. M. M. Jha in his translation of *Tantravārtika* (p. 121) translates 'mīmāṃsā is based on the

Veda, upon ordinary experience &c. But in the Anan edition there are no Sanskrit words corresponding to the words underlined. This passage indicates that Kumārila firmly held that many authors had tried their hands at composing sūtra works on Mīmāṃsā before the present P. M. S. emerged.

distinction between the power of luck and human effort. He goes even a step further and is prepared to admit that even heterodox hypotheses of Bauddhas such as the theory that only *Vijñāna* (cognition) exists, that everything is in an eternal flux and that there is no (permanent) soul, which (theories) sprang from the *arthavāda* passages in the *Upanisads*, serve the purpose of inducing people to give up extreme attachment to sensual pleasures and are useful and authoritative in their own ways.

He sums up the distinction by stating that as regards those *smrtis* (or portions of them) in which the fruit or result promised cannot possibly be experienced in this life, but where the result is promised as fructifying in the remote future (i. e. after death), an inference as to their being based on *Veda* may be drawn, but, as in the case of scorpion lore²⁰⁵³ (i. e. incantations for curing the sting of a scorpion), works dealing with matters that can be seen are authoritative only because the result can be perceived in other men similarly stung.

The mediæval *Dharmaśāstra* works take up this discussion about the distinction between *smrtis* based upon the *Veda* and those on perceptible motives or purposes. For example, the *Kalpataru* (*Brahma-cāri-kāṇḍa* p. 30) and *Aparārka* (pp. 626-627) quote verses from *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (*Brāhmaparva* chap. 181, 22-31) that divide the contents of *smrtis* in five categories and exemplify that division. The *Sm. C. II.* p. 24 quotes two of these and the *Paribhāṣāprakāśa* of *Mitrāmīśra* (p. 19) quotes all of them. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III, p. 840 note 1634 for all the verses.

Kumārila (pp. 194-196 of *Tantravārtika*), holds that the passages quoted by *Śābara* on I. 3. 3 are not really opposed to *Veda* at all and that the proper subject for discussion under I. 3. 3-4 is the authoritativeness in matters of *Dharma* of the schools²⁰⁵⁴ of *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Pāśupata*, *Pāñcarātra* and *Śākya*

2053. विज्ञानमात्र-क्षणभङ्ग-नैरात्म्यविवादानामप्युनिषद्वर्णनादप्रभवत् निषेधस्याव-
ल्लिङ्गं रायं निवर्तयिष्यमित्युपपन्नं सर्वदा ग्रामाण्यम्। सर्वत्र च यत्र कालान्तरफलार्थविद्यानिष-
दुभयासम्भवस्तत्र श्रुतियुल्लङ्घा। सान्द्रादिककले तु हृत्त्रिकादिद्यादौ पुरुषान्तरे भवहादसोनादेव
ग्रामाण्यमिति विवेकसिद्धिः। सन्त्रवा० p. 168 on I, 3. 2.

2054. याच्येतानि त्रयीविभिर्न परीयुहीतानि ... सांख्ययोग-पाश्चात्त-पाण्ड्यत-साय-
ग्रन्थयुहीतवर्माभर्निबन्धनानि ... अदिंसासत्यवचनदमदानव्यादिश्रुतिरसिद्धादित्वादि-
गन्धवासितजीविकाभाषार्थान्तरोपदेशीनि यानि च काष्ठतराणि श्लेष्माचारमिषकमोजनाचारण-
निबन्धनानि तेषामिवैतच्छ्रुतिविरहीतदृष्टदोषान्माननपेक्षणीयत्वं प्रतिपाद्यते। सन्त्रवा. p. 194.
Here the reading in the *sūtra* would have to be अनिषेदयं.

and he holds that all these are outside the pale of the three Vedas and are to be discarded as unauthoritative, although they contain a few matters such as ahimsā, truthfulness, self-control, charity and compassion, that agree with Śruti and smṛti. It will have been seen from the above that Kumārila was aware of the emphasis placed by Buddhists on some moral values but he differed from them in many other matters, that he was ready to admit that Buddhist works had some value and he did not preach that they should be burnt or destroyed. Therefore, it appears that his attitude was far from being one of total hatred and persecution of the Buddhists, as alleged by Taranatha cited above on p. 1010 n. 1645

Śabara explains that *sūtras* 5-7 of P. M. S. I. 3 are ²⁰⁵⁵ concerned with certain religious acts such as ācamana (sipping water) when one sneezes in the midst of a rite, the wearing of Yajñopavīta (the sacred thread), the use of the right hand alone in all acts. These interfere with the sequence and quick performance of the subordinate items in a religious rite, says the objector. Śabara establishes that there is no substance in the objection. Kumārila feels that Śabara is not right as regards the three instances cited by him. He splits the three *sūtras* into two *adhikāraṇas* (topics for consideration); *sūtras* 5 and 6 deal (acc to Kumārila) with the contention that those precepts of Buddha and other founders of unorthodox sects, such as the construction of monasteries and parks, the insistence on desirelessness (*varāgya*), the continuous practice of meditation, ahimsā, truthfulness, restraint of senses, charity and kindness are such as are laid down also by the Veda, are not opposed to the ideas of *śiṣṭas* and cannot rouse the antipathy of those who know the Vedas and that therefore those parts of the unorthodox systems should be deemed to be authoritative. This contention is repelled by Kumārila with the remark that only 14 (four Vedas, 6 Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra) or 18 (adding four Upavedas) have been accepted by the Vedic *śiṣṭas* as authoritative in matters of Dharma and the works of Bauddhas and other sects are not included therein.²⁰⁵⁶ Kumārila gives a telling example viz milk, though by itself pure and useful,

²⁰⁵⁵ Vide H of Dh. vol. III, pp 841-844 for details of Śabara's views on P.M.S. I 3 5-7 and Kumārila's criticism thereof.

²⁰⁵⁶ Vide Yāj. I. 3 for the 14 *vidyās* and H of Dh. vol III p. 10 note 17 for the four Upavedas viz. Āyurveda, Dhānurveda, Gāndhārvaveda and Arthakāśtra

becomes useless and unacceptable, when poured into a bag of dog-skin.

Kumārila holds that *sūtra* 7 of PMS I, 3 is an *adhikāna* by itself and is concerned with the authoritativeness of *sadācāra* (the customs and usages of *śiṣṭas*). His position as elaborated in the *Tantravārtika* is that those usages alone are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by *śiṣṭas* under the belief that they are right conduct (*dharma*) and for which no visible motive (such as pleasure or the satisfaction of desires or the acquisition of wealth) can be predicated. *Śiṣṭas* are only those that perform the religious rites and duties expressly enjoined by the Veda. The practices traditionally handed down from generation to generation that are observed by *śiṣṭas* (as defined above) with the conviction that they form part of *Dharma* must be regarded as *Dharma* and as leading to heaven. The *Tantravārtika* remarks that practices do not become authoritative merely by the fact that no visible motive or purpose can be postulated for them; but they become so only when they are observed by *śiṣṭas* as part of *Dharma*.²⁰⁵⁷ Many activities such as agriculture, service or trade, that are the means of securing wealth and pleasures and such actions as eating sumptuous food, drinking, sleeping on soft beds, possessing a charming house or garden, all of which are common to *Āryas* and *Mlecchas* are not deemed by any one to be part of *Dharma* and it does not follow that because a few actions of *śiṣṭas* are accepted as *Dharma*, all their actions are to be looked upon as *Dharma*. Kumārila quotes the advice that a man should follow the path by which his father, grand-father and other ancestors went, provided it is the path of the good, following which he will not come to harm.²⁰⁵⁸

Very intricate questions arise with regard to the relative force of *śruti* (Veda), *smṛti* and *sadācāra* (usages observed by *śiṣṭas* as defined above and in Manu XII, 109). The *Mit.* on Yāj. I, 7 (laying down five sources of *Dharma* viz. *śruti*, *smṛti*,

2057. दृष्टकारणहीनानि यानि कर्मणि साधुभिः। मनुक्तानि मनीषेय धर्मलेखे तान्यपि ॥ अत्यक्षेदेविलिख्यमन्यथा हि लब्धकिंलब्धव्यपदेशा यत्परंपरायासमन्यदपि धर्मदृष्ट्या कुर्वन्ति तदपि स्वर्गमत्वाद्भूमिरूपमेव। तन्त्रवा pp. 205-206, vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 843 note 1639 for the whole passage.

2058. येनारय पितरो याता येन याताः पितामहाः। तेन यायास्तता मार्गं तेन गच्छयन्ति ॥ मनु IV, 178 q. by तन्त्रवा, p. 211, where Kumārila adds येषां तु पित्रादिभिरेवायं ताचरितः स्वल्पान्तरप्रतिपिबुध्य वे तं परिहरन्त्येव। अपत्तिहरन्तो वा स्वजनानिभिः परिक्षीयन्ते। Vide मेधा, and सिद्धान्त on this in H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 857 n. 1661.

sadācāra, and two more) states the general rule that in case of conflict each preceding one is more powerful than each succeeding one. Manu (I. 12) states that, for those who desire to know Dharma, Śruti (Veda) is the highest authority. Therefore, in case of conflict between śruti and smṛti the former prevails. There are a few exceptions even to this clear rule which may be illustrated later on. But where two smṛtis are in conflict, the ordinary rule, following the Śodāśi-nyāya and the words of Gautama I. 5 (Tulyabalavirodhe vikalpah), should be an option. Many works on Dharmaśāstra must have been composed long before 500 B. C., since Gautama mentions Manu (in 21. 7) and 'acāryāḥ' (in 3. 35, 4. 18) and Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 19. 2-12) mentions no less than nine individual authors' opinions on the single question as to whose food may be eaten. Manu (in III. 16) mentions three views held by four sages on the position of a brāhmana who marries a śūdra wife or has a son or child from her. A striking example of a conflict between smṛtis is the rule of Manu (III. 13), Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 1-4, Vas. I. 25, Pār. Gr. I. 4 allowing *anuloma* marriages and permitting a brāhmana to have a śūdra woman as a wife and the emphatic statement of Yāj. I. 56-57 that it does not agree with those that declare that persons of the three higher classes can take a śūdra woman as wife. Later writers of smṛtis and *mānandhas* should have said that on account of this conflict there is an option. But they do not say so. They struck upon various devices to wriggle out of such apparent contradictions. The first device was declared by Brhaspati (about 500 A. D.) that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position as it correctly represents the sense (the real view) of the Vedas and that a smṛti which is opposed to the teaching of Manu is not held in esteem.²⁰⁵⁹ But this was not satisfactory and some other devices were resorted to. One was to insert passages in Manusmṛti itself and in other works opposing what had already been declared as the law. Two examples may be cited. As against Manu III. 13 (referred to immediately above) we find in the extant text (III. 14-19) verses very strongly condemning persons of the three

2059. वेदार्थोपनिषद्भूत्वात् प्रमाण्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ। मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न मन्वरेते॥ हृदयस्मृतिः q by अपराक्ष p 628 on या II. 21 and by कुट्टक on मनु I 1 मनुस्मृति 11 7 (quoted above in note 2045) claims that whatever it says on dharma has all been declared in the Veda. The मनुस्मृति frequently echoes the very words of the Veda, e.g. Manu I 31 and Rg X 90 12, Manu II. 2 and राज. सं. 40. 2, Manu IX. 8 (about Jāyā) and Āit. Br 33. 1 (7th gāthā), Manu IX. 32 and Āit. Br. 33. 3 (4th gāthā).

higher *varṇas* taking a śūdra woman as wife. Manu allowed the practice of *niyoga* (in IX. 59-62), but the extant Manusmṛti (IX. 64-68) condemns it in no measured terms. These contradictory statements were known to Brhaspati who expressly says that Manu permits *niyoga* and himself forbids ²⁰⁶⁰ it and assigns a reason viz. that in former ages (Kṛta and Tretā) people practised *tapas* and were endowed with knowledge while in the Dvāpara and Kali ages men have lost the powers possessed by men of the past ages and therefore *niyoga* is forbidden. Yājñavalkya himself proposes (II. 21) that when two smṛtis are in conflict 'reasoning based on the practices of elders was of greater force'. Nārada has a similar rule. ²⁰⁶¹ Another device was to declare that the nature of Dharma differed in each of the four yugas and that in the kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali ages the Dharma's respectively promulgated by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara were to prevail. ²⁰⁶² This also could not solve all difficulties, since medieval commentators and digestists found that even what was allowed by Parāśara (such as permitting a brāhmana to eat food at the ²⁰⁶³ house of such śūdras as his dāsa, cowherd, barber, family friend and a cultivator of his land for a half share of the crops, permission for a married woman to re-marry in certain circumstances), came to be disapproved of or condemned by people. Another expedient in cases of conflict among smṛtis was provided by Gobhila viz. where there is a conflict of (smṛti) passages, the opinion of the majority should prevail. ²⁰⁶⁴

2060. उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु । युगक्रमादश्वपौर्य कर्तव्यैर्विधानतः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 68, two more verses of Brhaspati cited by Kulllūka are not quoted here.

2061. Vide H of Dh. vol III pp 866-867 notes 1682-83 for several renderings and explanations of Yājñ II. 21. Compare 'धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु शुक्तिं शुक्तिं विधिः स्मृतः ॥ नारदस्मृति I. 40

2062. अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मोत्पत्त्या द्वापरेऽपरे । अग्रे कलियुगे नृणां युगहासादुत्पत्त्या ॥ मनु I. 85. The same verso occurs in शान्तिपर्व 232. 27 (= cr ed. 224. 26) and in पराशरस्मृति (I. 22) (which reads युगकृपादुत्पत्त्या); कृते तु मानवे धर्मोत्पत्त्या शीतमः स्मृतः ॥ द्वापरे शाङ्गल्लिखितः कलौ पराशरः स्मृतः ॥ पराशर I. 24 q. by स्मृतिच I p 11.

2063. वास्त-नायित-गोपाल-कुलनिबार्धसीरिणः । एते छन्देऽपि भोज्यान्ना पञ्चास्त्रान् निवेदयेत् ॥ पराशरस्मृति XI. 21. Compare वास्त I 166 for about the same words and स्वदासी नयितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कृषीवलः । ब्राह्मणैरपि भोज्यान्ना पञ्चैते शूद्रयोग्यः ॥ देवल q. by अपरार्क on p. 245 on वा. I. 168 नष्टे शूते मज्जति कृषि च पतति पत्नी । पञ्चस्थापस्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ पराशरस्मृति IV 30, on which पर मा. II 1. p. 53 remarks 'अयं च युगकृपादौ युगान्तरविषयः'.

2064. विरोधो यत्र वाक्यानां मानार्थं तत्र श्रुत्यसाम् । गोभिलस्मृति q. by मलमासतव p. 767.

As shown above smrtis had been composed before 500 B. C. and they continued to be compiled till about 900 or 1000 A. D. i. e. for over 1500 years. Yāj (I. 4-5) mentions 19 smrtis including his own. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. I pp. 132-135 for the enumeration of different numbers of smrtis in different works. At least a hundred smrtis if not more can be named. During the long period of over 1500 years vast changes in the religious and social ideas of the Indian people, in their customs and usages had occurred. Buddhism arose, flourished and disappeared from India, the caste system became rigid in the matter of food, marriage and social behaviour; Vedic rites, divinities worshipped and language underwent great transformations, animal sacrifices, though occasionally performed, had ceased to be looked upon as meritorious. The religious literature had therefore to be recast to suit new ideals, new worship and new patrons (viz. the common people who had ceased to follow ancient ritual and worship). Smrtis reflected the changes in ideas, beliefs, worship and usages that occurred from time to time and naturally gave rise to great conflicts among themselves. At last it appears that the learned men of the 10th and following centuries of the Christian era hit upon the plan of providing that certain customs and practices, though formerly allowed and practised, were harmful in the Kali age. A theory was put forward that great sages came together at the beginning of the Kali age and declared that certain rites, customs and usages, though allowed in past ages, should be prohibited in the Kali age.²⁰⁶⁵ The actions prohibited or to be avoided in the Kali age (about 55 in number and therefore called Kalivarjya) have been set out and discussed at length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp 926-967. It is clear from Medhātithi's bhāṣya on Manu (IX 112) that long before his time (9th century A. D.) there were writers who had condemned *govadha* (in Madhuparka &c.), *nyūga* and the giving of a larger share to the eldest son and expressed the view that those practices were only allowed in bygone ages.

This subject of *Kalivarjya* requires some serious consideration. Three of the Kalivarjyas are the prohibition of *nyūga*, of

2065. एतानि लोकशुल्कस्य कलेरादौ नष्टानामिः। निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं इति. ॥ lines 39-40 from the appendix (pp. 1014-1015) to vol. III. (of H. of Dh.); 'हस्तशुद्धार-नियोग-गोवधस्तृण उपदिष्टा नास्तुतेया।' मेधा on मनु IX 112; तथा नियोगपूर्वो नो नावुपगच्छाद्योऽपि च। तपोद्धारविभागोऽपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ q. by मिताक्षरा on वा 11. 117.

the offering of the *anubandhyā* cow (after *avabhṛtha*) in *Jyotiṣṭoma* and of the allotment of the largest share (of ancestral wealth) to the eldest son. All these three were either enjoined or permitted by the *Veda*. From *Rg. X. 40. 2* it follows that a sonless widow raised a son for the sake of the spiritual benefit of her husband's soul by sexual intercourse with the husband's brother.²⁰⁶⁶ The *Tai. S. (III.1.9.4)* has two contradictory passages viz. 'Manu divided his wealth among his sons' (without making any distinction among them) and 'therefore they endow the eldest son with (the paternal) wealth' (*Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7*). In this last case it may be argued that as two *Vedic* passages are in conflict there is an option. But from very early times there is a prohibition against allowing the whole ancestral wealth or a major portion of it to the eldest son. *Āpastamba* quotes both²⁰⁶⁷ *Vedic* passages, holds that equal division among sons is the proper rule and remarks that allowing the eldest son to take the whole or a major portion of ancestral estate is prohibited by the *Śāstras*. Among actions forbidden in the *Kali* age but practised in *Vedic* times some striking ones (apart from the three already cited above) may be mentioned here: (1) being initiated for *Sattras* (which were sacrifices extending from 12 days to 12 years or even more and which could be performed by *brāhmanas* alone); *Jaīmini*²⁰⁶⁸ deals with them at some length in *VI. 6. 16-32* and other places. It is remarkable that neither *Śābara* nor *Kumārila* says anything against *Sattradikṣā* as prohibited in *Kali*. So it was not among generally recognized *Kalivarjyas* till at least the 8th century A. D. (2) killing of a cow or bull. There were several occasions on which this was

2066. को वा शत्रुना विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कुक्षे सपत्य अ॥ ऋ X. 40. 2. For the treatment of *niyoga* from ancient times, vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 599-607. Some regard this verse as indicating re-marriage and not *niyoga*. But that does not appear to be correct. Mann (IX. 65) states that *niyoga* is nowhere mentioned among the mantras relating to marriage nor is the remarriage of a widow referred to in the procedure of marriage. But *Gautama* and some other *sūtrakāras* and even *Yāj. (I. 68-69)* prescribe to detail the procedure and conditions governing *niyoga*, all writers are entirely silent about the procedure of the re-marriage of widows. Therefore, it has to be said that *Rg. X. 40. 2* was rightly held by ancient *smṛtis* as referring to the practice of *niyoga*.

2067. ज्येष्ठो दायाद् दत्त्येके। ... तच्छास्त्रैर्विमतिविद्धम्। ... मनुः कुक्षेऽपि दायां व्यभज दित्यविशेषेण श्रूयते। अथापि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसायगन्तीत्येकवचन्यते। ... सर्वेऽपि धर्मयुक्ता भागिनः। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 10-12, 14.

2068. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 1239-1246 for details about *Sattras*.

done in the Vedic age. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp 939-940. As flesh-eating came to be looked down upon, cow-sacrifices became most abhorrent and medieval Kalivarjya texts only register a prohibition which had been acted upon for centuries before them. (3) The employment of cups of wine in the Sautrāmanī sacrifice.²⁰⁶⁹ Jaimini, Śābara and the *Tup-tikā* of Kumārila describe it and both Śābara and Kumārila refer to the offering of cups of wine in it. Therefore this rite must have become Kalivarjya after Kumārila's day. (4) Offering an animal with the recital of Vedic mantras to the bridegroom, to a guest and in honour of *pitrs*. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 542-546 for Madhuparka in which a bull or a cow was offered according to the Ait. Br. and Vol. III, pp. 945-46 for this Kalivarjya Manu (V. 41-44) allows the killing of animals in Madhuparka, in sacrifices and in rites for the *pitrs* (Manes) and gods and emphasizes that sacrificing an animal as laid down by the Veda is no *himsā* but is *ahimsā*. Yāj. (I. 258-260) prescribes the periods of time for which *pitrs* are gratified by the offering of sacrificial food (such as rice or sesame), various kinds of fish and the flesh of several animals. The Mit was²⁰⁷⁰ constrained to observe that, although Yāj shows that sacrificial food (rice &c), flesh and honey are offerings in Śrāddha for all *varnas*, yet (in its day) the rule established by Pulastya should be followed viz. food fit for muni (i e. rice) should be offered by brāhmanas, flesh by ksatriyas and vaiśyas and honey by sūdras.

According to the Pūrvamīmāṃsā Veda is eternal, self-existent and of absolute authority, one fails to understand how sages could have authority at the beginning of the Kali-yuga to prohibit what the Veda enjoined or permitted. This seems to be a fiction invented to accommodate as Dharma the changes in people's ideas and practices that had occurred. It would have been honest and straightforward if the writers on Dharmasāstra had

2069. For reference to Sautrāmanī, vide above p. 1079 note 1750 Jai. III 5 14-15 and IV. 3. 29-31 deal with it. The Tai S. V. 6, 3-4, states 'Agnim citvā sautrāmanyā yajeta'. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 1224-1228 for a description of this sacrifice, which is a combination of an *isti* with animal sacrifice. The peculiarity of this rite is that, along with cups of milk, cups of wine are offered to Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra.

2070. अत्र यजति हव्यसनासन्नध्यादीनि सर्ववर्णानां सामान्येन आहुते योग्यानि दक्षिणानि तथापि पुनश्चोक्ता व्यवस्थादृश्या। हव्यसं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मर्त्तं क्षत्रियस्यैव योः। मन्त्रदानं गृह्यसं नृणां चाग्निरपि यत् ॥ इति। निता on याज्ञ I 260-261

said that changed circumstances required that the words of the Veda or of the old smrtis should not be followed. And there is nothing novel or revolutionary in saying this. Both Manu²⁰⁷¹ and Yājñavalkya prescribe that one should not observe but give up, what was (once) deemed to be dharma, if it had become hateful to the people and if it would end in unhappiness and not lead to the attainment of heaven. Even the Mitākṣarā follows this precept of the two smrtis and expressly says that unequal distribution (at partition) of ancestral wealth, though found in the Śāstras, should not be followed because people had come to hate it. It may be noted that the word used by Yāj. and others is 'lokavidvīṣṭa' or 'lokavikrūṣṭa' (hated or reviled by the people) and not 'śiṣṭa-vidvīṣṭa', the idea being that even if orthodox learned *pandits* insist that people must follow what the Veda and smrtis declare to be Dharma, common people may give up practices condemned by them or hateful to them. This attitude recognizes the historical facts that practices change in the course of centuries and common people are entitled to ignore the dicta even of the Veda (much more of the smrtis). To the question why should one not be allowed to marry one's mother's sister or

2071. परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ । धर्मं चाप्यमुस्वोदकीं लोकविकृतेन च ॥ मनु. IV. 176; विष्णुपुराण III. 11 7 reads धर्मपीडाकर्तृ दृष्ट and विद्विष्टः, कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यत्नाद् धर्मं समाचरेत् । अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्ममप्याचरेत् ॥ याज्ञ I. 156. Vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 17-21 (परिहरेत्) धर्मविकृद्धौ चार्थकामौ लोकविद्विष्टं च धर्ममपि । दृष्टचारदीपयु I. 24. 12 has the verse कर्मणा मनसा ... चरेत् ॥ सर्वलोकविरुद्धं च धर्ममप्याचरेत् ॥ कूर्मः I. 2. 54. 'विद्यमो विभागः शास्त्रदृष्टस्यापि लोकविद्विष्टत्वाभावेऽप्येति' मिता. on या II 117; on याज्ञ I. 156 the मिता says 'धर्मं विहितमपि लोकविद्विष्टं लोकाभिशास्तिजननं मधुपर्कगोवधादिकं नाचरेत् यस्मादस्वर्ग्यमग्नीषोमीयवत्सर्वसाधनं न भवति ॥'. Vide also मिता on या. III. 8, which says about the different days of impurity for sapindas of the 4th, 5th, 6th or 7th degree prescribed by a Smṛti that it should be discarded 'तद्विधीतत्वाभावरणीयम् । यद्यप्यविधीतं तथापि मधुपर्काद्विषयात्प्रभववष्टोकाविद्विष्टत्वाभावेऽप्यम्' ; the रसुत्तिच (I p. 71) says 'न ब्रह्म शास्त्रतो न पारिणयेति किंतु लोकविरुद्धत्वात् । यद्य धर्ममपि लोकविरुद्धं तत्काष्ठेऽप्यम् । यदुक्तं मनुना-अस्वर्ग्यः । ब्राह्मिहिरोपि लोकाचारस्तावदादौ विचिन्त्यो देशे देशे या रियति सैव कार्यः' ॥. Vide above p. 555 note 825 b for this verse which is there quoted from राजमार्तण्ड. The शतपथब्राह्मण (III. 4. 1-2) has 'तस्मै (सोमाय) एतद्यथा राजे वा ब्राह्मणाय वा महोक्षं महार्जं वा पञ्चेत्तदह मादये हविर्देवानामिवमस्मा एतदादितये करीति' वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र (4. 8) and याज्ञ I 109 have the same provision as in Śatapatha. Medieval writers could not subscribe to this practice. Viśvarūpa says that an ox or goat is killed only if the guest desires it. कल्पतरु (नियतकाल section p. 190) quotes both वसिष्ठ and याज्ञ and remarks अत्र यथागतश्रोत्रियदुष्टवर्ष गोवधः कर्तव्य इति प्रतीयते तथापि कलिखुरे नार्य धर्मः किं तु सुमान्तरे, while the मिता explains 'उपकल्पयेत्, भवदर्थमयमस्माभिः परिकल्पित इति तत्प्राप्त्यर्थं न तु दानाय प्यापादानाय वा, 'अस्वर्ग्यं... ॥ ८ ॥' इति निषेधाच्च "

mother's sister's daughter if a maternal uncle's daughter can be married, the *Smṛticandrikā* replies 'we do not say that she could not be married according to Śāstra, but she should not be married as people abhor such a marriage' and it quotes Yāj I.156 (by oversight it ascribes the verse to Manu). In modern times when any change or reform in religious or social practices is suggested, Pandits calling themselves *Sanātānis* put forward the pleas that the proposed change or reform is opposed to the śāstras, that the controversy should be carried on according to the Mīmāṃsā rules, that all Smṛti and other dicta should be so construed as to lead to *samanvaya* (consistent arrangement of apparently discordant texts), that the historical approach leads nowhere and should not be resorted to. All these objections are here briefly dealt with. It has been shown how from Vedic times to the present day great changes have taken place in religious ideas, worship and practices, how smṛtis from Gautama, Āpastamba, Manu downwards espouse conflicting views so much so that as early as the Mahābhārata Vyāsa²⁰⁷² had to protest that 'rationalisation is unstable, Vedas are in conflict with each other, there is no single sage whose opinion is held to be authoritative (by all), the truth about Dharma is enveloped in a cave (i.e. it cannot be clearly discerned) and that therefore the path (to be followed) is the one followed by the great mass of people'. The Mīmāṃsā does not often lead to certain conclusions and it has already been seen how great Mīmāṃsā writers like Śabara, Kumārila, Prabhākara differ among themselves on numerous topics and it would be further illustrated later on how even great Mīmāṃsakas evolve highly conflicting conclusions in the interpretation of simple smṛti passages. Change is the one absolute in the long history of our religious and social ideas and what those who appeal to the historical approach mean is that the smṛtis were composed by human authors during a period of 1500 or 2000 years and were greatly influenced by the then prevailing religious and social atmosphere, that many of their dicta cannot be fully reconciled so as to form a consistent code of conduct, that they cannot be

2072 तस्मिन्प्रसिद्धे श्रुतयो विभिन्ना जैको मुनिर्यस्य मतं प्रमाणम् । धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं
एहाणो महाजनो येन वनं स पन्थाः ॥ वनपर्व chap 313. 117 (in वक्ष्यश्च). But this
verse does not occur in the Crī ed of वनपर्व chap 297, though several other
questions and answers do occur. The words 'महा.. पन्थाः' may also mean
the path to be followed is the one that some great man (or men) takes;
महाजन in the sense of 'mass of people' is employed by शङ्कराचार्य on वे सू
IV. 27 in the words 'एतन्निष्पद्युक्तानि महाजनगतेषां श्रुतीर्यते'.

regarded as forever binding on all Hindus, that in the 20th century our people are free to introduce or recognize such changes as are required or have already taken place among the people in the changed circumstances and that this course is sanctioned even by Manu and Yājñavalkya and medieval eminent authors and works on the Dharmasāstra such as the *Mitaksarā* and the *Kalpataru*. It is of course clear that changes in practices and principles should not be made merely for the sake of change or for the whims of some leader, but the governing principle of conscious change should be the feelings and needs of common people, while retaining the foundations on which society has been based for thousands of years.

It has further to be noted that the *Mīmāṃsā* rules were concerned only with the interpretation of the Vedic passages on sacrificial rites and matters relating thereto and had very little to do with the practices of people unconnected with sacrifices or religious rites.²⁰⁷³ The *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* nowhere says that the same rules should be applied to the interpretation of *smṛtis*. On the contrary, the P. M. S. is very critical about *smṛtis* and usages (vide P. M. S. I. 3. 3-4 and 7). There are fundamental differences between the Veda and the *smṛtis*. The Veda was deemed to be self-existent, eternal and of absolute authority, while *smṛtis* are *pauruseya* (works of human authors), have only a derived authority (as being presumed to be based on Vedic passages most of which are not now available), their number is

2073. For an example, where Dharmasāstra refused to allow the application of *Mīmāṃsā* rules to *vratas* and *utsavas* vide above p. 133 n. 337. For examples of medieval digests and commentaries saying that certain inconvenient *smṛti* texts referred to previous *Kalpas* and *Yugas*, vide Sm. C. I 24 and Par. M. I 2 p. 83 about *Hārīta* speaking of *Upanayana* for women (*H. of Dh.*, Vol. II, p. 295); Par. M. I. part 2 p. 97 refers to Manu III, 13 allowing the marriage of a *brāhmana* with a *śūdra* woman and III, 14 forbidding it and to Yājñ quoted above in note 2071 and remarks that this conduct is to be resolved by saying that there is difference of opinion among *smṛtis* on that point or that they refer to different *yugas*. Vide also above p. 89 n. 222 on the divergence about *Yugādī Tithis*. The V. M. (P. 99 of my edition, Poona, 1926) states that the verse of *Nārada* which says 'as to those sons who are separated by their father himself by giving to each of them less or more, it is their duty to abide by it since the father has power over all' is declared as referring to 'another *Yuga*'. Vide also V. M. pp. 242-243 about killing an *ātātāyīn brāhmana* अतः कलौ स्वधोघतोऽप्यतानी विमो न वध्यः। शुभान्तरे तु वध्य एव। This conclusion is due to the verse in कलिवर्ज्य section 'आततायिद्विजायबाणां घर्ममुद्धेन हिसन्म। ... इमान् धर्मान् कलिर्ज्ये वर्ज्यानाहर्मनीयिणः॥'

very large, they often differ so much from each other that even eminent authors and works like the *Mitāksarā* had sometimes to give up in despair the idea of bringing order out of the welter of *smṛti* passages and in their efforts at *samanāya* had to say that certain *smṛtis* refer to a former *Kalpa* or *Yuga* (i.e. to a society of several thousands or millions of years ago). One of the well-known maxims of the P. M. S. is the one called '*Sarvaśākhāpratyaanyāya*'²⁰⁷⁴ or '*Śākhāntarādhikarananyāya*' (II. 4. 8-33). In the several recensions of the *Veda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* attached to the *Vedic* recensions the same rite is mentioned and is dilated upon with details some of which occur in one or more recensions but are absent from others. *Jaimini* and *Śābara* establish that all the *Śākhās* of the *Veda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* form one *corpus*, that such rites as *Agnihotra* and *Jyotistoma* are one and the same in all recensions of the *Veda*, though the details may vary here and there, and this is the proper conclusion because the name (*Jyotistoma* and the like) is the same in all recensions, the promised reward of the rite is the same, the materials of the sacrifice and the *devatā* are the same and the *codanās* (the exhortatory sentences) are the same. This very maxim was extended to *smṛtis* from very early times. *Visvarūpa*, *Medhātithi*, the *Mitāksarā*,²⁰⁷⁵ *Aparārka* and other commentators extend this to *smṛtis* and provide that where *smṛtis* are in conflict there is to be an option but that in other cases all the details are to be added up. But as an option was liable to eight faults the tendency developed that all *smṛti* passages on a topic were to be so interpreted as to give no rise to conflict or to allow no option by means of various devices

2074. एकं वा संयोगरूपचोदनाख्याविशेषात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 4. 9; शबर says 'सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययं सर्वब्राह्मणप्रत्ययं चैकं कर्तुं' on जै II. 4. 9 pp. 635-636; the तन्त्रवा. p. 635 remarks 'एकस्यामपि शाखायां ब्राह्मणानेकत्वेऽपि तदेव कर्मेत्यभिप्रायः। तत्रापोद्गातृणां पञ्चविंश-पद्विंश-ब्राह्मणयोजनोपतिदोमद्वादशाहौ॥' Compare सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं चोदनाद्यविशेषात्। वे. सू. III 3 1.

2075. Vide विश्वरूप on या I 4-5 'न तावदान्मायो धर्मशास्त्रभेदमतिपादकः, न च तत्प्रभयो न्यायः। अपि तु श्रौतानां कृत्स्नोपसंहारात् तत्पूर्वकत्वाच्च तथैवात्रापि प्रामोति।'; vide मेधा- on मनु II 29, 'एवमन्येऽपि विकल्प आश्रयणीयः, अविरोधितुं समुच्चयः। शास्त्रान्तराधिकरणन्यायेन सर्वस्मृतिप्रत्ययत्वात्कर्मणः।' मिता on याज्ञ III. 325, vide अपराकं pp 1053 q. on p 89 n 211 of vol. IV. and also p. 1102, स्मृतिच I. p 5, मद्. पा pp 11, 91, ह्युद्धितत्त्व pp. 378-380, जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व p 523, Vide H. of Dh. vol III. p 72 and H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 89-90 and 453-455 for explanations and illustrations of this maxim The Mit on Yāj I. 4-5 provides 'एतेषां (धर्मशास्त्राणां) प्रत्येक नामान्येऽपि साक्षाक्षणानामाकाशापरिधूरणमन्यतः क्रियते विशेषे विकल्पः।' q. in I. L. R. 39 Bom. 373 at p 379

such as 'Visaya-vyavasthā', reference to another Kalpa or Yuga and so on. For example, even as regards the stock example of *vikalpa* (viz. taking or not taking the Śodāsin cup in Atirātra) the Mit. says that it is proper to assume that it should be taken if it is possible to do so, or it may be assumed that by taking the Śodāsin cup in Atirātra the attainment of *svarga* is hastened &c.²⁰⁷⁶ The result of regarding all *smṛtis* as constituting one Śāstra was that many simple rites became in course of time overloaded with details, complicated and taxing to the performer. But sometimes it is necessary to apply this doctrine. For example, Yāj. I. 135 requires the *snātaka* not to look at the sun (*neksetārkam*); this would mean that to look at the sun is prohibited at all times, but the dictum of Yāj. should be read along with Manu IV. 37 which forbids a person to look at the rising or setting sun or at the sun when eclipsed or as reflected in water or when it is at the meridian. So the rule will be as stated by Manu.

While on this subject of the authoritativeness of *Smṛtis* it would be useful to glance at what Jaimini and particularly Kumārila say about the Vedāṅgas. As regards *Śikṣā* (Phonetics) Kumārila says that the account given in that work about the organs employed in pronunciation and the rules about Vedic accents have their use in the correct recitation of *mantras*. On the Kalpa-sūtras Jaimini²⁰⁷⁷ has a separate *adhikarana* (I. 3. 11-14). Śābara mentions by name the Māsaka, Hāstika and Kaundinyaka Kalpasūtras and the Tantravārtika draws a distinction between *kalpa* (ritual of Śrauta sacrifices) and Kalpa-sūtras, and refers by name to eight

These sūtras (PMS I. 3. 11-14) have been interpreted by Kumārila in several different ways, firstly as referring to the authoritativeness of Kalpasūtras (as done by Śābara), secondly

2076. न च षोडश्विद्वद्गणवद्विदमयोऽपि विकल्पोपपत्तिरिति वार्ष्णे, यत्तत्सामि सति सम्भवे ग्रहणमेवेति युक्तं कल्पयितुम् । यद्वा षोडश्विद्वद्गणवद्विदमयोऽपि विकल्पोपपत्तिरिति वार्ष्णे सिद्धिरिति वाच्यं वा स्वर्गश्चेति कल्पनीयम् । नित्यं on याज्ञ. III. 243.

2077. के पुनः कल्पाः कानि सूत्राणीति उच्यते । सिद्धरूपः प्रयोगो यः कर्मणामनुगम्यते । ते कल्पा लक्षणार्थानि सूत्राणीति प्रचक्षते । कल्पमाद्वि प्रयोगाणां कल्पोऽनुष्ठानसाधनम् । एवं तु सूचनास्तेषां स्वयं कल्पप्रयोगकम् । कल्पाः पठितसिद्धा हि प्रयोगाणां प्रतिष्ठिता । तन्त्राः, on I. 3. 11 (प्रयोगज्ञानमिति चेत्) p. 229. The principal distinction is that Kalpas about each vedic sacrifice lay down simply the procedure that is ready made as handed down by oral tradition, while Kalpasūtras like those of Āśvalāyana, Bāljavāpi, Drāhyāyana, Lātyāyana and Kātyāyana contain *sañjñās*, *bhāṣās*, general rules, exceptions and definitions etc

as referring to all the six Vedāṅgas and thirdly as referring to the so-called smṛtis of Buddha and others. That the Buddhist works claimed to be smṛtis is clear from the Manusmṛti²⁰⁷⁸ 'the smṛtis that are beyond the pale of the Veda and whatever other false systems may exist, they are all fruitless as to the (soul's) Hereafter (destiny after bodily death), since they are all based on *tamas* (ignorance).' Here some words will be said about the Vedāṅgas according to Kumārila. According to both Śābara and Kumārila, vyākaraṇa is dealt with in Jaimini I. 3. 24-29. In the Tantravārtika Kumārila launches an elaborate and telling (pūrvapakṣa) onslaught against Pāṇini himself, against Kātyāyana (the author of the Vārtikas) and Patañjali (author of the Mahābhāṣya) in which some very interesting points are made but they have to be passed over for reasons of space. Kumārila says that the proper subject of grammar is to determine what words are correct or incorrect. It is interesting to note that in the *prima facie* attack against grammar two Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtras are said to offend against grammar.²⁰⁷⁹

The Nirukta of Yāska, which is one of the six *aṅgas* of the Veda, is an extensive work and deals with the derivation of words, semantics, explanations of several hundred Vedic verses in whole or in part. Jaimini agrees with several conclusions of the Nirukta, which claims that without its help one cannot understand the meaning of the Veda, that it has a purpose of its own and is a complement of grammar, and it controverts at great length the view of Kautsa²⁰⁸⁰ that Vedic mantras have no meaning

2078. या वेदवादाः स्मृतयो याश्च काश्च कुड्दवः। सर्वास्ता निष्फलाः मेव समोक्षाणि ताः स्मृताः॥ मनुस्मृति XII, 95,

2079. गन्धर्वश्च तदादिषु। पू मी सू VIII 1 18; here गन्धर्व is employed in the sense of गन्धर्वयज्ञ sacrifice, चाक्षेप्येति चेत्। पू मी सू, IX 3. 18. Here चाक्षेप्येति stands for चाक्षेप्येति। On these the तन्त्रवा (p. 259) remarks 'तथा मीमांसायामि-गन्धर्वश्च तदादिषु इति गोर्विकारावयवविषयसाधुप्रयोगयोः शब्दोऽन्यत्रैव गन्धर्वेन प्रयुक्तः। तथा चाक्षेप्येति चेत्- इति चाक्षेप्येतिरिति वक्तव्ये लक्षण-हीनत्वेन यद्वा प्रयुक्तम्'। Śābara quotes the Mahābhāṣya several times and refers to Pāṇini as Ācārya and abhiyukta. Vide the present author's paper on the 'Mahābhāṣya and the bhāṣya of Śābara in the Journal, Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. VI pp 43-45 (1945) and 'citations from Śābara' by Prof. D. V. Garge in the Deccan College Dissertation series No. 8 (1952), pp 239-242 for Śābara's quotations from the Mahābhāṣya.

2080. अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्तव्यं स्वार्थनाथकं च। यदि मन्त्रार्थप्रत्ययानर्थकं भवतीति कौस्तोऽनर्थका हि मन्त्राः।... अर्थरत्न शब्दनामानादेतैर् यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कनं कियमाणमृग्यजुर्विभवेतीति

(Continued on next page)

(or purpose) and emphatically asserts that Vedic mantras have a meaning (and a purpose) because the words they contain are the same as those employed in popular speech and that a Brāhmana passage states that sacrifice has a perfect form when a rk verse or yajus formula refers to the rite that is being performed. Jaimini (in I. 2. 4. ff and I. 3. 30) holds that Mantras are meaningful and that Vedic words and words in popular Sanskrit are the same and the things denoted by them both are the same (except that some difference may be caused by accentuation in the Veda).²⁰⁸¹ The very first sentence of Śābara's bhāṣya says the same thing. Jaimini further²⁰⁸² agrees with the Nirukta about the denotation of verbs and nouns. Śābara frequently quotes either the very words of the Nirukta or pointedly refers to them.²⁰⁸³ Jaimini agrees with the Nirukta in the matter of the nature and functions of the Devatās in sacrifices.²⁰⁸⁴

(Continued from last page)

संज्ञाणम्। निरुक्त I. 15 The word विद्यास्थानं which is employed by Vāj also (I. 3) may be noted. Vide notes 1780-S1 for the passage एतद्दे ... पदति The Att. Br (chap. III. 5) states that 13 verses are repeated at the time of producing fire by attrition and examines them to show how they are रूपसमृद्धं. All that it says on these 13 verses is not quite convincing, but in the case of several of them such as Rg VI 16 13-15 it is convincing; vide 'Our Heritage' (Calcutta Sanskrit College) vol. V, part 2 (for July-December 1957) for a lengthy paper 'on the justification of rūpasamrddha verses in the Att. Br' by Vimana Chandra Bhattacharya (pp. 119-146).

2081. लोके येष्वर्थेषु प्रसिद्धानि पदानि सति सम्भवे तदर्थान्येव सूत्रे विवक्ष्यन्तमप्यम्। ... एवं वेदवाक्यान्त्येवैभिर्व्याख्यायन्ते। शबरभाष्य, first sentence.

2082. Compare भावप्रधानमाख्यातं सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि। निरुक्त I. 1 with जै II. 1. 1 'भावार्थः कर्मज्ञान्दास्तेष्वपि क्रिया प्रतीयतेषु ह्यर्थो विधीयते।'

2083. Vide for example, शबर on जै IV. 3. 38 p 1267 (the verse अङ्गावङ्गात् occurring in निरुक्त III. 4 which cites it as a rk, शबर on जै VI. 2. 13, p. 1396 (एवं तस्याख्यातस्यार्थस्युपदिशन्ति—उपक्रममभ्युपगम्यपर्यन्तमाहेति उपक्रमादात्तस्य यावत्परित्तमातिरिच्येतावान् स्यापारविशेषस्तस्यार्थो न यथा पाकस्याग्नौ इति, which quotes the words in निरुक्त I. 1); शबर on जै X. 4. 23 p. 1927 (the words अतिविधेयस्य विदुर्देवस्यमिति that occur in निरुक्त VII 5), शबर on जै X. 4. 34 p. 1935 (न ह्यत्र 'स्वरसंस्कारौ ... गुणेनान्वितौ' भवतः, which occur in निरुक्त II 1 in the first sentence), शबर on जै X. 8 35 quotes the verse यमेव विद्या occurring in निरुक्त II. 4 and remarks that एव should be placed after ह्युचिम् 'च ह्युचिमेव विद्या इति वदितव्ये यमेव विद्याः ह्युचिमिति.

2084 Compare निरुक्त VII 6-7 with जैमिनि IX. 1 9 अपि वा शब्दद्वयं स्वाद्यज्ञकर्म प्रधानं स्याद्गुणत्वे देवताश्रुतिः, शबर on this has several phrases like पौषव-विधिकैरङ्गैः (शबर p. 1654, निरुक्त VII. 7), which appear to be taken from the निरुक्त.

Kumārila makes a general remark that all the six āṅgas and the Dharmaśāstras are comprehended under Smṛti.²⁰⁸⁵

It appears that Jaimini did not attach much importance to Smṛtis, since out of 915 (or 1000) Adhikaranas barely about a dozen are concerned in any way with smṛtis alone, viz I. 3. 1-2, I. 3. 3-4, I. 3. 11-14, I. 3. 24-29, VI. 2. 21-22, VI. 2. 30, VI. 8. 23-24, VII. 1. 10, IX. 2. 1-2, XII. 4. 43. Śābara, however, refers to smṛtis in many more places such as on VI. I. 5 and 13, IX. 1. 6-9.

We are here concerned with the attitude of Jaimini and his early commentators like Śābara and Kumārila towards Smṛtis. The established conclusion arrived at by Jaimini (in I. 3. 2) is that in case of conflict with the Veda Smṛti is to be discarded, but if there be no conflict (of Smṛti with Veda), it may be inferred (that Smṛti is based on some Vedic text).

This amounts to saying that there is always a presumption that smṛtis are based on Veda, if their prescriptions are not directly in conflict with the Veda. Smṛtis prescribe the observance of Astakā śrāddhas, the digging of tanks, following and obeying a teacher. These are authoritative because they do not conflict with any Vedic text of opposite import. The Smṛtis do claim that they are based on the Veda. Gautama says so (in XI. 19 in note 2042) and Manu states (II. 7) 'whatever Dharma is proclaimed by Manu for anybody has all been (already) declared in the Veda, since Veda possesses all knowledge'.

In connection with smṛtis and usages an important question arises viz. if there is conflict between smṛtis and usages of śiṣyas, which is to be regarded as more authoritative. Kumārila holds that if the practice of good men is not opposed to what is taught in the Veda and Smṛti, such practices can be understood to be authoritative but if there is contradiction between what is taught by Veda and by Smṛti and by usages, then their authoritativeness would be opposed (i.e. would be lost) and further that smṛti is more authoritative because it is based directly

2085. स्मृतिर्त्वं तज्ज्ञाना धर्मसूत्राणां चावशिष्टम् । तन्त्रवा. p. 285 on I. 3. 27.

2086. शिष्टं यावत्स्मृतिर्युक्तैस्तेन यत्नं विरुध्यते । तच्छिष्टाचरणं धर्मं प्रमाणत्वेन गम्यते । यदि शिष्टस्य कोपः स्याद्विरुध्यते प्रमाणता । तद्व्योपासनाचारप्रमाणत्वं विरुध्यते ॥ तन्त्रवा. on I. 3. 8 p. 216 and again on p. 220 'उभयोः स्मृतिसूत्रत्वं न स्मृत्याचारयोः समम् । मन्वदयमणीता हि स्मृतिः सौमन्यवचना । तथा श्रुत्यनुमानं हि निर्विघ्नमुपजायते । आचारान् स्मृतिं ज्ञाया स्मृतिर्ज्ञायते ततः । तेन ह्यनन्तरितं तस्य मानार्थं विप्रकृत्यते ॥' प्रत्यय means ज्ञानं विचारो वा (as Manu and others were sages).

on the Veda, while in the case of usages, one has to infer that śīstas must have based their conduct on some smṛti, which in its turn has to be deemed to be based on some Vedic text i. e. usage is removed from the Veda by one step further than Smṛtis and besides it is well-known that smṛtis are compositions by persons who were deeply versed in the Veda, while the origins of usages are vague and unascertainable.

Though this is the theoretical rule, supported by Dharmaśāstra works such as Vas. I. 5, Mit. on Yāj. I. 7 and II. 117, Kullūka on Manu II. 10, one finds that usages opposed to smṛtis have been in vogue from ancient times (such as the usage of marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter that is condemned by Manu and authoritative smṛtis). The Vyavahāramayūkha (p. 98 of the text in B. G. S.) was constrained to observe that in the Purāṇas one often finds usages opposed to smṛtis. The courts have held that 'immemorial usage is transcendental law' and that this is the translation by Sir William Jones of 'ācārah paramo dharmah' in Manu I. 108. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III, pp 874-876 for two interpretations of this verse of Manu I. 108 in modern times. Manu in (II. 10) asserts that Veda and smṛti are in all matters not to be subjected to (hostile) reasoning, since Dharma shone forth from these two. Manu further provided that as regards matters not specifically provided for, whatever brāhmanas that have studied the Veda together with the supporting lore (viz. the six āngas, mīmāṃsā, Purāṇas &c.) and that make others realize what Śruti says are śīstas and whatever they declare to be the Dharma in such unprovided cases is undoubtedly the Dharma.

It was declared by the Privy Council that 'under the Hindu system of law clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law.'²⁰⁸⁷ From very ancient times customs and usages have been held to be authoritative. For example, Gautama XI. 20 says 'the usages of countries, castes and families are authoritative, provided they are not (directly) opposed to Vedic texts.' Manu I. 118 states that he has embodied in his Śāstra the long-standing customs and usages of countries, castes, families, heretical sects and guilds. In some matters

2087. In *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga*, 12 M. I. A. 397 at p. 436 the Privy Council say so.

modern legislation in India allows to customs and usages over-riding²⁰⁸⁸ authority.

In the examination of certain Kalivarjyas mentioned above, (p. 1268-1270) it has been shown how several actions prohibited in the Kalivarjya texts were practised in Vedic times or were enjoined by Vedic texts.

Kumārila points out that even brāhmana women of Ahi-
cchatrā and Mathurā drank²⁰⁸⁹ liquor in his day, that northern
brāhmanas engage in such transactions as the gift and sale of
horses that have a mane, of mules, camels and animals that
have two rows of teeth and eat from the same plate with their
wives, children and friends, that brāhmanas of the South enter
into matrimony with the maternal uncle's daughter and take
their meals while seated on a couch of wickerwork, that both
(brāhmanas of the North and South) take cooked food (kept in
pots) that remains after their friends or relatives have partaken
of it or that has been touched by them (at the time of eating),
that they chew *tāmbūla* of betel leaves, betelnut, catechu and
lime made into a roll that has been touched (in a betel-seller's
shop) and do not sip water at the end of the chewing, wear
clothes cleaned by washermen and brought on the back of asses,
that they do not avoid the contact of persons guilty of grave
sins except of the murder of a brāhmana; there are also an infinite
number of obnoxious violations of the subtle dictates of Dharma laid
down for each man, caste or family, that these (transgressions)
are contrary to Śruti and Smṛti and have a visible purpose and
that it is not possible to regard such adulterated practices as
Dharma inculcated by *sadācāra*. The requisites of valid usages
according to the Pūrvamīmāṃsā school are that they must be
ancient, not opposed to the express texts of the Veda or of Smṛti,
must be such as are deemed by śīstas to be obligatory and must

2088 For example, the Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) by section 5 provides that the parties to a marriage must not be within the degrees of prohibited relationship and must not be *sapīndas* of each other and yet adds 'unless the custom or usage governing each of them permits of a marriage between the two'.

2089. For the original text of this interesting passage of the Tantra-
vārtika, vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 848 note 1645, for different views on
marrying a maternal uncle's daughter vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp 458-463; for
eating from the same plate with wife and children, vide H. of Dh. Vol. II.
p. 705, and about gift or sale of horses and animals with two rows of teeth,
vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 151 and Jai. III. 4 28-31

be observed by them with the consciousness that they are so, they must not have a visible purpose and must not be immoral. Vide H of Dh. Vol. III, p. 853-855 for discussion on valid customs and usages

The general rules laid down by Dharmaśāstra works about the binding character of customs and usages are in line with the rules of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III, pp. 871-884. But deviation from Vedic texts and smṛtis gradually arose as noted above.

Even all actions done by great men cannot be called *sadūcāra*, according to Kumārila, if they can be attributed to greed or some such base motive and should not be looked upon as Dharma. Gautama,²⁰⁹⁰ Āp. Dh. S. and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa remark that even great men were guilty of violations of Dharma and defiant excesses, that those great men incurred no sin (got over the effects of such violations) on account of their being endowed with eminent *tapas* (spiritual merit due to austerities) but that others of later ages following their examples and treading the same path would sink (into hell). Kumārila cites twelve such instances of lapses, explains them away or says they were due to wrath or other passions and were not intended by the authors (of those acts) as dharma and are not looked upon as *śiścāra* by modern men. The twelve instances are: Prajāpati who became enamoured of his own daughter (Usas, explains Kumārila), Indra is described as the *jāra* (paramour) of Ahalyā (night, according to Kumārila's explanation); Vasistha through grief for the slaughter of his hundred sons by a demon contemplated suicide; Viśvāmitra who became officiating priest to Trisanku that had become a *cāṇḍāla* through a curse; Nahusa who, when he occupied the position of Indra, made approaches to Śacī, wife of Indra and was transformed into an *ajagara* (huge reptile), Purūravaś, when separated from Urvaśī, thought of dying (by hanging &c.); Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana who was *naisthika* (perpetual) brahmachārin raised sons on the widows of his uterine brother, Vicitravīrya; Bhisma, though unmarried, performed *Āśvamedha* sacrifices; Dhṛtarāstra, though congenitally blind, performed

2090. दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः सादृशं च महताम् । अवरोक्ष्यतेत्यात् । गो I 3-4; दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः सादृशं च पूर्वेषाम् । तेषां तेजोविक्रमेण प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते । तद्वन्वीक्ष्य प्रमुञ्चानः सीदत्यवरः । आप घ छ, II 6, 13 7-9, vide भागवत X Pūrvārdha 33, 30 धर्मव्यतिक्रमो दृष्ट इवैश्वराणां च सादृशम् । तेजोयसा न दीपाय बद्धेः सर्वज्ञो यथा That by *prānāyāma* and other practices the impurities of the senses and mind are cleared away is stated by Manu VI, 71.

sacrifices which blind men are not authorised to do (compare Jai. VI. I. 42); five Pāṇdavas marrying one Draupadī; Yudhiṣṭhira who prevaricated and thereby caused the death of Drona, his brāhmana guru; Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are described in the Mahābhārata as drunk with wine ('ubhau madhvāsavaksibau dṛṣtau me Keśavārjunau' in Udyogaparva 59. 5) and married their maternal uncle's daughters; Rāma performed Āśvamedha by associating a golden image of Sītā with him.

Kumārila displays great ingenuity in explaining away most of these transgressions by plausible and specious arguments, by relying on the great *tapas* in some cases (such as about Viśvāmītra) and in some cases by downright denial (as in the case of Subhadrā being the sister of Kṛṣṇa).²⁰⁹¹ Those interested may refer for all these instances and their explanations by Kumārila to H. of Dh. Vol. III, pp. 845-848.

One interesting *adhikarana* is the Holākādhikarana (Jai. I. 3. 15-23). It is said that Holākā should be observed by the easterners, Ahninaibuka by Southerners, Udvrsabhayaājña by northerners. The established conclusion is that such observances are meant for all (and not merely for persons of the East or South &c.), if they are fit to be done by²⁰⁹² easterners or southerners (there is no reason why these should not be observances fit for all). The general rule about Vedic vidhis is that they are applicable to all Āryas, no cogent reason exists why a restricted Vedic text should be inferred in the case of the above observances. Vide H of Dh. Vol. III, pp. 851-853 for detailed explanation of this maxim and above pp. 237 ff. The Dāyabhāga (II. 40 and VI. 22-23) refers to this maxim in connection with a double share to be allotted to the acquirer and with reference to a person acquiring property without detriment to the ancestral estate and explains the purpose of the Holākādhikarana.

The Holākādhikarananyāya is frequently mentioned by writers on Dharmaśāstra. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 53 quotes the

2091. The आदिपर्व expressly says about सुमद्रा 'दुहिता वसुदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य च स्वसा। आदिपर्व 219 18 (cr. ed chap 211. 18). The नीमासाकौस्तुभ of खण्डदेव states 'एवमज्ञेयस्य मातुलकस्यकाया. सुमद्राया. परिणयेऽपि सुमद्राया वसुदेवकन्यात्वस्य साक्षात् कचिदप्यशङ्कयात्' (p. 48, Chowkhamba S. S. 1924). This is a sample of what to expect from some orthodox Sanskrit writers, when hard pressed by facts contrary to their pet theories or views.

2092. ग्यायनिद्वय पाणिना — अपि वा .. विधानस्य-इति (जे. I. 3. 16)। अतः यार्थेति सति सर्वपरमत्वम्। विश्वरूप on यज. I. 53.

CHAPTER XXX

On Mīmāṃsā principles and rules of interpretation in relation to Dharmaśāstra

The Pūrvamīmāṃsā evolved a method of its own and a set of principles for the interpretation of Vedic texts. It is now time to set down and explain some of these principles and rules and point out how they have been employed by Dharmaśāstra writers for solving their own difficulties.

The Mīmāṃsā principles and rules of interpretation fall into several groups. There are rules that are concerned only with the details of Vedic sacrifices and their inter-relations. The most important rule in this field is this that only *Vidhis* properly so called have absolute authority and binding force, while what are called *arthavādas* have authority in so far only as they form one syntactical whole with the *vidhis* and as they are meant to praise the *vidhis*. (P. M. S. I. 2. 7) *Vidhis* and *Arthavādas* are not discussed consecutively, but they are scattered over the several chapters of the P. M. S. For example, *arthavādas* are first dealt with in I. 2. 1-18 (the *arthavādadhi-karana*), but in many other places there is a discussion about *arthavādas* as in III. 4 1-9, III 4. 10, III 4. 11, IV. 3. 1-3, VI. 7. 26-30, X. 8. 5, X. 8. 7 and 8.

It should not be forgotten that the Mīmāṃsā is not concerned with legislation by the king or a sovereign popular assembly. It promises to convey correct knowledge of Dharma (meaning religious rites and matters connected therewith) and the means of arriving at that knowledge is the Veda itself and the main purpose of the Mīmāṃsā is to regulate the procedure (*itikartavyatā*), the various auxiliary and principal matters in Vedic sacrifices, 2091

There is a great deal of difference between the interpretation of statutes and the Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation. In the

2094. धर्मे प्रतीयमाने तु वदेन करणात्मना । इतिकर्तव्यताभागं भीमांसा ब्रूयिष्यति ॥
q by सुक्तिरुद्धमपूरणी on शास्त्रदीपिका (p 36), अधिकरणकौस्तुभे of देवनाथ p 3, सन्त्ररहस्य
The word *itikartavyatā* occurs in P. M. S. itself (III. 3. 11 असंयुक्तं प्रकरणा-
दिनिर्णयतापित्वात्) On the preceding sūtra (भूयस्त्वेनोभयश्रुति) शबर remarks
'दे च दूरं सो गुणा सेतिकर्तव्यता' and on P. M. S. XI. 2. 8 (अङ्गानि तु विधानत्वा-
त्प्रयोगोपदिष्टेति स्मरनात्स्यादेकदेशत्वम्) शबर explains 'विधानं कल्प इतिकर्तव्यतेत्यर्थः',

first place, statutes are man-made, they express the will of the enacting authority, have mostly secular purposes, may be amended or even repealed and have to be expounded according to the intent of those that made them. But the *Mīmāṃsā* is concerned with the Veda that is deemed eternal and self-existent (and not man-made), that deals with religious matters, cannot be amended or repealed and is to be expounded according to the intent of the Vedic words. Therefore, though some rules of the interpretation of Vedic texts evolved by the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* are identical with or resemble the rules of the interpretation of statutes developed in such works as Maxwell's on 'interpretation of statutes', the author will not enter into any detailed treatment showing the parallelisms between *Mīmāṃsā* rules and Maxwell's rules. This task was attempted over fifty years ago by Mr. Kishorilal Sarkar in his Tagore Law Lectures published in 1909. It would appear ungracious on the part of the present author to offer criticisms against a predecessor in the same field who wrote more than half a century ago when *Mīmāṃsā* studies by modern educated Indians were in their infancy. But the author cannot help stating that Mr. Sarkar was obsessed by the notion that he must show somehow or other that Jaimini's rules of interpretation were not inferior to those of Maxwell's and agreed closely with him. For this purpose he relies often on far-fetched analogies and employs obscure explanations. In several cases it appears that he had not been able to grasp correctly what Jaimini and Śābara meant.²⁰⁹⁵

In this work the author is concerned only with the question of the influence on Dharmaśāstra of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* doctrines and rules of interpretation. He has already shown how many of the doctrines and technical expressions of the *Mīmāṃsā* have dominated Dharmaśāstra. He would now turn to the rules of interpretation.

The first rule is that no part of the Veda (not even a word) can be treated as *anāthaka* (meaningless or purposeless). It is therefore that a very large part of the Veda is treated as *arthavādas* intended to praise *vidhis*. This has been stated above (p. 1243). The result of the vital importance attached to *vidhis*

2095. Vide his explanation of the words 'Vedam kṛtvā vedim karoti' in pp. 241-242 of his work and the remarks of the present author in H. of Dh Vol. III, pp. 841-42 and his explanation of 'arthakarma' and 'prati-patukarma' as 'essential act' and 'non-essential act' respectively (pp. 186-187) and the explanations of these given above on pp 1231-32,

in the PMS and of the assignment of a very subordinate role to *arthavādas* (as merely intended to praise) and to mantras (as merely 'abhidhāyaka') has resulted in this that a small portion of the Brāhmanas has been held to be of supreme authority, while a large part of the Brāhmanas and of Samhitās containing mantras has become of secondary importance or of little importance.

The Mimāṃsā rules of interpretation fall into different classes from different standpoints. Some rules are general and some are special. Some rules have to do with the proper procedure to be followed when several texts laying down matters relating to the same subject are in conflict by means of the application of the technical words śruti, līga, vākya, prakaraṇa, sthāna and samākhyā (III. 3. 14) and there are rules about adhikāra, atideśa, ūha, bādha, tantra and prasanga.

Some examples of general rules may first be cited. That *vidhis* alone have special obligatory authority and that *arthavādas* are authoritative only in so far as they form one syntactical whole with the *vidhis* is a general rule. The rules distinguishing between *vidhis* (properly so called), *nyama* *vidhis* and *parisaṅkhyā* are general.

The Mimāṃsā rule is that where there is a ²⁰⁹⁶ doubt about the exact meaning of a part of a passage, it may be determined by relying on the remaining parts of the passage. Vide above for the example 'he puts down anointed pebbles' &c. (p. 1240). The Mimāṃsā is very much against assuming conflict among Vedic texts and therefore allows an option only if there is no other way out. Vide remarks on *vikalpa* above (p. 1250). Another general rule is that the singular includes the plural. In the Mimāṃsā it is called 'Grahakatyanyāya' (P. M. S. III. 1. 13-15). In the Jyotistoma sacrifice a number of cups (*grahas*) filled with Soma are offered to deities and drunk at the three *savanas* (pressings of Soma) and Śruti states 'he wipes or cleanses the cup with the strainer made of white wool' (*daśāpavitrena graham sam-mārṣti*) and in the Darśapūrnamāsa it is said 'he carries a firebrand round the purodāśa (cake)'. The question is

2096 सन्दिग्धेषु वाक्यशेषान्, पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 24. The विषयवाक्य is 'अक्ताः शर्करा उपदधाति तेजो मे धृतम्' (ते. ब्रा. III. 2. 5. 12). Compare Maxwell p. 29 'the words of each clause should be so interpreted as to bring them in harmony with other provisions.'

whether a single cup ('graham' is the word used) is to be cleansed or a single purodāsa is to have a firebrand carried round it or whether all cups called grahas or purodāsas are to be treated as stated. The established conclusion is that all grahas are to be cleansed and all purodāsas have the firebrand carried round them. The singular number is not intended to be insisted on.²⁰⁹⁷ From this a further general rule is derived by Kumārila and others that an attribute of the subject (*anuvādyā* or *uddiśyamāna*)²⁰⁹⁸ about which something is predicated (*udheya*) is not intended and should not be insisted upon. This is frequently relied on in Dharmaśāstra works. Yāj II. 121 states that the father and son have equal ownership in land, a corrody and wealth (gold and silver &c.) acquired by the grand-father. Here the word *pitāmaha* is not to be insisted upon and the same rule applies to land or wealth acquired by a great-grand-father, as the V. M. says.²⁰⁹⁹ Similarly, when Nārada-smṛti says (16. 37) 'of brothers being undivided religious worship (or rites) are one, but if there is a partition then they may have separate religious worship'. Here the proper subject is the word 'undivided persons', and the word 'brothers' is used only as an attribute, which is not intended to be insisted on and the same rule applies to undivided grand-father, father, sons, uncles and nephews. Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 mentions this maxim. The same rule is applied in some cases to gender also i.e. a word importing males includes females also. For example, Yāj II. 182 and Nārada (8. 40 ff) lay down certain rules about a *dāsa* (male slave). The V. M. says that the masculine gender in these passages is not intended to be insisted upon, but the rules

2097 Vide Maxwell (10th ed. of 1953) p. 349 for the propositions that words importing masculine gender include females and that the singular includes the plural and vice versa

2098 The Tuptikā on III. 4. 22 remarks 'उद्दिश्यमानस्य विशेषणमविवक्षितं' निति स्थितमेव' and on X. 3. 39 'उद्दिश्यमानस्य च संख्या न विवक्ष्यते ग्रहण्येव'

2099. The vy. m. says 'वस्तुतस्तु पितृमातृपुत्रमविवक्षितम्' अन्यथा प्रपितामहं धृपात्ते सदृशस्त्वाम्यस्याभावयसक्तैः। अनुवाद्यविशेषणत्वाच्च' p. 90. अनुवाद्य means the same thing as उद्दिश्यमान or उद्देय (the subject, of which something is to be predicated) 'अत्र अविवक्षितानामित्येवोद्देश्यसमर्पकम्। आनुष्ठानमिति तु सद्विशेषणत्वादविवक्षितम्' vy. m. p. 132. मेधातिथि on मनु II. 29 says 'न च प्रधाने लिङ्गसंख्यावि विशेषण विवक्ष्यते ग्रहं संनार्थमिति सत्यप्येकवचने सर्वे ग्रहाः समुच्यन्ते'। श्लोकवा defines उद्देय as 'यदुक्तं योगा' माध्यममित्याद्युद्देश्यलक्षणम्। तदुक्तमेवकारश्च स्यादुपादेयलक्षणम्॥ वदत्यर्थं स्वशक्त्या च शब्दो वचनपेक्षया॥ अनुमानपरि० verses 109-110).

apply even to female slaves.²¹⁰⁰ There are exceptions to these rules. The rule about *grahas* does not apply to *camasas* (P. M. S III. 1. 16-17).²¹⁰¹ This rule that the qualification (*viśesana*) of the subject in a *vidhi* is not meant to be taken literally and emphasized is applied in many other cases. Three verses from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* are quoted by Kalpataru (on *vyavahāra* pp. 210-211) and V. M. (pp. 45-46) about the performance of an ordeal in certain grave charges and this maxim is applied by the V. M. there in the words '*paradārarūpam viśesanam-avivaksitam-abhiśāpasyānuvādyatvāt*'; vide notes to V. M. pp. 83-84. But in '*paśum-ālabheta*', where there is a *vidhi* about '*yāga*' it must be held that what is laid down is *yāga* as qualified by being made with a male animal and therefore only one *paśu* (and that *paśu* a male) is to be sacrificed.

Although the Veda employs the masculine gender (in *svargakāmo yajeta*, 'one desiring heaven should offer a sacrifice'), yet Jaimini establishes (in VI. 1 6-16) that even women are included and have a right to offer a *yāga*.²¹⁰² Jaimini further provides that husband and wife should perform a religious right in co-operation (VI. 1. 17-21), but he provides that where the Śruti specifically provides for certain matters to be done by the *yajamāna*²¹⁰³ (the male performer) it is the male alone who can perform them as the wife is not equal to the husband in the knowledge of mantras and is ignorant and therefore she is restricted to the performance of those acts that are expressly enjoined for her such as looking at the clarified butter, observing *brahmacarya* and the like (VI. 1 24 '*tasyā yāvad-uktam-āsīrbrahmacaryam-atulyatvāt*'). The wife also performs bath and such

2100 अस्मिन् प्रकरणे दासपदगतपुरुषत्वस्यातिवक्षितत्वाद् दास्यामप्येव सर्वे विधिर्ज्ञेयः । स्व. म. p. 210. Vide also व्यवहारप्रकाश (part of कीरतित्रोदय) p. 322. As to 'पशुमाभेत' शबर remarks on VI. 1. 9: 'इदं तु पशुत्वं यागस्य विशेषणत्वेन श्रूयते । तत्र पशुत्वस्य यागस्य च सम्बन्धो न द्रव्ययागयोः । यथा पशुत्वं यागसम्बद्धमेव दुस्त्वमेकत्वं च । सोऽयमेकविशेषणविशिष्टो यागः श्रूयते । स यथाश्रुत्येव कर्तव्यः । उपादेयत्वेन चोदितत्वात् ।' p. 1359.

2101. These two rules that the singular includes the plural and words importing the masculine gender shall be taken to include females are the same in section 13 of the Indian General Clauses Act X of 1897, subject to this that if there is anything repugnant in the subject or context the rule will not apply.

2102 तस्मात्कलार्थिनी सती स्मृतिप्रमाणीकृत्य द्रव्यं परियुक्तीयाद्यजेत चेति । शबर ०१ पू. मी सू (VI. 1. 13).

2103 तस्मात्सर्वं यजमानेन कर्तव्यम् । आदस्य विहितं यन्त्या च । ह्युपदीक्षा on VI. 1. 24 p. 1376.

acts as applying collyrium,²¹⁰³ sipping water (*ācamana*), observes silence till the morning or evening *agnihotra* is gone through. She has her waist girt up with a *yoktra* (a triple cord of *muñja* grass) in *Darsapūrnamāsa* and other sacrifices. She has also to look upon the clarified butter in the pot with a mantra (*Tai. S. II.*). 10. 3 'mahinām payosyosadhinām rasosā adabdhena tvā cakusās vekse suprajastvāya' ('thou art the milk of cows, the fluid of herbs, with an invincible eye I look on thee for securing good progeny'). The wife was to learn the mantras she had to repeat in sacrifices from her father or husband before the husband set up the sacred fires (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 1041 n). Gradually, the wife lost all importance in Vedic sacrifices and came to be a mere silent spectator²¹⁰⁴ of all the weary details that had to be gone through by the sacrificer and the priest.

In spite of the above restrictions on the wife's powers about Vedic sacrifices many *smṛti* rules apply to women also, though the text employs the masculine gender. For example, *Manu* XI. 93 provides that a *brāhmana*, *ksatriya* and *vaiśya* should not drink *surā*. This prohibition applies to wives of the members of the three *varnas* according to the *Mit.* on *Yaj. III.* 256.

The P. M. S. holds that the gender and number of a word in a *vidhivākya* may in certain cases be intended and insisted on. For example, in PMS IV. I. 11-16 it is established that the *Agnisomya* animal to be sacrificed in *Jyotistoma* as prescribed in the words 'yo dīksito yad agnisomyam paśum-ālabhati' (that the person who has undergone *dikṣā* and offers the animal to *Agni* and *Soma*) is only one and that the words in the *Aśva-medha* 'he offers *kapiñjals* to the season of²¹⁰⁵ spring', the

2104. The *Paddhati* in the *Com.* on *कार्त्तव्य* श्री IV. 13 remarks 'उपवेशन-व्यतिरिक्तं पत्नी किमपि न करोतीति संप्रदायः। तत्र साधुतरम्'। विद्वत्तया उमानेव कुर्याद-विदुषीतरम्। वेदाध्ययनशून्यत्वात्। प्रतिषिद्धं हि तस्मिन्। शास्त्रदीपिका on VI. 1. 24.

2105. वसन्ताय कपिञ्जलानालभते ग्रीष्माय कलविङ्काय &c ; this occurs in वाज सं 24. 20 and मैत्रा सं. III. 14. 1. This is कपिञ्जलन्याय embodied in पू मी सू XI 1 31-46. The plural *Kapiñjalān* is satisfied by offering three as the lowest number. To offer a thousand would not yield more abundant reward, since only a single provision is made and not several alternate numbers. The शास्त्रदीपिका remarks 'यो हि त्रीनालभते यश्च सहस्रं तयोर्भूयोरपि बहुत्वसम्पादनम-विशिष्टम्।... निवृत्त्यपारे च विधौ, न हि रूपादेति निषेधशास्त्रं प्रवर्तत इत्यधिकानालम्भः'। It is referred to 'in परा म. I. 2 281 'माणायामैरिति बहुवचनस्य कपिञ्जलन्यायेन त्रित्वे पर्यवसानात् त्रिभिः माणायामैः श्रुत्यति इत्यर्थः'। Compare also P.M.S. IV. 1. 11 ff.; 'तथा च लिङ्गम्' पू. मी सू IV. 1 17. The passage is तै. सं. II. 1. 2. 5 'वसन्ते मातराग्नेर्गो कृण्वीवीमालभेत ग्रीष्मे मध्यान्दिने सहितानैर्द्वौ शरद्यपराह्णे श्वेतां बाह्वस्त्याम्' and then in तै. सं. II. 1. 2. 6 'गर्भिण्यो भवन्ति, इन्द्रियं वै गर्भं इन्द्रियमेवास्मिन् दधति.'

kapiñjala birds to be offered are only three (and not one nor two nor more than three) Similarly, the gender in the passage 'he sacrifices in the morning in spring an animal with dark coloured neck to Agni, in summer in the noon an animal of different colours, in the autumn in the afternoon a white animal to Brhaspati', it is a female animal that is offered because immediately thereafter the words 'they become pregnant' occur. Dharmaśāstra works often say that the masculine gender used in many texts excludes women. For example, the Agnipurāṇa²¹⁰⁶ (175. 59-61), when dealing with the rules to be observed in all *vratas* in general, provides that the person undergoing *vrata* should take a bath, should worship the golden images of the deities of the *vratas*, perform *japa* and *homa* and at the end of the *vrata* make gifts according to his ability and should feed 24, 12, 5 or only three *vipras*. The N. S. quotes this from Pṛthivīcandra and observes that as the masculine gender '*viprāḥ*' is employed only males of the brāhmana class are to be fed and not women.

As against this, when Hemādri²¹⁰⁷ quoting Padma says 'If a woman is pregnant, freshly delivered, or is ill and becomes impure, she should get her *vrata* performed through another and when she becomes pure she may observe it personally,' the N. S. remarks that this applies to men also when they are impure, since the gender here is not intended to be emphasized.

There are Mimāṃsā rules about the interpretation of words and also about sentences. First a few of the rules about words may be illustrated (1) Śābara in the very first sentence of his bhāṣya propounds the principle that as far as possible the words in the sūtras of Jaimini and in the Veda are to be understood in the sense in which they are understood in popular usage and not in a secondary or technical sense. The same rule is propounded by Jaimini in III. 2 1-2 in connection with the meaning of '*barhis*' in the mantra 'I cut the *barhis* as an abode for gods'. Here the conclusion is that *barhis* is to be taken in the primary sense of 'handful of kusa grass' and not in a secondary sense

²¹⁰⁶ इन्द्रोदयेऽग्निपुराणे-स्नात्वा व्रतवता सर्वव्रतेषु व्रतमूर्त्यः। पूज्याः सुवर्ण-
मयपादाः... यत्तान्ने दानमेव च। चतुर्विंश... पञ्च वा त्रय एव च। विद्या भोज्या यथाशक्ति
तेभ्यो दद्याच्च दक्षिणाम्॥ अत्र विद्या इति बुद्धिर्निर्देशात् पुनरस एव भोज्याः, न तु विद्याः।
न स एव भोजनोदासीति। निरूपणस्य प्रमाणान्तरं विनाऽऽशुक्त्वात्। नि. सि. p. 24. It also
relies on what Śābara says on III. 3. 17 and 19.

²¹⁰⁷ तथा हेमार्द्रो पादमे। गर्भिणी सृतिज्ञादिश्च कुमारी वाय रोमिणी। यदाऽऽशुद्धा
नदारोग्यं वापदेत् भवता स्वयम्॥ इति पुनोत्पेद विधिः, लिङ्गस्याविशक्तिवात्। नि. सि. p. 28.

such as *kāśa* or other kind of grass. Śābara winds up with the words 'between the primary and secondary senses of a word it is proper to hold that the primary sense is to be taken for the business in hand'. Again, on I. 3. 30 Śābara says that the words are the same as in the Veda and popular use and the meanings are the same.

As regards the setting up of Vedic fires, the Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 and Āp. Śr. V. 3. 18 prescribe different seasons for men of the three *varnas* and add that a 'rathakāra' should set up Vedic fires in the rainy season'. The question arises whether the word 'rathakāra' in these passages means a person of that caste (i.e. whether it is to be taken in the popular sense) or whether it refers to any one of any *varna* who manufactures chariots (i.e. the etymological sense). The established conclusion is that the popular sense is to be taken and not the etymological (P. M. S. VI. 1. 44-50). In the case of the *rathakāra* the mantra for *ādihāna* (setting up of Vedic fires) is 'rbhūnām tvā' (Tai. Br. I. 1. 4. 8). Though not belonging to one of the three higher *varnas*, the *rathakāra* could repeat that mantra because the Śruti expressly authorized him to do so, but he was not entitled to *upanayana*. The P. M. S. (VI. 1. 50) held that the *rathakāra* (mentioned in the Tai. Br. and Āp. Śr.) was a caste called *Saudhanyana* which is neither *śūdra* nor one of the three higher *varnas* but is slightly inferior to them. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 45-46. The S. Kau. argues that if once the right of a Hindu

2108. तस्मान्मुख्यगौणयोर्मुख्ये कार्यसम्ययः। इतर on III. 1. 1. The same words occur in the महाभाष्य on वालिक 4 on पा. VI. 3. 46 as गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्यसम्ययः; तस्माद्गौणवेद्योरभिधाः शब्दार्थो इति। सन्त्रवा on samo सूत्र p. 293, शङ्कराचार्य on V. S. IV 3. 12 employs the same words as the first quotation from Śābara. Vide शास्त्रदी. on III 2.1-3 In *Umaid Bahadur V Udaichand* I. L. R. 6 Cal. 119 (F B) at p 126 (where the question was whether the word 'sapinda' defined by the Mitākṣarā in the *ūcāra* section as a person connected by particles of one body can be taken for purposes of inheritance as persons connected by the offering of funeral oblations) it is stated 'it is a well understood rule of construction among the authors of the Institutes of Hindu Law that the same word must be taken to have been used in one and the same sense throughout a work, unless the contrary is expressly indicated.' Vide *Ramchandra V Vinayak* L. R. 41. I. A. 290 where the above passage in the Calcutta case is quoted with approval at pp 303-304.

2109. य एव लौकिकाः शब्दास्त एव वैदिक्तास्त एवैषामर्थो इति। इतर on I 3. 30.

2110 न च प्रतिग्रहमन्त्राभावेनाधिकाराभावोक्तिरपि घटते। अष्टज्ञायां सत्याग्नितासत्या मपि सत्याहुक्करीत्याधिकारनिर्णये रथकारवन्मन्त्राख्ययनकल्पनासम्भवाद। एतेनाष्टज्ञाय सत्यामन्त्रकः प्रतिग्रह इति निरस्तम्। सं. कौ प. 168.

widow to adopt is conceded, the mere fact that she is not entitled to repeat Vedic mantras in general cannot deprive her of that right and that it is possible to hold, as in the case of the rathakāra, that she can repeat the specific mantra required in adopting a boy. The Tai. S. IV. 5. 4. 2 separately mentions several craftsmen such as *taksan*, rathakāra, kulāla, karmāra &c. From Atharvaveda III. 5. 6 and Vaj. S. 30. 6 (*medhāyai rathakāram dhairyāya taksānam*) it appears that the rathakāra held a good position in the then society.

A word is to be understood in that shade of its meaning that is appropriate to the act in hand. For example, śruti says 'he cuts off with sruva, he cuts off with a knife, he cuts off with the hand' (the same verb 'avadyati' being used for all the acts). The question is whether one is to cut all offerings, whether liquid or solid, whether of flesh or other substances, with sruva ladle or whether he is to employ the method or implement appropriate for each i. e. clarified butter should be taken from a pot and offered by means of a sruva ladle, flesh should be cut off with a knife and offered, and hard or thick things (like fuel sticks) should be offered with the hand. The conclusion is that one is to offer in the way most appropriate to each kind of offering. This is called 'sāmarthyādhikaraṇa' (PMS. 2111 I. 4. 25). The V. M. relies on this when dealing with the homa prescribed by Pītāmāha for all ordeals in the words 'homa should be offered in the four directions with clarified butter, boiled rice and fuel sticks &c' and declares that the homa of clarified butter should be made with sruva ladle, of havis (i. e. 'boiled rice &c') with *sruva* and of fuel sticks with the (right) hand, on account of the fitness (sāmarthyā) of these for the various offerings and sharply criticizes Raghunandana who in his *Dāyatattva* provided that the homa should be made of all three together (and not separately). A similar rule is applied to the ten sacrificial implements

2111. अर्थाद्वा कल्पनेनैकदेशत्वात् । पु. मी. सू. I. 4. 25; शबर quotes 'खुवेणावद्यति, स्वधित्तिनावद्यति इत्येनावद्यति, इति श्रूयते । किं खुवेणावदातस्य सर्वस्य द्वयस्य संद्वयस्य नास्ति च । तथा स्वधित्तिना इत्येन च उत सर्वेषामर्थतो व्यवस्था ।' The पूर्वपक्ष is अविशेषाभिधानादव्यवस्थेति । The conclusion is अर्थाद्वा कल्पना, सामर्थ्यात्कल्पनेति खुवेणावद्येद्यथा दातुयात् तथा यस्य दातुयात् तस्य चेति । आख्यातशब्दानामर्थं ब्रूवतां शक्तिः सदकारिणी । एवं चेष्यशक्तौ व्यवस्था भवितुमर्हति । तथा अञ्जलिना सकृन् प्रदायेत् खुदोति इति । This last is a quotation from Tai. S. III 3. 8. Vide व्य. म. p 54 for the text and notes pp. 89-93 for detailed explanations of the passage by the present author. The शालङ्कीयिणा on the above remarks 'तस्माच्छक्तिसहायो विधिरेव यथा-सामर्थ्यं विधेर्न परस्मादप्यति ।

enumerated in Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2, viz. *sphya* (the wooden sword), the poteherds &c. Here the Pūrvapaksa is that one may employ any one of these for any purpose required in the sacrifice, the established conclusion (PMS III. 1 11. and IV. 1. 7-10) is that the enumeration of ten implements is a mere *anuvāda* and is not to be understood as the pūrvapaksa states, but each is to be employed for the purpose for which the Vedic texts prescribe it (such as one cooks the purodāśa on potsherds, pounds grains in mortar and pestle). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 985 n. 2233 for ten implements of sacrifice and others that are required and p. 1232 above for their disposal.

One and the same word must not be used in two senses in the same sentence, that is, in the primary sense and also in the figurative sense.²¹¹² This maxim is relied upon by the Dāyabhāga. When brothers (sons of the same mother) come to a partition, smṛti texts (like Yāj. II 123) prescribe that the mother takes a share equal to that of a son. On this the Dāyabhāga remarks that the word 'mātā' (in Yāj. II. 123 and others) primarily means a real mother (*jananī*, that gives birth) and this smṛti rule has no application to the step-mother, since it is improper to hold that the same word once used in a sentence has a primary and a secondary sense at the same²¹¹³ time. But it must be pointed out that all Dharmaśāstra works do not observe this rule. Aparārka (p 730) on Yāj. II. 123 (pitur-ūrdhvaṃ vibhajatām mātāpyamśam samam haret) includes the step-mother under the word 'mātā' following a text of Vyāsa. The Mitākṣarā interpreting Yāj. II. 135 about obstructible heritage stating the order of succession as wife, daughters, parents, brothers, their sons, provides that full brothers first succeed, in default of them half brothers, in default of the last, full brothers'

2112. अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम् । शबर on III 2. 1 and VII 3 3, न होकरय शब्दस्यानेकार्थता सत्यां गती न्याय्या । शबर on VIII 3 22 Vide शबर on IX. 4 18 also. शङ्कराचार्य in his bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra II 4. 3 puts this rule very clearly 'न होकस्मिन्प्रकरणे एकस्मिन्श्च यावदेकः शब्दः सङ्गृह्यति यदुभौ सम्प्रत्ययान् कश्चिदुच्यते कश्चिद् गौण इत्यव्यवसाहं शक्यम् । वैरूप्यमसङ्गात् ।'

2113 पितरि चोपरते सोदरभ्रातृभिर्विभागे क्रियमाणे मात्रेणि पुत्रसमाप्तौ दातव्यः समांशद्वारिणी मातेति वचनात् । मातृपदस्य जननीपरत्वाच्च सपत्नीमातृपरत्वमपि सङ्गृह्यत इत्यस्य गौणत्वानुपपत्तेः । दायभाग III 29-30, p 67; मातृपदं तत्सपत्न्यादिवदर्थमात्रम् । अपरां प 730 It may be noted that in Viśāl V. Prahlād (I. L. R 39 Bom. 373) a paternal step-grandmother was held entitled to a share when a partition took place between the sons of a deceased son of her co-wife.

sons. The V. M. disagrees²¹¹⁴ with this and says that the word 'brother' primarily means 'full brother' and only secondarily 'half-brother', that, as it is not allowable to use a word like brother in two senses in the same passage, in default of full brother his son succeeds (and not half-brother as the Mit provides). The primary sense of a word is got by 'abhidhā', the secondary sense by 'laksanā'²¹¹⁵ and sometimes a third sense called suggested sense is said to be due to *vyāñjanā*. These are the three *vrttis* (functions) of a word.

One of the rules about the interpretations of words is contained in P.M S.I. 3. 8-9. Śābara cites three instances of words²¹¹⁶ viz caru made from yavas, sandals made of boar skin, a cane mat. The words *yava*, *varāha* and *vetasa* are respectively employed by some people in the sense of 'priyangu' (long pepper), dark bird (crow) and jambu (black berry). The *prima facie* view insists that one may use those words in any one of the two senses. The Siddhānta is that those words must be used in the sense in which the Veda (or śāstra) or śīstas employ them i. e. the usage of learned Aryan people is to be followed where words

2114. मातृभावे भ्राता सोदर, तदभावे तत्पुत्र । यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरादयः सोदराभावे भिन्नोदरत्वभावे सोदरपुत्र इत्याहुस्तत्र, भ्रातृपदस्य सोदरे शक्यता भिन्नोदरे च गौण्या पृच्छित्यविरोधात् । एव स p 142.

2115. According to तन्त्रवाच there is a slight difference between लक्षणा and गौणी Vide अभिधेयाविनाशते प्रतीतिर्लक्षणेऽप्यते । लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद्गुणैरेष्टा तु गौणता ॥ बह्वित्वलक्षितादर्थार्थत्वेऽप्येष्टत्वादि गम्यते । तेन माणवके बुद्धिः सादृश्यमुपजायते ॥ p. 354 on I. 4. 12. गङ्गाया घोषः is लक्षणा (गङ्गातीरे घोषः), while अग्निर्माणवकः (the boy is fire) is an example of गौणीबुद्धि (possession of a quality common to both). गौणी is a variety of लक्षणा which latter occurs in a far larger number of cases. The boy has some of the qualities (गुण) of fire such as very brown colour and the like and therefore here the word 'fire' is applied to the boy in a figurative sense.

2116 तेऽदर्शनाद्विरोधस्य समा विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् । पू. मी. सू. I 3 8; यवमयश्चक्रः, वाराही उपानदी. वैतसे कटे भ्राजापत्यान् सञ्चिनोति इति यववराहवैतसशब्दान् समामनन्ति । तत्र केचिदीपर्युक्तेषु यवशब्दे भ्रष्टयते केचित्पितृहृत्पु । वराहशब्दे केचित्त्वृक्षरे केचित्कृष्णशकुनी । वैतसशब्दे केचिद्वृक्षलके केचिजम्बवान् । शयर The सिद्धान्तद्वय is शास्त्रस्या वा तस्मिन्निष्ठत्वात् । पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 9; शयर explains य शास्त्रस्यानां स शब्दार्थः । के शास्त्रस्याः, जिष्टाः तेषामन्विष्टता स्मृति शब्देषु वेदेषु च । भान्ति on वे. सू. III. 3. 52 relies on this for holding that the meaning assigned to a word among Aryas in India prevails over the meaning of the word among Āudhras (e g of the word राजन्). As regards घृष्ट. Grut. (I 22) prescribes that a ksatriya or vaiśya brahmacārin should carry a staff of the aśvattha or pilu tree (अश्वत्थपैलवी वृक्षे), while Yama II 45 prescribes a staff of pilu or udumbara tree for a vaiśya brahmacārin. The Amarakośa states that pilu means a tree as well as an elephant.

may have two or more senses. As in several other cases Kumārila does not like Śābara's explanation and proposes two other explanations, viz. one being that the sūtras relate to the word 'pilu' used in the sense of a tree and *mlecchas* employ it in the sense of elephant. The meaning of the word in *smṛti* is a tree and that should be followed. Here 'Śāstrasthāh' means 'the sense given to the word in the Śāstra i. e. *smṛti*'. Another meaning he sees into those sūtras is the comparative strength of *smṛti* and *ācāra*. This *adhikarana* is relied upon by Viśvarūpa on Yāj (I. 225) on the question of the primary meaning of the word Śrāddha which he states is 'pindadāna' (offering balls of boiled rice to the *manes*) and not feeding brāhmanas. The Parāśara-mādhaviya refers to Parāśara-*smṛti* (VI. 70-71) about the food cooked from rice in such quantities as measuring an *āḍhaka*²¹¹⁷ or *drona* and rendered unclean by being pecked by crows or touched by dogs and smelt by asses and provides that the measures *āḍhaka* and *drona* were to be taken as those known from śāstras and not those known among *mlecchas*.

Another rule (PMS I. 3. 10) about words is that²¹¹⁸ words, though of foreign origin, that are in vogue in Sanskrit, are to be understood in the sense which they have in the foreign language and one should not think of an attempt to derive them with the help of Nirukta and grammar. Śābara cites four such words viz *pika* (cuckoo), *nema* (half), *tāmarasa* (lotus), *sata* (circular wooden vessel).

Another rule about words is that where a single substance connected with several attributes is concerned in an action laid down for being carried out, all of these attributes should be taken to refer to the same one substance (PMS III. 1. 12). The Tai. S. prescribes 'he purchases Soma with a heifer one year old and having brown eyes and reddish in colour'. Here the two words 'pingākṣī' and 'ekahāyanī' yield a good etymological meaning, are in the same case and so refer to the same substance

2117. For *āḍhaka*, *drona* and other measures of corn, vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 881 n. 2053, vol III. p. 124 n. 165.

2118 जोदिवं तु प्रतीयताविरोधात्प्रमाणेन। प्र. भी सू. I. 3. 10. न चामीवा (पिकादि पदानां) आर्थेऽर्थ. कश्चिदस्ति। ... तस्मान्मलेच्छमसिद्ध एवाथोऽस्मीवा नित्योऽयवसीयते। शास्त्रदीपिका on I. 3. 10. The मनुस्मृतिलिका gives सूत्रार्थ as मलेच्छोऽस्तीतिमपि प्रतीयते। शब्दं स्यादिति यावत्। प्रमाणेनार्थव्यवहारेणाविरोधात्। The underlined words occur in the sūtra.

(heifer in this ²¹¹⁹ case). But the word 'arunayā' (of red colour) causes a doubt viz. whether it should be separated from the other two words in the sentence and taken in the sense of 'any reddish substance such as a piece of cloth' or whether it should be connected with the verb (he purchases), should thus be subordinate to the purchase and should be taken as referring to the one year old heifer. This last is the established conclusion. How Soma is to be purchased does not follow from any other text. Therefore, in such a case several subsidiaries can be laid down in one inflection. If 'arunayā' be taken as referring to any red substance such as a piece of red cloth this one sentence would have to be divided into two vidhis 'he should purchase with a red piece of cloth' and 'he should purchase with a brown-eyed (heifer) one year old'. This would be a fault called 'vākyabheda'. This nyāya is explained by the Madanapārijāta pp. 88-89 and Aparārka (p. 1030) makes use of ²¹²⁰ it in explaining the correct import of the words of the Br. Up. IV. 4. 21 'tam-etam vedānuvacanena brāhmaṇā vividisanti' by saying that when the highest object in view is one but the subordinate elements are different these latter are to be lumped together.

Another rule about words is evolved by what is called 'nisādashapatinīyāya' (PMS VI. I. 51-52). ²¹²¹ It is stated that the *Istā* in which an offering of boiled rice is made to Rudra is

2119. अर्थकत्वे द्रव्यगुणयोरैककर्माक्षिपमः स्यात्। इ. मी. सू. III. 1. 12; उपोतिदोने क्रयं पशुस्य श्रूयते। अरुणया पिङ्गादयैकहायस्या सोमं क्रीणाति। इति। तत्र सन्देहः। किमरुणिना कृत्स्ने प्रकरणे निविशेति। क्रये एवैकहायस्यामिति। शबर. The sentence अरुणया... क्रीणाति is तै. सं. VI. 1. 1. 6-7. शबर has a very lengthy discussion on this. The तन्त्रवार्तिक on इ. मी. सू. II 2. 6 states 'प्रति कर्मणि नानेको विधातुं शक्यते गुणः। अयाते तु विधीयन्ते बहुवोप्येकपरन्त' (p. 485 quoted in मी. न्या. प्र. p. 39 (Abhyankar's ed.)). For example, आहू is laid down as a विधि but if one wants to lay down some matters about आहू separate विधिस would be required for each matter, such as गयायां आहू दद्यात्, कुत्ते आहू दद्यात्. But where there is already no vidhi laying down a guṇa (subsidiary matter) there can be one main vidhi embodying several guṇas, as laid down in P M S. I. 4. 9.

2120 किं च परमकार्पाभेदेऽवान्तरस्यापारभेदे तु कारकं कारकान्तरेण समुच्चीयते यथा—अरुणया... क्रीणाति द्रव्यारुणमेकहायस्या। अपराकं p 1030 on याज्ञ III 205 (न्यायार्जित... सुप्रथोपि निमुच्यते॥).

2121. रथपतिनिषाद. स्याच्छब्दसामर्थ्यात्। इ. मी. सू. VI. 1. 51. ... निषादानां रथपतिरिति षडोसनासौ भविष्यति। ... एवं प्राप्ते दूम. रथपतिनिषाद. स्यात्। ... कस्मात् शब्द-सामर्थ्यात्। ... समानाधिकरणसनासस्तु षडोपात्। तत्र हि स्वाद्यौ शब्दौ वृत्तौ भवतः। द्वितीया च मिश्रितस्त्वन्वेणोभास्यां सन्त्यस्यते। शबर, compare मैत्र. सं. II 2. 4 for the दृष्टि and the words तथा निषादरथपतिं याजयेत्। अत्र तावन्निषादरथपतिन्यायेन षडो-

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one that should be performed for *nisāda-sthapati*. A *nisāda* is a person born of a *brāhmana* father and *sūdra* mother (vide Manu X. 8). He does not belong to one of the three higher *varnas*. *Sthapati* means 'chief or leader'. The question whether the compound word means 'a *nisāda* who is a chief (that is a *karmadhāraya* compound) or whether it means 'the ruler of *nisādas*' who may not necessarily be a *nisāda* himself but may be a *ksatriya* (i. e. whether one should take the word as '*sasthi-tatpuruṣa*' as '*nisādanām sthapatih*') The conclusion is that a *karmadhāraya* is more powerful than a *tatpuruṣa*, since in the former both the words may be directly connected with the verb (*nisādaścāsanu sthapatīṣca, tam yājayet*). The V. M. makes use of this 'maxim'. The Śaunaka-smṛti authorizes *sūdras* to adopt a son, yet some writers like Rudradhara, author of *Sūddhiviveka*, held that adoption required a *homa* with mantras and as a *sūdra* could not repeat vedic mantras he could not adopt. To this V. M. replies that his power to adopt a son being established by Śaunaka's smṛti all that is required is that he may get the *homa* performed through a *brāhmana*. The Bhāmati on Śaṅkarā's bhāṣya on V. S. I. 3. 15, where the meaning of the word '*brahmaloka*' in Chāndogya-Up. VIII 3. 2 is in question, says that the *nisādashthapatinyāya* applies and so '*brahmaloka*' means '*brahma* as the goal' and not 'the world of *brahma*.' Manu XI. 54 enumerates five *Mahāpātakas* (deadly sins), one of which is '*gurvanganāgama*' (sexual intercourse with *gurvanganā*). Commentators have differed about the meaning of this word, some like Bhavadēva in *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* stating that, following *nisādashthapatinyāya*, the word must be dissolved as a *Karmadhāraya* compound (*guruh* or *gurvī* *cāsanu anganā ca*), the meaning being one's own mother, while many others dissolve it as a *tatpuruṣa* compound meaning '*guruh* or *gurunām anganā*' (which would then include a step-mother, an elder brother's wife and teacher's wife &c.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 23-25 for a discussion of this.

Prabhākara held that no word was significant in isolation, but that words became significant when joined together in a

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समासात्कर्मधारयो वलीयानिति स्थितमेव। आमतौ on शाङ्करभाष्य on वे स I. 3. 15. प्रायश्चित्ते तु यथा स्थपतीदौ सम्न्नादिरहितोऽपि साक्षाच्छ्रुत्या निपाद कर्तव्यता युहीतस्तथा श्रुत् प्रायश्चित्तेषु। अपराके on या III. 262 p. 1090. In the Ait. Br. 37. 7 *nisādas*, selagas and evil-doers are spoken of as robbing a rich man and running away with the booty,

sentence. Therefore, he and his followers were called 'anvīṭābhīdhanavādinah' as opposed to Kumārila and his followers who held that words have different senses of their own and then they combine in a sentence and yield a further sense of the sentence. These latter were called 'abhihitānvayavādinah'. Vide notes to Sāhityadarpana (I, II, X) pp. 86-88 for explanations of these two terms by the present writer (ed. of 1956).

Let us now turn to the interpretation of *vākya* (sentence). The R̥gveda and the Sāmaveda are metrical and therefore there is generally no difficulty in arriving at what constitutes in them one syntactical unit (*vākya*). But much of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda is in prose. Therefore, PMS (II. 1. 46) defines²¹²² what makes one *vākya* by stating that when a number of words serve a single purpose, but if one or a few of those words are separated from the rest, the latter words are incomplete in effecting a purpose and stand in need of the words separated, then all these words make one *vākya*. An example is the mantra 'I offer thee, that art dear to Agni, at the command of God Savitr with the arms of Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan'. This is one sentence, the purpose of which is *nirvāpa* (offering). For other definitions of *vākya*, vide the author's notes on Sāhityadarpana (II. 1) p. 34. For constituting words into a sentence with an understandable meaning expectancy²¹²³ (*ākāṅkṣā*), compatibility (*yogyatā*) and proximity (*saunidhi*) are required, particularly the first. For example, Śaṅkaracārya on V. S. I. 4. 3 says that without *ākāṅkṣā* there is no cognition

2122 अर्थकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साक्षाद्भूतं चेद्विभागे स्यात् । पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 46; अत्र प्रभिरुपदिष्टेषु यत्तु कथमवगम्येत, इयदेकं यत्प्रति । यावता पदसमूहेनैव्यते तावान्पदसमूह एकं यत् । क्रियता चेज्यते । यावता क्रियाया उपकारः प्रकाश्यते तावत् । वक्तव्याद् वाक्यमित्युच्यते । तस्मादेकार्थं पदसमूहो वाक्यं यदि च विभज्यमानं साक्षाद्भूतं पदं भवति । किमुदाहरणं देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसव इति । शबरः The मन्त्रः ॥ देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽभिनर्गोऽस्य पूर्णो हस्ताभ्यामग्रे लुटं निर्वपामि (ते. सं. I. 1. 4. 2, काठक I. 4) and is one वाक्य from देवस्य to निर्वपामि. Vide also शबर on I. 1. 25 (तत्त्वज्ञानं क्रियार्थेन समाप्तयोऽर्थस्य तद्विमिश्रितत्वाद्). The word अर्थ in both sūtras means प्रयोजनः. The व्याकरणम् takes the word 'artha' as meaning 'sense' (अभिधेय) in order to give to the sūtra a wider scope while Śabara appears to limit it to yajus texts and holds that अर्थ means प्रयोजनः. Vide also यावन्ति पदान्येकं प्रयोजनमभिनिर्वर्तयन्ति तान्येकं वाक्यम् । शबर on पू. मी. सू. II. 2. 27 p. 560. The कात्या. श्री. has a similar sūtra 'तेषां वाक्यं निराजादसम्' I. 3. 2. The com. explains तेषां as यत्तुपाम्.

2123. आजादस्ता सन्निधानं च योग्यता चेति च त्रयम् । सम्प्रत्यक्षारण्येन कृतं नानन्तर-श्रुति ॥ तन्त्रम् p. 455, वाक्यबोधे समात्तानामङ्गाद्विस्थापयेत्यर्थः । वाक्यान्तानामङ्गावयवैर्धुनः सौन्दर्यं जायते ॥ तन्त्रम् p. 366 on I. 4. 24 (सन्दिग्धेषु वाक्यशेषात्) । This verse is in the सान्निध्यपर्याय II. 1, न चाजादुःशान्त्येति कदाच्यताप्रतिपत्तिरिति । शाङ्करभाष्य on पू. सू. I. 4. 3.

one that should be performed for *nisāda*-sthapati. A *nisāda* is a person born of a *brāhmaṇa* father and *śūdra* mother (vide *Manu* X. 8). He does not belong to one of the three higher *varṇas*. *Sthapati* means 'chief or leader'. The question whether the compound word means 'a *nisāda* who is a chief (that is a *karmadhāraya* compound) or whether it means 'the ruler of *nisādas*' who may not necessarily be a *nisāda* himself but may be a *ksatriya* (i. e. whether one should take the word as '*sasthi-tatpuruṣa*' as '*nisādānām sthapatih*') The conclusion is that a *karmadhāraya* is more powerful than a *tatpuruṣa*, since in the former both the words may be directly connected with the verb (*nisādaścāsau sthapatīśca, tam yājayet*). The V. M. makes use of this 'maxim'. The *Śaunaka-smṛti* authorizes *śūdras* to adopt a son, yet some writers like *Rudradhara*, author of *Sūddhiviveka*, held that adoption required a *homa* with mantras and as a *śūdra* could not repeat *vedic* mantras he could not adopt. To this V. M. replies that his power to adopt a son being established by *Śaunaka's smṛti* all that is required is that he may get the *homa* performed through a *brāhmaṇa*. The *Bhāmati* on *Śaṅkarā's bhāṣya* on V. S I. 3. 15, where the meaning of the word '*brahmaloka*' in *Chāndogya-Up. VIII. 3. 2* is in question, says that the *nisādashthapatinyāya* applies and so '*brahmaloka*' means '*brahma* as the goal' and not 'the world of *brahma*.' *Manu* XI. 54 enumerates five *Mahāpātakas* (deadly sins), one of which is '*gurvanganāgama*' (sexual intercourse with *gurvanganā*). Commentators have differed about the meaning of this word, some like *Bhavadeva* in *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* stating that, following *nisādashthapatinyāya*, the word must be dissolved as a *Karmadhāraya* compound (*guruh* or *gurvi cāsau anganā ca*), the meaning being one's own mother, while many others dissolve it as a *tatpuruṣa* compound meaning '*guror* or *gurūnām anganā*' (which would then include a step-mother, an elder brother's wife and teacher's wife &c.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 23-25 for a discussion of this.

Prabhākara held that no word was significant in isolation, but that words became significant when joined together in a

(Continued from last page)

समासात्कर्मधारयो बलीयानिति स्थितमेव । भामती on शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू I. 3. 15, प्रायश्चित्ते तु यथा स्थपतीष्टौ मन्त्रादिरहितोऽपि साक्षाच्छ्रुत्या निषादः कर्तृतया रुद्दितस्तथा श्रुतः प्रायश्चित्तेषु । अपराक्ष on या III. 262 p. 1090 In the Ait. Br. 37. 7 *nisādas*, *selagas* and *evil-doers* are spoken of as robbing a rich man and running away with the booty,

sentence. Therefore, he and his followers were called 'anvītabhīdhānavādinah' as opposed to Kumārila and his followers who held that words have different senses of their own and then they combine in a sentence and yield a further sense of the sentence. These latter were called 'abhihitānvayavādinah'. Vide notes to *Sāhityadarpana* (I, II, X) pp. 86-88 for explanations of these two terms by the present writer (ed. of 1956).

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2123. आकाङ्क्षा सन्निधानं च योग्यता चेति च त्रयम् । सम्बन्धकारणत्वेन कृतं नानन्तर-धति ॥ तन्त्रम् p.455, शरपयोधे समादानान्नाद्वित्वाद्यपेक्षया । वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः सन्दर्शयामहे ॥ तन्त्रम् p.366 on I.4.24 (सन्दिग्धेषु वाक्ययोषात्) This verse is q in the साहित्यदर्पणे II.1. न चाकाङ्क्षासामन्तर्येकमाश्रयताप्रतिपत्तिरस्ति । शाङ्करभाष्ये on वे. सू. I.4.3.

that the words form a *vākya*. The word *ekavākyatā* occurs in V. S. III. 4. 24 and conveys that there is a twofold *ākāṅkṣā* viz. grammatical as well as psychological. It is the listener or reader who has, on hearing or reading a word, a desire to know another idea or word to get a complete sense. When several sentences, each conveying its own sense as far as it goes, are brought together having regard to the fact that one of them may be principal and the others auxiliary, they form one syntactical whole. This shows that sentences are of two kinds, *vākyas* and *mahāvākyas*, as the *Sāhityadarpana* puts it.

It follows from the definition and the *bhāṣya* thereon that, in order to constitute a *vākya*, three conditions are necessary viz. (1) there must be a number of words uttered or put down together (*padasamūha*), (2) the words must have an expectancy for each other (i.e. if a word in the collection is dropped no complete sense can be had), (3) all the words must serve one purpose or convey together one meaning (*arthaikatva*, acc. to another view). It is not absolutely necessary that the words in order to form a *vākya* must be in close proximity. Even if some words intervene there may be a sentence, provided there is *ākāṅkṣā* between the words. Śābara on PMS IV. 3. 11 illustrates this well as stated in the note.²¹²⁴ In the verse quoted 'paśyasi' is to be connected with 'jaradgavam', though several other words intervene. Though there is proximity (*sannidhi*) between 'pinaksi' and 'jaradgavam' they do not form a sentence as there is no capacity as also *ākāṅkṣā* between the two. The upshot is that *sannidhi* (proximity) of words is generally required to form a sentence, though not necessarily required in every case.

The different parts of a *mantra* text, meant to serve different purposes, may be regarded as distinct sentences. For example, the *mantra* in Tai. Br. 2125 (III. 7. 5) 'I make an agreeable

2124. व्यवहितमपि पराण्युच्यधायकमानन्तर्येण मनसि विपरिवर्तमानमलमेव भवति विशेषस्तुपञ्जनयितुम् । यथा । इतः पश्यसि धावन्त दूरे जातं घनस्पतिम् । त्वा ब्रवीमि विशालाक्षि या पिनक्षि जरद्वगवम् ॥ इति । अत्र इतः पश्यसीति शब्दो द्रष्टुं भवति । सः दूरे जातं घनस्पति-
मित्येतेः पदेर्व्यवहितेन जरद्वगमित्यनेन शब्देन व्यवधायकान्यपोह सम्बन्धमानः सम्बन्धयते ।
यत्नि युनरर्थतो द्यसमर्थानि तान्यानन्तर्येण सति न परस्परं सम्बन्धमर्हति यथा, या पिनक्षि
जरद्वगमित्येवमादीनि । शबर on पु. मी सू IV. 3. 11 p 1254, भास्की on वे. सू III.
4 21 states नहि समभिव्याहृतैरेवैकवाक्यता भवतीति कश्चिन्नियमहेतुरिति । अल्पप्रातिदिश-
लक्ष्यैरपि विध्यसमभिव्याहृतैरेवैकवाक्यैरेकवाक्यतास्तुपगमात् ।

2125. स्योनं ते सदनं कृणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुशेवं कल्पयामि । तस्मिन् सीदासुते
प्रतिष्ठिष्ठ व्रीहीणा मेघ सुमनस्यमान ॥ तै ब्रा. III. 7. 5. शबर says (on पु. मी सू II. 1.
46) हे तु भोजने क्रियेते सदनकरणं श्रोताश्रमतिष्ठानं च । तस्माद् भिक्षे वाक्ये पूर्वं सदन-
करणे विनियुज्यते, उत्तरं श्रोताश्रमतिष्ठानम् ।

seat (or abode) for thee (O cake !), I prepare it as a very happy one with a stream of clarified butter ; do sit thereon with pleased mind, be established in ambrosia, O sacrificial essence of rice'. These are two sentences, the first part being concerned with making a seat, the latter part being concerned with depositing the *puroḍāśa* on the seat. Similarly, in the passage 'I (cut) thee (O palāśa branch) for food, I (wash or rub) thee for vigour' there are two different sentences, that are independent of each other, as the Śat Br. employs these with the words 'he cuts the palāśa²¹²⁶ branch with the words 'for food (I cut) thee', he washes it with the words 'for vigour thee'. The same rule applies to the ten different clauses 'āyuryajñena kalpatām, prāno yajñena kalpatām' in Tai. S I. 7. 9. 2. They are all different sentences.²¹²⁷

The doctrine of Vākyabheda plays a very important part in Mīmāṃsā as well as in Dharmaśāstra. Vākyabheda literally means 'split of sentences'. When the sentences are equally independent and one sentence does not require or expect words from the other sentence to complete it, they should be treated as separate sentences. This is one sense of 'Vākyabheda.' Another and more frequent sense of Vākyabheda is as follows: The underlying principle of vākyabheda is that one and the same text cannot be construed as laying down two separate *vidhis* (prescriptions) or that when a certain matter has already been prescribed and then several auxiliary matters are to be prescribed, prescribing²¹²⁸ all the auxiliaries in one sentence would

2126. समेषु वाक्यभेदः स्यात् । पू. मी. सू. II 1. 47; समेषु परस्परानाकाङ्क्षेषु वाक्यं भिद्यते । इदं त्वा इत्यनेनैकोऽर्थः क्लियते, ऊर्जे त्वा इत्यनेनापरः । ... श्रुत्या तु गम्यते इदं त्वेति द्विनिश्चि ऊर्जे नेत्यनुमादि इति । इदं त्वोर्जे त्वा are the very first words of तै. सं. The शतपथ I 7. 1. 2 has तमाच्छिनत्ति इदं त्वोर्जे त्वेति The sūtra may be explained as समेषु परस्परनिषेक्षतया तुल्येषु यजुर्मेवः स्यात् ।

2127. तत्रैकामाशु-कृति 'आयुर्यज्ञेन कल्पताम्' इत्येष मन्त्रः शक्नोति वदितुम् । प्राणो यज्ञेन कल्पताम् - इत्यपमपि प्राणकृतिमपरात् । एवं तु सर्वे कृतिविकल्पवचनाः । शबर on II 1. 47.

2128. प्राप्ते कर्मण्यनेकगुणविधाने वाक्यभेदापत्तेः । यथाह । प्राप्ते कर्मणि (तन्त्रवा. p. 485 on II 2 6 quoted in a 2119). अत्र कर्मपदवत् गुणत्वपदज्ञानम् । एकोद्देशेनानेकविधाने वाक्यभेदात् । मी. न्या. प्र. pp 36, 39. All this is based on Sabara's words 'कर्मचोदना वा आग्नेयादयः स्तः । कुतः । गुणानां गुणपञ्चासनात् । एतेनैव वाक्येनानेकौ गुणौ विधातुमिच्छते भवता । न च शब्दान्तरेण चोदिते कर्मण्यनेको गुणः परस्परसम्बन्धे चास्ति शक्यते विधातुम् । (on II 2 6 pp 485-486). Vide also शबर on p 593 on II. 3. 4. The मदनपरिज्ञात (on p 55) has an elaborate discussion upon the proper time and time for *upākarma* in which it echoes the very words of the तन्त्रवा. quoted at the beginning of this note, when मदन पा. states 'तथा च दुष्परिदृष्टौ वाक्यभेदः प्राप्ते कर्मण्यनेकगुणविधानात्'.

give rise to the fault of *vākya*bheda (syntactical split of sentence). In Tai. S there is the following passage 'the sacrificial post is to be of *udumbara* tree, the *udumbara* (tree) is vigour, cattle is vigour; he obtains for him (the sacrificer) by means of vigour *ūrj* (i. e. by *udumbara* post) vigour (i. e. cattle) for the attainment of vigour'. This is one syntactical whole (*vākya*). If it be said that there is a *vidhi* prescribing the use of *udumbara* post in a sacrifice and that there is also another *vidhi* about the fruit viz securing vigour (i. e. cattle); this would give rise to *vākya*bheda. Therefore there are no two *vidhis* in the sentence but only a *vidhi* and an *arthavāda* (praise).²¹²⁹ Śāṅkarācārya on V. S. III, 3 57 remarks '*ekam hidam vākyam Vaiśvānaravidyāvisayam paurvāparyālocanāt pratiyate ... ekavākyatāvagatau satyām vākya*bheda-kalpanasyānyāyātvaṭ.' This is said with reference to the first aspect of the idea of *Vākya*bheda.

The basic idea underlying the latter sense of *vākya*bheda is this. If an act or a substance or a secondary matter has already been the subject of a *vidhi* and if concerning the act (or substances &c.) a number of other matters (actions, substances &c.) are enjoined in one sentence, there would be *vākya*bheda (i. e. there would have to be a separate *vidhi* for each of the other matters relating to what has already been the subject of a *vidhi*). On the other hand, if an action, substance or a *guṇa* is enjoined for the first time along with several secondary matters in one sentence, there would be no fault of *vākya*bheda i. e. in a single *vākya* however long or containing many matters, if there is a single *vidhi* there is no fault. If, in the passage quoted on p. 1258 above²¹³⁰ 'one desiring prosperity should offer in sacrifice a white animal to *Vāyu*', one were to hold that first there is to be a *vidhi* about prosperity as the fruit or reward, there would be two *vidhis* and so the fault of *vākya*bheda, but if one holds that the *vidhi* is only concerned with offering a white animal and what follows '*vāyurvai ksepis-thā.....bhūtim gamayati*' is merely an *arthavāda* (praise of the preceding *vidhi*), there is no *vākya*bheda. The fault of *vākya*-

2129. विधौ च वाक्यभेदः स्यात् । पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 25; औदुम्बरो यूपो भवतीति विधावेतस्मिन्नाश्रीयमाणे ऊर्जोऽवर्ण्य इत्येतस्मिन् वाक्ये भिद्येत । इत्यमौदुम्बरो यूपः प्रशस्तः स चोर्जोऽवर्ण्य इति । शबर.

2130. श्रुतिकाम इत्येतदन्तो विष्टुदेशः । तेनैकवाक्यश्रुती वाचुर्न केषिटा देवतेत्येवमादि ... वाक्यं हि सन्बन्धस्य विधायकं द्वौ चेत्सम्बन्धौ विदध्यात्, श्रुतिकाम आलभेत, आलम्भेन चैव श्रुणो भविष्यतीति । भिद्येत तर्हि एवं सति वाक्यम् । शबर on I. 2. 7 pp 117 and 119.

bheda arises when more vidhis than one are held to occur in the same vākya. ²¹³¹

A few examples must be cited to illustrate the principle of *vākyabheda*. A simple example is 'graham sammārsti'. If one were to interpret this as meaning 'he is to clean the cup' and also as meaning that only a single cup is to be cleaned there would be *vākyabheda*. Therefore, it was decided that the singular number in 'graham' is not to be insisted upon and cleaning of all cups was to be resorted to; otherwise there would be two vidhis viz. 'graham sammrjyāt' and 'ekam-eva sammrjyāt'. Śabara quotes (on PMS I. 3. 3) a *śruti*: 'one who has a son and whose hair is dark should consecrate the vedic fires'. *Agnyādhāna* is laid down by *śruti* texts such as Tai. Br. I. 1. 2. 6, Śat II. 1. 2. Therefore, the above text only lays down certain subsidiary matters about it. A man may have dark hair but no son or he may have a son when his hair is turning grey. Therefore, if that sentence is meant to prescribe both attributes (having a son and also having dark hair), there would be two distinct vidhis in the same *vākya*, that is, there would be the fault of *vākyabheda*, which has to be avoided. Therefore, that sentence must be understood as indicating a certain age viz. he must not be a mere boy (at the time of *agnyādhāna*) but of an age to bear a son, nor very old (when hair turns grey). i. e. he must be neither too young nor too old at the time of *agnyādhāna*. A *laksanā* as regards the words 'jātaputrah' and 'kṛsnakeśah' is resorted to and *laksanā* is only a fault as to a word, while *vākyabheda* is a fault of a sentence and therefore *laksanā* should be preferred to *vākyabheda*. The V. M. quotes (p. 115) the verse of Manu ²¹³²

2131. बहवोऽपि धर्म्यं युगपदेकेन सम्वध्यन्ते । न च तावता वाक्यं भिद्यते । अनेक-
विधितो हि वाक्यभेद उक्तः । तन्त्रवा p. 551 on II. 2 26.

2132 This text of Manu has been a subject of several conflicting judicial decisions, which are now of no use since there is now a law governing Hindu Adoptions viz. the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 78 of 1956, by section 12 proviso b of which the decisions in 40 Bom. 429 and in some later cases have been set aside. Those interested may read the present author's notes in his translation of the V. M. pp. 121-123 and the footnotes and his paper (Brief sketch of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system' pp 37-38 (ABORI, vol VI pp 1-40) and also H. of Dh vol. III, pp. 690-697. In *Dattatreya V. Govind* I L.R. 40 Bom. 429 (where a person, in whom property had already become vested as the sole surviving male in the family, was given in adoption into another family) it was held, relying on Manu IX 142, that on adoption that person lost all rights to the property of the

(Continued on next page)

IX. 142 'the son given shall not have (share) the family name (*gotra*) and the wealth (*riktha*) of his natural father; the *pinda* (cake offered to deceased ancestors) follows the family name and the wealth; of him who gives (his son in adoption) the *svadhā* (obsequies) cease (so far as that son is concerned)'. After citing the above *smṛti* passage 'one having a son' and another text for the position of the sacrificial post (vide PMS III. 7. 13-14) with reference to the altar, the V. M. holds that one should not merely emphasize the words *gotra*, *riktha*, *pinda* and *svadhā* used by Manu and take them literally but should hold that the verse contains a *laksanā* (indicated meaning); it indicates the cessation of all those consequences that are due to connection with the *pinda* in the case of the natural father and Manu says nothing about the property taken by a son before he is given in adoption into another family.

Another illustration of *vākyabheda* can be cited from the law of re-union. The *Mit.*, *Dīyabhāga* and *Sm. C.* (on *Vyavahāra* p. 302) quote a text²¹³³ of *Brhaspati* 'that man who being once separated from his father, brother, or paternal uncle again dwells

(Continued from last page)

natural family that had become vested in him before adoption. That decision holds that Manu laid down two propositions, viz (1) a man forfeits by adoption into another family the property that once belonged to the family and that became vested in him before adoption, (2) A person given in adoption into another family does not, after the adoption, take any property of the family to which he belonged but whose connection with the family ceased after adoption. These are two distinct propositions and to hold that Manu's text is capable of these two propositions is liable to the fault of *Vākyabheda*. The V. M. (p. 115) further relies on the construction of another *vedic* text 'He fixes half of the *yūpa* inside the *vedi* and half outside it.' This is interpreted by PMS III. 7. 13-14, *Śābara* and the *Tantravārtika* as merely indicating a certain region for the fixing of the *yūpa* and that the words are not to be taken literally, because in that case there would be *Vākyabheda*. The *बृहद्देवता* brings out the meaning clearly. 'समस्तस्य यूपस्यान्तर्बहिर्वा माने प्राप्ते-अर्थमन्तर्बहिर्-इति नियम्यते। द्वितीयस्यार्धस्य पुनरप्यनियमप्रसक्ती - अर्थ बहिर्बहिर्-इत्यपि विधातव्यम्। ततश्चानेकार्थत्वाद्वाक्यभेदो निनीत्याख्या-तदुपलक्ष्येणैव प्रसज्यते। अतश्चेदक्षमवधारणमर्थमन्तरवेद्येव न स्वार्थमेवान्तर्बहिर् इति। तथा सति चार्धान्तरमनियतत्वात् कदाचिदन्तरपि प्राप्नोतीति न बहिर्भावः सिद्ध्यतीति। ... तस्मादुभयार्था विशिष्ट एको देशोऽभिधीयत इत्येवमवाक्यभेदः। १७.

2133. विभक्तं धनं पुनर्निश्चीकृतं संसृष्टं तदस्यास्तीति संसृष्टी। संसृष्टत्वं च न येन केनापि किन्तु पित्रा भ्रात्रा पितृव्येण वा। यथाह बृहस्पतिः। विभक्तो यः पुन पित्रा भ्रात्रा वैकत्र संस्थितः। पितृव्येणाथ वा भ्रात्या स तत्संसृष्ट उच्यते ॥ निता. ०० या. II 138, दायमाण chap 12 quotes बृहस्पति and remarks 'परिगणितव्यतिरिक्तेषु संसर्गकृतो विशेषो नादरणीयः परिगणनार्थक्यात्'.

through affection with them (or any of them) is said to be re-united with them (or him)'. According to the Mit., a reunion is possible only with father, brother and paternal uncle and with no one else, since no one else is mentioned in the text of Brhaspati. The V. M. does not approve of this limitation and says that a re-union is possible with all or any of those that participated in the partition and that the three persons, father, brother and uncle are mentioned only by way of illustration (i. e. there is *lakṣanā*). A man may separate not only from the three named persons but also from his paternal grand-father, the grandson of his brother and the son of his paternal uncle and several other persons and therefore the construction of the text of Brhaspati by the Mit. is liable to the fault of vākyabheda, since on that interpretation there would be two separate propositions viz. (1) that man is to be called re-united who having become separate again stays together with the one from whom he separated, (2) one can re-unite only with the father, brother, or paternal uncle. Thus there would be two distinct prescriptions in one sentence. Therefore, one should have recourse to *lakṣanā* viz. that the three named persons indicate a class of persons from whom one may have separated but with whom he then stayed together. The Vīramitrodaya (on Vyavahāra), V. R. (pp. 605-67), V. C. p. 533 hold the same view as that of the V. M. 2134

The Smṛticandrikā provides that after the death of a man when the sons divide, the mother is entitled to a share equal to that of each son if the estate to be divided is not very large, but if the estate be very large she is to get as much only as would be necessary for her maintenance (although Yāj. II. 123 and others employ the words 'samam aṁśam'). The Madanaratna on Vyavahāra criticizes this as a bad provision on the ground that it is vitiated by Vākyabheda, since there would be two different propositions (vidhis) about the meaning to be attached to the

2134. अत्र पितृभ्रातृपितृव्यैरेव सह संवृत्ता नान्येन वचनेनैव पादानादिति मितक्षरादिषु । विभागकृतानामधिकारण्येनैव सेति युक्तम् । पित्रादिपदानि तु विभागकर्तृमात्रेणैव लक्ष्यन्ति । अप्यनन्तर्दि निमित्तार्थं परिचयं दत्तवत् । अन्यथा वाक्यभेदात् । एष न प. 146 This text (अप्यनन्तर्दि etc) is discussed in P. M. S. III 7, 13-14 (तथा यूपस्य वेदि । देशमात्रं दादित्येनेकमाश्रयत्वात्) and the conclusion is that this text is not to be taken literally (since in that case there would be two propositions and the fault of Vākyabheda) but as merely indicating the region where the sacrificial post is to be planted. Vide the author's notes in translation of V. M. p. 191.

words 'samam amsam' (equal share) according as the estate to be divided is large or small.²¹³⁵

There is another principle about sentences called 'anusanga' (elliptical extension) or the extension of a word, phrase or clause from a sentence to another or other sentences, provided all those sentences are of the same type or form. This is one type of *anusanga*. Another type is where each of two or more sentences appears to be complete by itself, but there are certain words of a subordinate character in the last sentence of a passage which have to be taken up or understood in the preceding sentences. This latter is also called *anukarsa*. In the three *upasads* of Jyotistoma, the first²¹³⁶ is in honour of Agni in which the mantra is 'yā te Agne ayāśayā tanūr-varsiṣṭhā gavhareṣṭhogram vaco apāvadhīm tvesam vaco apāvadhīm svāhā'; the other two *Upasads* have the two mantras 'yā te Agne rajāśaya' and 'yā te Agne harāśayā' which are incomplete and in need of complementary words to complete the sentences. The conclusion is that the words 'Varsiṣṭhā ... svāhā' are to be supplied from the first sentence and not other words from the popular language that one may choose. Another passage of the Tai.²¹³⁷ S. is 'cīt-patistvā punātu, vākpatis-tvā punātu, devas-tvā savitā punatvacohidrena pavitrena vasoh sūryasya raśmibhiḥ'. Here the first two clauses appear to be *prima facie* complete, but when we look to the last clause where the word 'punātu' is particularised by certain other words, we at once feel that the first two clauses also should be connected with the words 'acohidrena... raśmibhiḥ' and that then they would be quite complete.

2135. यत्पुनः स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाया समशब्दस्य सार्थकत्वमुक्तं विभाज्यधनस्य भूयस्त्वे जीवनामात्रोपयोगि-धनग्रहणं स्वल्पत्वे तु समाशहरणमेव, न तु जीवनोपयोगवशादधिकहरण-मित्येवमर्थः. समशब्द इति तदुक्तम् । कदाचिज्जीवनमात्रोपयोगिधनग्रहणाविधानं कदाचित् समाशग्रहणविधानमिति वाक्यभेदापादकविधिवैक्यमपसङ्गात् । मदनरत्न on व्यवहार p. 331. Vide स्मृतिच II. p. 268

2136. अष्टपङ्क्तौ वाक्यसमाप्तिः सर्वेषु तुल्ययोगित्वात् । पु. भी सू II 1. 48; या ते अग्ने अयाज्ञया तन्मूर्ध्वेष्टिना गृहरेष्टोद्यं वचोऽपावधीं त्वेवं वचोऽपावधीं स्वाहा, या ते अग्ने राजाशया, या ते अग्ने हराशया इति । अत्र सन्देहः । तन्मूर्ध्वेष्टिति किं सर्वेष्वष्टपङ्क्त्यामाहोस्त्रिहोक्तिकौ वाक्यशेषः कर्तव्य इति । For the mantra, vide तै. सं. I. 2. 11 2 and वाज. सं. V 8. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1151 n. 2562. The वाज. सं. and शतपथ III. 4 4. 23-25 read अयाःशया, राजःशया and हरिःशया.

2137. चित्पतिस्त्वा ... रश्मिभिः । तै. सं. I. 2. 1. 2. शबर on PMS II. 1. 48 says अथेह कथं भवितव्यम्, यत्र निराकाश्याणां संनिधौ परिपूरणसमर्थः श्रूयते । यथा चित्पति-... रश्मिभिरिति । ... एकश्चासौ पुनातुशब्दः पुनः पुनरुद्भूतिः । तेनावगच्छामो यत्र पुनातुः शब्दः प्रयुक्तस्तत्र तेनैकावक्यत्वादाच्छिद्देणेत्ययमपि प्रयोक्तव्यः । ... स च पुनातुशब्दोऽच्छिद्देणेत्यनेन विशिष्टः । तेन पुनातुशब्देन साष्टपङ्केण नियोगतः सर्वे निराकाशकीकृतव्याः ।

The V. M. has a long disquisition on the principle of anusāṅga applied by the Mit and Madanaratna to the succession to the wealth of one who died re-united. Yāj. II 135-136 lay down the order of succession to the wealth of a person dying sonless Yāj. II, 137 deals with succession to the property of a forest hermit, an ascetic or a perpetual Vedic student. The Mit. then holds that Yāj. II, 138 'samsrstinastu samsrsti' is to be construed as an exception to Yāj. II 135-136 and understands that the words 'of one dying without having a son' (grandson or great-grandson) are to be supplied before Yāj. II, 138 from II, 136 (i. e. there is to be anusāṅga of the words 'svaryātasyāputrasya'). The V. M. does not approve of this and states that there is no rational ground for applying the principle of anusāṅga and therefore the order of succession to the property left by one re-united propounded by V. M. becomes different from that of the Mit. The whole discussion is rather abstruse and lengthy and the present writer feels that the space required for exposition should be saved. Those interested may consult the exhaustive notes (pp 265-275) in the edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha (Poona, 1926) on the passages of the V. M. beginning with the one in the note below ²¹³⁸

This principle of anusāṅga cannot apply where words of a different type intervene between the several sentences. For example, when the animal to be offered is killed a long passage occurs which contains the ²¹³⁹ words 'sam te prāno vāyunā gacchatām, sam yajatrair-angāni, sam yajñapatir-āsīsā' &c. (may your limbs be joined to the worshipful deities and may the sacrificer be united to blessing &c.). Here the first clause is

²¹³⁸ संसृष्टिपदहरणाधिकारिणमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदर । पत्नी दुहितरः (या 2 135-136) इत्यादेरपवादोऽयम् । ... यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरमदनादयोऽपवादश्चोक्तसमस्तमानविषयत्वनिमित्तमात् पूर्वोक्त-स्वर्गोत्तरप्राप्त्यर्थेति तदाशुपद्माश्चैतदपि पुत्रपौत्रपौत्रादीनि विषयम् । अतस्तादृशमुत्संसृष्टिपदमसंसृष्टिसिनिहितपत्न्यादिसंज्ञाविषयक्यः संसृष्ट्यैव शृङ्गीर्यदिति । तन्निरूप्यम् । तेन विनापि गौौ सम्भवन्त्यामलपक्षे मानाभावात् । वय. न p. 147, vide मदनमल्ल (on व्यवहार) p. 372 'न च संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीति याज्ञवल्क्य-वाक्येऽनुवर्त्येति एवमश्रवणात्संसृष्टिनरणमेव प्रयोजकमिति वाच्य, स्वर्गोत्तरस्य ह्यनुवर्त्येति वाग्योपात्तस्यानुवर्त्येति पदस्य स्वर्गोत्तरस्येति पदवत् संसृष्टिवाक्येऽनुपद्मात् ।।

²¹³⁹ यथायाज्ञानमुपज्येत । पू. मी. सू. II. 1 49; शबर says सं ते वायुर्वातेन गच्छतां सं यजत्रैरङ्गानि सं यज्ञपतिराशिपा इति । वायुर्वातेन गच्छताम्—इत्येव सं यजत्रैरङ्गानि—इति पट्टवचनान्तेन व्यवहितत्वात् सं यज्ञपतिराशिपा इत्यत्र नाशुपज्यते । .. तस्मादनुवचनान्तरं परस्य च तद्व्यवहारस्य लौकिको वाक्यशेष कर्तव्य इति ।। The सं सं. I. 3 8 1 reads 'सं ते माणा यासुना'. It is probable that Śabara quotes from memory or sets out the mantra from the Mai, Samhitā 1 2 15 which reads सं ते वायुर्वातेन.

separated from the 3rd clause by a clause in which there are two words in the plural while the first and third clauses have two words in the singular; therefore there is no anusanga of the words of the first clause into the 2nd and one may employ for completing the sense of the 3rd clause some ordinary word from popular language (and not the words from the 1st clause).

Veda enjoins many acts such as performing a *yāga*, casting an oblation into fire, making a gift, milking a cow, melting clarified butter &c, but all are not on the same level. Some are *pradhāna* (primary ²¹⁴⁰ or principal), while others are *guṇa-bhūta* (subsidiary). The acts denoted by words such as *Prayājas* by which some substance is not embellished or not made fit or is not produced are primary, while those which produce a substance or make it fit (such as pounding in the case of grains of paddy) are subsidiary. Acts are further classified into various groups such as *nutya*, *namutika* or *kāmya* or as *kratvartha* and *purusārtha*. These have already been explained. There are six means ²¹⁴¹ by which is ascertained the difference or non-difference among acts viz. (1) *śabdāntara* (different words, such as *yajati*, *juhōti*, *dadāti*, i. e. *yāga*, *homa*, *dāna* are different acts); *abhyāsa* ²¹⁴² (repetition) as in 'samidho yajati, tanūna-pātam yajati' &c. (Tai. S. II. 6. 1. 1-2), where the word *yajati* is repeated five times and therefore there are five different acts prescribed; (3) *sankhyā* (number) as in 'he sacrifices seventeen animals to *Prajāpati*' (Tai. Br. I. 3. 4 3), which are seventeen distinct acts; (4) *guṇa* (an accessory detail such as the deity

2140. तानि द्वैधं गुणप्रधानभूतानि । यैर्द्रव्यं न चिकीर्ष्यते तानि प्रधानभूतानि द्रव्यस्य गुणभूतत्वात् । यैस्तु द्रव्यं चिकीर्ष्यते गुणस्तत्र प्रतीयते तस्य द्रव्यप्रधानत्वात् । पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 6-8.

2141. तद्विह पटुविधः कर्मभेदो वक्ष्यते—शब्दान्तरं, अभ्यासः, संख्या, गुणः, प्रक्रिया, नामधेयमिति । तदेतज्ज्ञानाकर्मलक्षानित्यध्यायमाचक्षते । शबर on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 1 'भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दास्तेष्वपि क्रिया प्रतीयतेष्वपि ह्यर्थो विधीयते' । These six are mentioned in P. M. S. II. 2. 1., II. 2. 2 (अभ्यासः), II. 2. 21 (संख्या), II. 2. 23 (गुणः), II. 2. 22 (नामधेय or संज्ञा), प्रकरणे (or प्रक्रिया) in II. 3 24. Śabara mentions the six in one order, while the P. M. S. deals with them in a slightly different order. Parāśara I. 38 says that a man should be intent on six actions, viz. bath, sandhyā etc. and relies on *śabdāntara* to establish that they are six distinct acts and not one composite act. Vide परा. मा. I. 1. 2.

2142. For the distinction between *yāga*, *homa* and *dāna*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 714 n. 1703.

or substance in such a passage as 'when curds²¹⁴³ are put into heated milk it turns into curdled solid mass *āmiksā* which is offered to *Viśvedevas* and the liquid called *vājina* is to be offered to *Vājins*, these two being two distinct offerings); (5) *prakarana*, (context). In the sentence 'one should offer *agnihotra*' (*Tai. S. I. 5. 9. 1*) there is a *vidhi* of the daily performance of *Agnihotra*. In the *Kundapāyinām-ayana*²¹⁴⁴ it is said 'he offers *agnihotra* for a month'. Since this last occurs in a different context altogether (while the former occurs in the context of *Darśa-pūrnāmāsa*), this sentence (from *Kundapāyinām-ayana*) deals with a different act from that of the daily *Agnihotra*. (6) The name (*Saṅjñā*) also differentiates acts, since they occur in *utpattivākya* (originative injunction) as in the passage quoted in the note below.²¹⁴⁵ This technique about determining what actions are different on account of the several grounds noted above, was employed by *Hemādri*, the *Kālanirnaya* and the *Nirnayasindhu* in deciding whether *Janmāstamivrata* and *Jayantivrata* are really one *vrata* or separate *vratas*. Vide pp 132-133 above.

It has already been stated above (p. 1228) that there are four kinds of *vidhis* of which *vinīyogavidhi* is one. This last conveys the relation between a religious act as principal (*śeṣin* or *aṅgin*) and²¹⁴⁶ its auxiliaries (*angas*). This is the concern of the third chapter of the P. M. S., which first defines 'śeṣa', states why it is called 'śeṣa', how it is employed in religious acts, what are the means of determining the relation of śeṣa to śeṣin and the comparative strength of each of the means.

2143. तत्ते पयसि दद्यान् यति सा वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा वाजिन्यो वाजिनम् ।; *श्रृणु* on IV. 1. 23 cites this and states 'अमिक्षाया दधिपयसी विद्येते न वाजिने । ... वाजिने तिकरुदुको रसः ।' वैश्वदेवी is a तद्धित meaning विश्वेदेवाः देवता अस्या, formed acc. to पाणिनि IV. 2. 24 '(सारय देवता); वाजिनामिक्षारूपगुणभेदाद्वाजिनद्रव्यकं कर्मान्तरम्' आमिक्षाद्रव्यकं च कर्मान्तरमिति चिन्तितम् । वाजिनं नामानिक्षोपपत्तिशिष्टमुद्रकम् । आमिक्षा नानं प्रयोदधिमिश्रणजनितं दृढाकारं द्रव्यम् । सर्वदर्शनकौमुदी p 100 (T. S. S.). शङ्कराचार्य mentions this text on वे सू III 3. 1. In वे वा I, 6 2. 5 we have 'वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा भवति । वैश्वदेव्यो वै प्रजाः । ... वाजिनमानयति ।' आमिक्षा is the प्रयोजक (inducing force or motive) of putting curds into boiled milk and *vājina* is not the *prayojaka*, since in producing *āmiksā* it appears of itself

2144. *श्रृणु* on VII. 3 1 says कुण्डपायिनानयने श्रूयते मासमग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति । तत्रैतत्तन्मपिगतं नैयमिकादग्निहोत्रात्कर्मान्तरमेतदिति ।

2145. संज्ञा चोत्पत्तिसंयोगात् । पृ. मी सू II 2 22, *श्रृणु* 'अथैष ज्योतिरथैष विश्वज्योतिरथैष मर्त्यज्योति । एतेन सदसदक्षिणेन यजेत इति श्रूयते ।' The conclusion is that all the three are names of three different nets

2146 अङ्गलक्षणमेवेदमिदोक्तं दोषलक्षणम् । तद्विरोधमपश्चत्वात्तत्रान्वान्तर्गतिरित्यते ॥ *हम्मरा* p 647 on पृ मी सू III 1. 1.

Some examples of *anga* and *angin* may have to be given here. In 'vr̥h̥in proksati' (he sprinkles rice grains with water) the sprinkling (*proksana*) is an *anga* (stands in a subsidiary relation to) of rice grains as directly shown by the objective case (*vr̥h̥in*). The *proksana* (is motivated by) has the purpose of contributing to the transcendental result (the *ap̥r̥va*), since what is meant is that if, without the sprinkling of water on the rice grains, a sacrifice (*yāga*) were performed, *ap̥r̥va* would not be brought about. To take another example,²¹⁴⁷ 'he takes hold of the bridle of the horse with (the mantra beginning with) 'they took hold of the bridle of *ṛta* (cosmic order)'. Here the direct assertion (*ṛuti*) shown by the objective case in 'raśanām' shows that that mantra stands in a subordinate relation to (is an *anga* of) the bridle of the horse, since the utterance of it when taking hold of the bridle of the horse effects a *samskāra* in the bridle and taking hold is also an *anga* of the horse bridle (which is in the objective case), just as *proksana* is an *anga* of rice grains.

It has already been stated that 'śesa' means 'what subserves the purpose of another' and it is śesa of that other (P. M. S. III. 1. 2 'Śesah parārthatvāt') and that, according to Bādari (III. 1. 3) 'to substances, properties (like reddish colour of a cow), *samskāra*'²¹⁴⁸ (what makes a person or thing fit for being employed in a *yāga* or for any other purpose) the word *śesa* is always applied, while, acc. to Jaimini (III. 1. 4-6) religious rites are śesa to the result or fruit (expressed or implied), the fruit is śesa to the agent of religious acts and an agent is śesa to certain acts. The word 'śesa' is often employed by Dharmasāstra works. For example, the Mit. while commenting on Yāj II. 118-119 states that the first half of verse 118 is śesa to all the rest²¹⁴⁹ (i. e. serves the purpose of the remaining verse and a half). The result is (if the Mit. be followed) that if a gift is

2147. 'Imām-agrbhnan raśanām-ṛtasya-ityaśvābhidhānīm-ādatto'.—this occurs in Tai, S. V, 1. 2, 1. The words 'imām-agrbhnan raśanām-ṛtasya' constitute a quarter of the mantra in Tai, S. IV, 1. 2, 1.

2148. संस्कारो नाम स भवति यस्मिंश्चाते पदार्थो भवति योग्यः कस्यचिदर्थस्य। तेनापि क्रियार्था कर्तव्याया प्रयोजनमिति सोऽपि परार्थः। शबर on PMS III. 1. 3; तथा संस्कारोऽप्यवहत्यादिर्यागसाधनपुरोडाशादिभिर्दत्तये चोदितानां व्रीह्यादीनां स्वरूपेणायोग्यत्वादवहृताना योग्यत्वमापादयन्नुत्पद्येयाङ्गं भवतीति। तन्मन्त्र on the same p. 660.

2149. अत्र च पितृद्वयाविरोधेन यत्किञ्चित्स्वयमर्जितमिति सर्वशेषः। ... तथा पितृद्वयाविरोधेनेत्यस्य सर्वशेषत्वादेव पितृद्वयाविरोधेन प्रतिग्रहलब्धमपि विभजनीयम्। निता. on या II. 118-119.

acquired (by a coparcener) from a grateful friend who was placed under an obligation by spending family wealth, if a property is acquired by a gift from a member's father-in-law who was paid from the family property for securing the bride for that member or if the property of the family lost to it was recovered by a member with the help of (other paternal estate), or if a member of the family learnt at the expense of the family and made gains from that learning, then those kinds of property were liable to be partitioned among all members. This view of the Mit. was not shared by several other writers and works such as the *Dayabhāga* (VI. 1. 8), and *Viśvarūpa* Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 579-580 for further remarks.

The P. M. S. speaks of six means that are helpful in determining, as regards *vinnyoga-vidhus*, what are principal and what are auxiliary when there is a doubt or when there is a conflict. They are śruti (direct vedic statement or assertion), linga (indirect indication), vākya (syntactical connection or relation), prakarana (context), sthāna (place or sequence), samākhyā (sañjñā, name) When several of these come together and refer to the same subject each succeeding one is weaker than each preceding one, since each succeeding one is more remote than each preceding one from the objective (viz. the *vinnyoga*). P. M. S. III. 3. 14 is called 'balābalādhikarana'. 2150

An example where both śruti and linga come in conflict is 'with the *Aindri* verse (verse addressed to Indra) he should worship the *Gārhapatyā* fire'. The verse addressed to Indra 2151

2150. श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानं समवाये पारद्वैर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात् ।
पू. मी. सू. III. 3. 14. समवाय means एकार्थोपनिषात The तन्त्रवातिक states 'समान-
विषयत्वं हि समवायोऽभिधीयते' and adds 'न द्वेकत्र सम्भवमात्रं समवायः किं तर्हि विषये-
कत्वम्' (p 822) and तस्माद्विरोधविषयमेव समवायग्रहणम् (p 823); द्वैर्बल्यं भावः
द्वैर्बल्यम्, परस्य द्वैर्बल्यं परद्वैर्बल्यं तदेव पारद्वैर्बल्यम् ।; विप्रकर्षं means विलम्बः; शास्त्र-
दीपिका on this सूत्र (p 241) remarks 'इदानीं श्रुत्यादीनामेकविषयसमवायेन विशेषे सति
पलायनं विचार्यते'

2151. निवेदनः सङ्गमनो वसुधामित्येन्द्रा गार्हपत्यसुपतिष्ठते । मैत्रा सं III. 2. 4
This verse occurs in चयन. According to some (e. g. भासमी on वे सू. III. 3.
25) the *Aindri* verse is कदाचनस्तरीरति नेन्द्र सश्वसि दाहृषे । ऋ. VIII 51 7 and
पात्र सं. VIII. 2. It is used in अग्निष्टोत्र (महोपनिषत्) The words श्रुति and लिङ्ग,
have technical senses in PMS III 3. 14. Śruti ordinarily means Veda or
a vedic text But here श्रुति and लिङ्ग mean respectively निरपेक्षो रः श्रुति,
अन्वयसामर्थ्यं लिङ्गम् । e a vedic word or a passage that is independent (i.e. does
not require any intermediate step to be taken) and linga means the sugges-
tive power of words Both the definitions are given by the अर्थसंग्रहः 'यत्तावच्छ्रु-

(Continued on next page)

is 'niveśanaḥ sangamano vasūnām...Indro na tasthau samare pathinām' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 5. 4). Here the doubt arises whether one should worship Indra as the word 'Aindryā' indicates or whether one should worship Gārhapatya (as the passage directly asserts) with a verse addressed to Indra, or whether one should worship both or whether one should worship either Indra or Gārhapatya as one likes. The conclusion is that śruti (direct Vedic assertion) is more powerful than linga. On hearing the words 'Gārhapatyam upatisthate' we are directly told by the Veda about the worship of Gārhapatya. The word 'Aindryā' being in the instrumental (as in 'dadhnā juhōti'—he performs homa with curds) merely supplies a detail (guna) viz. that the mantra to be repeated is one addressed to Indra and there is no word that directly asserts that Indra is to be worshipped,²⁵² Śabara on PMS III. 2. 4 explains that even Gārhapatya has some of the qualities of Indra and so metaphorically he may be called Indra (as a brave man is called a lion), since Gārhapatya is a means of accomplishing yajña like Indra or Gārhapatya may be called Indra from the root 'ind', and may be taken to mean 'a master or lord'.

The six means may each come in conflict with all the means that follow each of them. Therefore, there will be five cases of conflict of śruti with linga (which has already been described) or with vākya, or prakarana or sthāna or samākhyā; there will be four cases of conflict between linga and vākya or each of the three ones (of the means) that follow vākya in the sūtra, in the same way vākya may be in conflict with prakarana and the other two (in all three cases), prakarana may be in conflict with sthāna or samākhyā (i. e. two cases) and sthāna may be in conflict with samākhyā. So that there are in all fifteen cases of conflict of the six means among themselves. We need not

(Continued from last page)

वदस्यार्थमभिधातुं सामर्थ्यं तद्विद्मः, यदर्थस्याभिधानं द्रष्टव्यं श्रवणमात्रादेवागम्यते स श्रुत्या श्रवण्यते। श्रवणं श्रुतिः। ज्ञापर on III. 3. 13 p 825; compare पाणिनि 'कर्तृरीप्तिवतर्तमं कर्म' (I. 4. 49), 'कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया' (II. 3. 18). The word ऐन्द्र्या being in the instrumental conveys the idea of करण, while गार्हपत्य being in the objective case at once conveys that it is principal in उपस्थान.

2152. गुणाद्व्यभिधानं स्वात्मस्वन्धन्याभावेहेतुत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. III. 2. 4; शत्र, 'भवति हि गुणाद्व्यभिधानम्। यथा सिंहो देवदत्तः ... इति। तन्मिहाप्यभिन्ने गार्हपत्य इन्द्र-
ज्ञादो भविष्यति। अस्ति चास्येन्द्रमाह्वयम्। यथेन्द्रो यज्ञसाधनमेवं गार्हपत्योऽपि। अथनेन्द्रो-
रैश्वर्यक्रमेण इन्द्रो भवति। भवति च गार्हपत्यस्यापि तस्मिन् कार्यं ईश्वरत्वम्।' vide मामती
on वे. सू. III. 3. 25

take into account the conflict of one of the six means with its predecessors, since to say that *linga* may be in conflict with *śruti* is the same thing as saying that *śruti* may be in conflict with *linga*. Very large space would have to be devoted if all these fifteen possible conflicts are to be exemplified from Vedic and Dharmaśāstra texts. Therefore, the author does not essay that task.

Dharmaśāstra works often utilize this *adhikarana* called *batūbala* (PMS III. 3 14). For example, the Par. M. quote²¹⁵³ a *śruti* passage that one should perform the daily evening *sandhyā* adoration of *Āditya* (the sun) with mantras addressed to *Varuna* and remarks that "*Vārunibhiḥ*" (like *Aindryā*) is only *linga* while, '*Ādityam-upsthāya*' is *śruti* (direct assertion) and therefore the sun is to be worshipped in the evening with mantras addressed to *Varuna* and refers to the example '*aindryā gārhapatyam upatisthate*' for support.

The fourth *adhyāya* of the PMS deals mainly with the subject of *prayajya* and *prayajaka* and *kratvartha* and *puruṣārtha*. The latter two have been explained and illustrated above (pp. 1232-1235). A few illustrations of the first two may be given. The *Prayājas* have been declared above to be *kratvartha* (p. 1233). Therefore, *kratu* (sacrifice) is the *prayajaka* (motivating force) of *Prayājas*. The reward (*phala*, *svarga* or the like) is the *prayajaka* of *yāga* or a *puruṣārtha* rite. That is a *prayajaka* for the sake of which a man is led to perform something by a Vedic exhortatory passage. The sentence is 'one should offer the *Darśapūrnamāsa* sacrifice for securing *svarga*'; therefore the reward (*svarga* and the like) is the *prayajaka* of *Darśapūrnamāsa-yāga*.²¹⁵⁴ The injunction to mix curds with milk makes a person do so for producing *āmikṣā* and not *vājina*, since this latter arises of it-

2153 वाक्योपि तत्तथादिपक्षपरिहाय प्रदक्षिणम् । यद्यपि वाक्योपि विवर्णनस्योपरिधानं लिङ्ग-
पलात् प्राप्तं तथापि श्रुतेः प्राबल्यात् तथा लिङ्गं चाधित्वा आदित्योपरिधाने एव विनियुज्यते ।
एतन्मा I 1 pp 295-299. पराङ्मते refers to इदं मे वक्ष्यते (ऋ I 25. 19-21) as
वाक्योपि verses In Mahābhāṣya even in these days the vedic mantras recited in
सायनसमये are यद्विद्धि ते विंशे यथा प्र देव वक्ष्यते इति and the following nine verses
(I e. Rg I. 25 1-10)

2154. Compare Śābara on PMS IV. 1. 1 (athātāh kratvarthapur-
uṣārthayor-nyūnāśā) 'यपि प्रयोजकामयोजनकफलविषयमादाहप्रधानचिन्ता सापि कर्तव्य-
इत्यर्थजिज्ञासते । कथम् । अत्र कर्तव्यं प्रधानं पुरुषार्थः । कलविधिः पुरुषार्थः ; अर्घमादः कर्तव्यः ।
प्रयोजनः कश्चित्पुरुषार्थोऽप्ययोजनः कर्तव्यः । तस्मात्कर्तव्यं पुरुषार्थयोजिज्ञासति स्मितिम् । ...
कर्तव्यं च कर्तव्यं ; पुरुषार्थं च पुरुषार्थः ।'

self in preparing āmiksā. Therefore, it is āmiksā, being the *havis* in the Vaisvadevayāga that is the prayojaka of the Vaisvadevayāga and vājina-yāga is not the prayojaka of putting curds into milk²¹⁵⁵ (P. M. S. IV.1 22-24). The result is that, if by accident āmiksā is destroyed, in order to secure the havis (āmiksā) curds will have again to be put in boiled milk, but if vājina, not being prayojaka, is destroyed, curds need not be put into boiled milk again.

Examples of puruṣārtha acts have been given above (p. 1234) such as the Prājāpativrata. This chapter (in 2nd pāda) deals with several cases of pratipattikarma and arthakarma already explained above (pp 1231-32). There are certain substances, certain embellishments and subsidiary actions with which some *phala* is associated. For example, it is said (in Tai S III. 7. 5. 2) 'he who has juhū ladle made of parna (palāśa) wood never hears an evil word about himself'; 'that he applies collyrium (to his eyes), he injures the eye of his enemy' (Tai. S. VI. I. 1. 5); 'That he performs the Prayājas and Anuyājas, that is indeed the armour of the sacrifice'. PMS declares that these texts about rewards associated with substances, embellishments and subsidiary acts are really not *vidhis* about rewards but are mere arthavādas, because all these serve the purpose of the principal kratu.²¹⁵⁶

This fourth chapter (in 3rd pāda) also decides that, although no reward is expressly declared by Śruti (the Veda) for the performance of the Viśvajit sacrifice, still in the Viśvajit sacrifice (and in other sacrifices where no reward is expressly mentioned) svarga is the reward.²¹⁵⁷

The Viśvajit is a striking sacrifice in which the performer donates all belongings of which he is the owner ('Viśvajiti sarva-

2155. तस्मादामिक्षा प्रयोजकी वाजिनमप्रयोजकमिति । शबर on III. 1. 23; यद्यप्यप्रयोजकं वाजिने नष्टे पुनस्तत्ते पयसि दध्यानेतत्पयम् । अथ वाजिनमप्रयोजकं नष्टे वाजिने लोपो दध्यानयनस्य । शबर on IV. 1. 24.

2156. द्रव्यसंस्कारकर्मसु परार्थत्वात्फलश्रुतिरर्थवादः स्यात् । पू भी सू IV. 3 10, शबर quotes among others the following three passages: यस्य पर्णमयी जुहुर्मवति न स पापं श्लोकं कृणोति (द्रव्य), यदाहुक्ते... चक्षुरेव भ्रातृव्यस्य दृष्टुक्ते (संस्कार), यत्पराजाहणजा इज्यन्ते धर्मं वा एतद्यज्ञस्य क्रियते (कर्म).

2157 स स्वर्गः स्यात्सर्वान्मयविशिष्टत्वात् । पू भी सू IV. 3. 15. सर्वान् means सर्वपुरुषान् शबर explains 'सर्वे हि पुरुषाः स्वर्गकामाः । कुत एतत् । प्रीतिर्हि स्वर्गः । सर्वश्च प्रीतिं प्रार्थयते ।, मेधा on मनु II. 2 refers to it, vide परा. मा I. 1. p. 148. The विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 46 has: मनःप्रीतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकरतद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पुण्यपापे द्विजोत्तम ॥

svam dadāti'). Jaimini devotes about fourteen adhikarāṇas²¹⁵⁸ to it, viz. IV. 3. 10-16 (three adhikarāṇas), VI. 7. 1-20 (nine adhikarāṇas), VII. 3. 6-11 (one adhi.), X. 6. 13-14 (one adhi.). Some of the interesting propositions are: the performer cannot donate his own relatives (such as father or mother) but can donate that of which he is real owner or master; that even the emperor cannot make a gift of the whole kingdom, as other people have rights over land and the king protects the people and has only the right to a certain share in the produce of the land, that the performer cannot donate horses as śruti expressly forbids the gift of horses in Viśvajit; that the performer can donate only that which exists as his property at the time of giving daksina in the sacrifice and not that which may become his at a future date; that a śūdra²¹⁵⁹ who waits upon the performer because it is his duty to serve (acc. to Manu) cannot be donated; a person of a higher varṇa cannot be donated; only he who has 112 cows or more wealth is entitled to perform Viśvajit.

The 5th adhyāya of P. M. S. deals with *krama* (the order in which the several component parts or acts that go to make up a sacrifice are to come one after another). Vidhis speak of the performance of many acts in a sacrifice and do not always lay down the order in which those acts (principal and auxiliary) are to be performed. It would not do to perform them in any order that the performer likes. For determining the order of sequence of several acts in a sacrifice one has to depend upon six means²¹⁶⁰ viz. śruti (direct assertion as to order), artha

2158. स्वदाने सर्वमविक्रोपात् (पूर्वपक्षः)। यत्प्र वा यशु स्यादितरस्याज्ञापत्वात् (सिद्धान्तः)। IV 7 1-2, vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 849-50 which summarise PMS. VI 7 1-7, एव म p. 92 विम्बजिति . . दद्याति occurs in कौषी का 25. 14 मेधा- remarks "छत्तमगोलकाभिमाधमेव चादेयत्वं धुमिर्विम्बजिति मीमांसकैकं 'न धुमि' स्यात्"। सर्वान् पुत्रपादं प्रति च द्रुमणादियोग्यतयाऽविशिष्टा 'धुमि' स्वामीकर्तुमशक्या कथं दीयते इत्यर्थे ॥".

2159. शुद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रात्। VI 7. 6, vide एव म p. 93, and notes p 132 thereon; कर्मेव तु शुद्रस्य यशु कर्म समादिशत्। एतेषामेव वर्णानां शुश्रूषामनुरूपता ॥ मनु 1 91 and X. 123, vide H. of Dh. vol II p 182 n. 424 for शबर's words, विकार सङ्गमयोऽपि गोपात्। अधिकं वा प्रतिप्रसवात्। अनुग्रहाच्च पादवत्। पू मी सू VI. 7 18-20, तत्र च द्वादशशतमधिकं वा सर्वस्वम्। इहापि तद्वदेव। तस्मात् स्थुनधन-रामधिकारः। शबरः the पञ्चविंश (ताण्ड्य) वा has तस्य द्वादशं शतं दक्षिणा (16. 1. 10-11).

2160. इदेदानीं क्रमानियमलक्षणमुच्यते। तदुत्तरार्ध-पाठ-प्रवृत्ति-काण्ड-सुरूपैर्वेदयते। शुतपादीनां च पलायनम्। शबर on पू. मी. सू V 1 1. It may be noticed that both अर्थसंग्रह and मी. स्या य slightly differ from Śabara in the order and names of the six means viz. as तत्र परं प्रमाणानि सुस्पर्धपाठरधानमुख्यप्रवृत्त्यारपानि। तत्र क्रमो नाम दितविदिनेव. पार्थपर्यवर्तते वा। अर्थसंग्रह p. 12 and मी स्या य p 173,

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(purpose, suitability), pāṭha (verbal texts), pravṛtti (commencement), kāṇḍa (place in the texts), mukhya (principal).

In the Vedic passage about the dīksā in a sattra, the adhvaryu, after performing the dīksā (initiation rite) on the grhapati (the *yajamāna*, the performer of the sacrifice) performs dīksā on the brahmā priest, then on udgātṛ etc. the Vedic text directly lays down the sequence (by means of the termination 'tvā') that the dīksā of brahmā priest comes after the dīksā of the *yajamāna*. In the passage 'samidho yajati tanūnapātam yajati &c.' the very order in which the sentences occur in the text (i. e. pāṭha) determines the order of the performance of the several yāgas (PMS V. 1 4). The Veda first speaks of the offering of Agnihotra and then of the cooking of gruel. Here the offering of Agnihotra comes first and preparation of gruel comes after that. But, unless the material to be offered is ready, no Agnihotra offering can be made. Therefore, here the pāṭhakrama has to be given up and arthakrama (order as dictated by the purpose and suitability) has to be followed i. e. first gruel must be prepared and then Agnihotra offered.²¹⁶¹ This is an example showing that arthakrama is more powerful than pāṭhakrama (PMS V. 4 1). The Parāśarasamṛti lays down that every day one should perform *sandhyā* (morning adoration), bath, japa (muttering of sacred texts), *homa*, study of the Veda, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and feeding guests. The Par. M. says that²¹⁶² setting aside the *pāṭhakrama* one must follow the suitability and therefore bath comes first and *sandhyā* afterwards. The Sm. C. quotes Vṛddhamanu to the effect that a childless chaste widow should offer pinda to her deceased husband and take his wealth. Here it is proper to hold that she should first take his wealth and then perform his śrāddhas. In the Vajapeya the text says that the performer (*yajamāna*) has to tie to the sacrificial post seventeen paśus to be offered to Prajāpati (Tai. Br. I. 3. 4.

2161. अग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति पूर्वमाज्ञातम्, ओदनं पचतीति पश्चात् । अस्तम्भवात् पूर्वमोदनः पक्कयः । शबर on V 1. 3. Vide also शबर on V 4. 1

2162 सन्ध्या स्नानं जपो होमो देवताधिपूजनम् । आतिथ्य वैश्वदेवं च षड्कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥ पराशरस्मृति I. 39 ; vide परा मा I. 2. 18 that says "सन्ध्यास्नानमित्यत्र यवाग्पाकन्यायेन स्नानस्य प्राथम्यं व्याख्येयम् । .. 'यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति यवाद्यं च पचति' इति श्रूयते । ... यवाग्वा इति तृतीयया श्रुत्या होमसाधनत्वावगमादसति च द्रव्ये होमानिष्पत्तेरर्थाद्यवाग्न्याकाः पूर्वभावीति सिद्धान्तः । एवमत्रापि स्नानस्य जुह्वित्वत्वाच्छ्रुत्यैव सन्ध्यावन्द्वनाधिकारित्वान्नानं पूर्वभावीति द्रष्टव्यम् । दृष्टमष्टः—अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता । पत्येव दद्यात्तत्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमंशं लभेत च ॥ and remarks 'उत्तरार्धे त्वर्थक्रमेण पाठक्रमवाधो द्रष्टव्यः । ततश्चायमर्थः । उक्तलक्षणा पत्येव भर्तृशं कृत्स्नं लभेत पश्चात्पिण्डं दद्यात् । न पुनस्तस्यां सत्यां भ्रात्रादिरिति । स्मृतिश्च II p. 291.

2-3). It is also provided that each of the 17 *paśus* should have several *samskāras* performed on it such as *prokṣana* (consecration by sprinkling sacred water on it), *upākaraṇa* (bringing near). One may take any of the 17 animals first and begin to perform the first of the *samskāras* on it; but having once begun with a particular animal he must perform the second and other *samskāras* one after another on the same animal; i. e. the order of the *samskāras* on an animal is determined by the commencement. *Kānda* or *sthāna* is exemplified as follows: The *Jyotistoma* is the model sacrifice (*prakṛti*) of which *Sādyaskra* is a *vikṛti* (modification). It is prescribed by the Veda in the case of *Sādyaskra* that all animals should be sacrificed together at the *savaniya* stage.²¹⁶³ In *Jyotistoma*, there are three animals offered viz. 'agnisomiya' in the morning, 'savaniya' in the noon and 'anubandhya' in the evening. *Sādyaskra*, being a *vikṛti*, all these have to be performed in it; but the particular text about it provides that all three must be sacrificed together at the *savaniya* stage. This (offering all three simultaneously) is impossible and therefore all that can be done is to offer (them) one after another (and not at three different times in the day); it would appear at first sight that the *Agnisomiya paśu* comes first; but that is not so, since simultaneous offerings being laid down at the *savaniya* stage in *sādyaskrayāga*, the *savaniya-paśu* is to be first offered (and not *Agnisomiya*) and then the *Agnisomiya* immediately after and then *Anubandhya* or these two may be offered in any order one likes (but immediately).

An example of sequence being determined by the *mukhya* (first or principal) is: there is a *śruti* passage 'two *Sārasvata* offerings are to be made; this is indeed a divine couple'.²¹⁶⁴

2163. अतः राजापत्येवेकं पदार्थं सर्वत्राहुताय द्वितीयं पदार्थोऽहुतेयः । तत्र प्रथमपदार्था-
हुतानं कस्मादित्यसोसारस्य कार्यम् । द्वितीयस्तु पदार्थो येन क्रमेण प्रथमोऽहुतस्तेनैव क्रमेणा-
हुतेयः प्रयोगविधयगतस्य मिथेद्विसाहित्यस्योपपत्त्ये । सी. न्या. म. pp 189-190.

2164. सारस्वती भवत एतद्वै देव्यं मिथुनं देव्यमेवार्त्तं मिथुनं नभयतो दधाति पुत्र्यै प्रज-
ननाय । तै. सं. II. 4. 6 1-2 This occurs in relation to चित्रायाम् in which seven
subsidiary offerings are prescribed of which two are सारस्वत. सारस्वती means
'सारस्वतीदेवताकः सारस्वदेवताकश्चेत्युभौ सारस्वतौ'. The पू. मी. सू. is 'मुख्यक्रमेणा-
हुतानां सदर्थन्यात्' (V. 1. 14 वा.) याज्ञ. II 135 mentions as heirs to a man dying
sonless, his wife, daughter and parents (पितरौ). Suppose a man dies
leaving his father and mother as nearest relatives, who should succeed, viz.
whether mother should be preferred to father or *vice versa* or whether both
should take the estate equally. The मिताक्षरा prefers the mother to the
father, the Sm. C. refers to this instance of सारस्वती भवत. and there being

Details are provided as regards the two offerings to Sarasvatī and Sārasvatā. The doubt arises: are the details about the offering to be made to the female deity to be performed first or are they to be first performed as the offerings to the male deity? The *prima facie* view being that as no *sūtra* exists regulating priority one may do as one likes, the established conclusion is that the order of sequence in the case of the details should be determined by the order of the Yājñanuvākya verses. These are mentioned first about the female deity in the words 'pra no devi Sarasvatī' (Tai. S. I. 8. 22. 1, Rg VI. 61. 4). Therefore, the conclusion is that in the details also the offering to the female deity should come first.

In PMS V. 1 16 it is decided that the order expressed in mantras should be followed in preference to the order contained in Brāhmaṇa texts.²¹⁶⁵ The Darsapūrnāmāsa sacrifice is made up of three component sacrifices, Āgneya, Upāmsu and the Agnisomiya. In Tai. S. II. 5 2. 3, the Agnisomiya sacrifice is first described and in Tai. II. 6 3. 3 the Āgneya is described. But these are held to be Brāhmaṇa texts, though now appearing in the Samhitā texts, since they lay down a vidhi; but in the Mantra-pāṭha the Āgneya mantra 'Agnīr-mūrdhā' (Tai. B. III. 5. 7 1) is first set out and then follows the mantra 'Agnisomā savēdāsa' (Tai. Br. III. 5. 7. 2). Therefore, the Āgneya is to be first performed and the Agnisomiya afterwards.

If there are several deities or brāhmaṇas to be honoured with several acts or things, or there are several yūpas (sacrificial posts) as in Aikādasina animal sacrifice on which several samskāras are to be performed from *añjana* to *purvvyūna* (sur-

(Continued from last page)

no special ground of choice between the two, holds that the father takes first following certain other smrtis like Bṛhat-Viṣṇu. The Dāyabhāga prefers the father to the mother and several works like the Vyavahāra-prakāśa, (p. 524), the Madanaratna (p. 364) do the same. The words of the स्मृतिच (II p. 297) are "सारस्वतो भवत. इत्युत्पत्तिवाक्ये क्रमावगत्यभावेन याज्या-क्रमात् प्रधानयोः क्रमः पञ्चमे दर्शितो न पुनः सारस्वतावित्येकक्षेपत एव कथञ्चित् क्रमावगति-रुपपादितेति निबन्धमेव (?) मातुः प्राधान्यसमर्थनम्. अत एव श्रीकणेन पित्रोर्धनग्रहणसूक्तं तदुच्यते. .. दोहित्राभावे पितृगामित्वमवगन्तव्यम्. 'पञ्चमे' in the above passage refers to fifth *adhyāya* of P. M. S.

2165 पदार्थबोधकवाक्यानां यः क्रमः स पाठक्रमः । तस्माच्च पदार्थानां क्रम आश्रीयते । येन हि क्रमेण वाक्यानि पठितानि तेनैव क्रमेणाधीतान्यर्थप्रत्यर्थं जनयन्ति । पदार्थप्रत्यर्थं च पदार्थानामनुष्ठानात् । स च पाठक्रमो द्विविधः. मन्त्रपाठो ब्राह्मणपाठश्च । तत्राग्नेयाग्नीषोमीययो-स्तत्तद्याज्याहुवाक्याक्रमाद्यः क्रम आश्रीयते स मन्त्रपाठात् । स चार्थ मन्त्रपाठो ब्राह्मणपाठाद् अलवान् । अनुष्ठाने ब्राह्मणवाक्यापेक्षया मन्त्रवाक्यस्यान्तरङ्गत्वात् । मी. व्या. प. pp 176-177.

rounding with a girdle), then one should perform all the same-kāras from añjana to parivyāna on the yūpa first and then all these on the 2nd and so on up to the last yūpa or whether one should perform añjana on all yūpas one after another, the next saṁskāra on all yūpas one after another and so on till the last saṁskāra of parivyāna is done on all yūpas one after another. The former way is called kāṇḍānusamaya and the latter 'padārthānusamaya'.²¹⁶⁶ Jai. V. 2 7-9 refers to the first method and Jai. V. 2. 1-3 to the 2nd. Vide for the explanation and illustration of these two, H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp 739-740, p 1132 n 2528 and Vol. IV. pp 441-42 n 987. On Yaj I 232 ('apasavyam tatah krtvā') the Mit. remarks that the performer of Śrāddha follows the kāṇḍānusamaya method for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas i. e. gives them water for washing the feet, then ācamana, seat, sandalwood paste, flowers &c, then he should wear the sacred thread on the right shoulder and offer the upacāras to the pitṛya brāhmanas.

The sixth adhyāya of PMS is a very interesting one. It deals with the various aspects of the question of adhikāra, that is, qualifications of the performer of a sacrifice. It is a very extensive chapter having eight pādas like chap. III and X. A few of the numerous propositions contained therein that have influenced the works on Dharmśāstra have already been set out, such as women's right to participate in Vedic sacrifices, śūdra's ineligibility for them, the rathakāraṇyāya and nīśādashapatinīyāya and a few more will be dealt with here. As a preliminary Jaimini establishes (in P. M. S VI. 1. 1-3) that in such texts as 'one desirous of heaven should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsā sacrifice or one should offer the Jyotistoma sacrifice' the Veda prescribes yūga for one who desires heaven i. e. heaven is the principal (or predominant) factor while yāga is subsidiary or subordinate; thereby it follows that the Vedic text lays down the characteristics of the performer. The Tuptikā says that²¹⁶⁷

2166. On Jai V 2 1-3 पार्थसारथि states 'प्रथमं पदार्थं सर्वेषां कृत्वा ततो द्वितीयः कर्तव्यः । एव दर्शपूर्णमासादिष्वेकप्रधानसमवाये पदार्थास्तुतम एव स्वाव्यो न काण्डास्तु-समय इति स्थितम् ।' शास्त्रदीपिका । p 421, . . . गार्ग्यनारायण on आश्व य सू I 24. 7 explains तत्र पदार्थास्तुतमयो नाम सर्वेषां वरणक्रमेण विद्वद्वत्त्वा ततः पार्थं ततोऽर्घ्यमिति । काण्डास्तुतमयो नाम एकरथं विष्टादियोगिनिवेदनान्नं समाप्य ततोऽन्यस्य सर्वे ततोऽन्यस्येति । The ११ m. (p 66) refers to पदार्थास्तुतमय in the worship of deities in the balance ordeal

2167. तस्मात्सर्वगोचरस्य यागक्रमोपदेशः स्यात् । अतः स्वर्गं प्रधानतः कर्म युक्तः इति रगोक्तमभिप्रेत्य पक्षेनेति वचनमित्यधिकारस्तुतमनिदं सिद्धम् । शनर on प्र. नी सू VI 1.3,

'adhikāri is the owner (or master) who stands above all actions (yāga).' Another more elaborate definition is given as 'adhikāri is one who desires some reward (such as heaven or happiness), who is possessed of the capacity to perform the act prescribed, who has learning and who is not excluded from performing a sacrifice (by Śruti)'. Even lower animals desire happiness; hence to exclude them the words 'possessed of the capacity' &c. are added. A man may be totally ignorant and so the word 'vidvān' is added; a śūdra may desire happiness, may have capacity and be also learned but he is excluded by the vedic text, 'Therefore the Śūdra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice'.

In VI. 1. 39-40 it is established²¹⁶⁸ that every man belonging to one of the three higher classes has a right to perform Vedic sacrifices. A man though at one time devoid of wealth may acquire wealth by various means. Similarly, it is said in VI. 1. 41 that one who is defective in a limb is just like one who is devoid of wealth i. e. such a man has a right to offer Vedic sacrifices provided he takes steps to remove the weakness. In VI. 1. 42 it is further provided that if the defect is congenital and incurable, the person who suffers from such a defect is not entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices.

(Continued from last page)

अधिकारीति कर्मणाद्युपरिभावेनावस्थितः स्वामीत्यर्थः । दुप्रीका (on same); अर्थी समर्थो विद्वान् शास्त्रेणापर्युदस्तोधिकारी । सर्वदर्शनकौस्तुभे p. 103 This summarises in one place what Śabara and Kumārila state in different places e. g. न चैतदस्ति तिर्यगादीनामप्यधिकार इति । कस्य तर्हि । यः समर्थः कृत्स्न कर्मभिर्निर्वर्तयितुम् । न देवानां देवतान्तराभावात् । न ह्यात्मानमुद्दिश्य त्यागः सम्भवति । त्याग एवासी न स्यात् । अपि च तिर्यक्षो न कालान्तरफलेनार्थिनः । आसन्नं हि ते कामयन्ते ।.. न चैते (तिर्यश्चः) वेदमधीयते नापि स्मृतिशास्त्राणि । नाप्यन्येभ्योऽवगच्छन्ति । तस्माच्च विद्वन्ति धर्मम् । अविद्वांसः कथमर्थं तिष्ठेयुः । इतर on पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 5. शूद्रो मनुष्याणामन्धः पशूनां तस्मात्तौ भूतसंक्रामिणां पश्वश्च शूद्रश्च । तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवच्छ्रुतः । तै. सं VII. 1. 1. 6 सायण explains अनवच्छ्रुतः as यज्ञे प्रवर्तितुं न योग्यः

2168. त्रयाणां ब्रह्मसंपन्नः कर्मणो ब्रह्मसिद्धित्वात् (पूर्वपक्षः) । अनित्यत्वाच्च नैव स्यात् वर्षाद्भिर् ब्रह्मसंयोगः । अङ्गदीनश्च तद्वर्मा । उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात् । पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 39-42. तद्वर्मा means 'ब्रह्मरहितधर्मा तत्तुल्य इति' The last sūtra may be paraphrased as उत्पत्तौ एव येषामङ्गवैकल्य जात्यन्धादीनां सर्वेषाममतिसमाधेयाङ्गवैकल्यानां ते नाधिक्रियन्ते आज्यावेक्षणादिभिः । क्रतोर्नित्यसंयोगात् । तै. सं VI. 3. 10.5 states 'जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्कण्वा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अद्विषो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी' On this, पू. मी. सू. VI. 2. 31 is ब्राह्मणस्य सोमविद्यामज-सृणवाक्येन संयोगात्, on which इतर explains that the word brāhmana is only illustrative 'ब्राह्मणग्रहणं तु प्रदर्शनार्थम् । जायमानो ब्राह्मणो राजन्वो वैश्यश्चेति । तथा जायमानो जातश्चेति ।'.

The ancient and medieval Hindu law of inheritance and succession was modelled on this. Vide Yāj. II. 140, Manu IX. 201 and Nārada (dāyabhāga, verses 21-22) Yāj. II. 140 declares that the impotent, the outcast and his son, a lame man, a lunatic, an idiot, a blind man and a person afflicted with an incurable disease are not entitled to a share, but are entitled to receive maintenance. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. III pp 610-612. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 140 provides that the grounds of disqualification apply to males and females alike. But the recent Hindu Succession Act (No. 32 of 1956) sweeps away all these grounds of disqualification by providing that no person shall be disqualified from succeeding to any property on the ground of any disease, defect or deformity or, save as provided in this act, on any other ground whatever (section 28).

A good many sūtrae (in chap. VI. 3. 17-41) deal with what are called 'pratinidhi' (substitute, representative or proxy). These have been described in H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 684²¹⁶⁹, 1110, 1203, Vol. III, pp. 471, 637, 653, 654 (where Satyāsādha Śr. S. III containing similar rules is mentioned). A few of them are briefly mentioned here. The first rule is that if the substance declared by the Veda for preparing an offering perishes or is lost as regards an obligatory rite or as regards *kāmya* rite that is already begun, one should substitute another substance (like *nivāras*, wild rice grains) for *vrihi* (rice grains) or *yava* i.e. barley grains and finish the rite (VI. 3. 13-17). In some cases Vedic texts prescribe a substitute for the substance required to be used, as in 'if he (the performer) cannot obtain the Soma plant, he should substitute *pūtika* stalks and extract juice therefrom'. It is argued by the objector that, as the Veda expressly substitutes *pūtikas* for soma, one should conclude that where Veda does not expressly mention a substitute for a prescribed substance, it means that a substitute is not allowed by the Veda in other cases. The *siddhānta* is that the prescribing of *pūtikas* as substitute is a restrictive rule²¹⁶⁹ viz. that although several plants may resemble soma, there is a restriction that only *pūtikas* should be substituted. It is provided (in III. 6. 37, 39) that when a substitute like *nivāras* is employed, the subsidiary acts of sprinkling with water, pounding with mortar and pestle that are performed on rice or barley grains should also be per-

²¹⁶⁹ निवर्तनार्थं कश्चिद्विधिः । VI. 3. 16. सोमाभावे बहुषु सहस्रेषु शोषेषु नियम-
यित्वे पूर्वोक्ता एवाभिधीयन्त्या इति । अपरं The ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण (IX. 5. 3) provides
'यदि सोमं न गच्छेत्, ' which is quoted in n. 2001 above.

formed on them. When rice grains are employed the mantra expressly speaks of the rice offering as the sap or essence of rice grains. There adaptation (*ūha*) is to be made as 'nīvarānām medha' (vide PMS IX 3. 1-2).²¹⁷⁰ But in certain cases no substitute is allowed viz the devatā with respect to which an *havis* (offering) is prescribed cannot have another substituted in a rite e. g. 'Āgneyostākāpālah' cannot be changed into 'āindrostākāpālah', since in that case the rite will cease to be what was intended. Similarly, when the text says 'he offers into the Āhavanīya fire,' one cannot substitute the Gārhapatya fire; another mantra cannot be substituted for the one prescribed nor can other rites be substituted for the Prayājas 'eamidho yajati' &c.).²¹⁷¹

The Veda forbids the use of *vaśakas*, *koḍravas* and *māsas* as unfit for a sacrifice. If a person mistakenly takes *māsa* grains or particles believing them to be *mudga* grains or particles and uses them in a sacrifice in which an oblation of boiled *mudga* pulse is prescribed, he will not be performing the desired rite as what is forbidden as unfit cannot be a substitute.²¹⁷²

This *nyāya* is relied upon by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 126 (which simply states that if joint family properties are suppressed or concealed by some members and kept for themselves, they should be distributed in equal shares even after partition (when this is found out), which holds that this verse cannot be interpreted so as to absolve the concealer of such joint property from guilt simply on the ground that he was himself a part owner and explains that just as a sacrificer mistakenly believing *māsa* particles as *mudga* ones loses the fruit of the sacrifice, so the concealer of joint property is guilty of wrong. The Vyavahāraprakāśa (p. 555) and Aparārka p. 732 take the same view, but the Dāyabhāga (XII. 11-13) and V. R. (p. 526) are opposed to this (vide H. of Dh Vol. III. p. 636). The Prāyaścittatattva p. 482 has an elaborate note on this *nyāya*.

2170 अस्ति तु प्रकृतौ व्रीहिलिङ्गो मन्त्र —स्योनं ते सदनं ... प्रतिष्ठितं व्रीहीणां मेघं सुमन्त्र्यमान इति । शबर on IX. 3. 1 This is ते. वा VII. 7 5, 2-3. मेघ means सारभूत

2171. न देवताशिशब्दक्रियमन्त्रार्थसंयोगात् । पू. मी सू. VI 3. 18.

2172. प्रतिषिद्धं चाविकोपेण हि तच्छ्रुतिः । VI. 3. 20. प्रतिषिद्धं च न प्रतिनिधातव्यमिति । अविकोपेण ह्येतदुच्यते — न यज्ञार्हा मापा वरका कोद्रवाश्चेति । शबर. The सूत्र may be explained as प्रतिषिद्धं मापादिकं न प्रतिनिधेयं यस्मात् अविकोपेण यज्ञसम्बन्धमात्रे निषेधश्चरतिः । The ते. सं V 1. 8. 1 has 'अनेष्या वै मापा'; vide H. of Dh vol. III. p. 637 and note 1209 for Jaimini's sūtra and the quotation from the Mit.

Another rule is that there can be no substitute for the performer of the sacrifice (VI. 3. 21), since (in Jai. III. 7. 18-20) it is laid down that the fruit of the rite belongs to the owner, though after beginning the rite he leaves everything to the priests engaged to perform the rite. The only exception is in the case of *sattras* (Jai VI. 3. 22) performed by many persons together acting both as performers and as priests.

One important *adhikarana* is VI. 7. 31-40. There is a *Sattra* called 'Viśvasrjām-ayanam' which is said to last for 1000 *samvatsaras*. After referring to Tai. Br. I. 3. 7. 7 and I. 7. 6. 2 (*śatāyuh purusah*) and to the views of Kārsnājini and Lāvukāyana, Jaimini boldly establishes the conclusion that *samvatsara* here means day. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 1246 n. 2683 for the *Mahābhāṣya* stating that the Yājñikas in speaking about such *sattras* only follow the tradition handed down by ancient sages. Medhātithi on Manu I. 84 ('vedoktam-āyur-martyānām') has a long note wherein he refers to the view of Jaimini, quotes 'śatāyur vai purusah' and also 'śatam-innu śarado anti devā' (Rg. I. 89. 9) and cites the views of other interpreters. The Kātyāyana Śr. (I. 6. 17-27) discusses this very subject at great length, refers to the differing interpretations of Bharadvāja, Kārsnājini and Laugākṣi but ultimately holds that *samvatsara* means 'day' here.

In the first six chapters of the P. M. S. the procedure of such rites as *Darsāpūrnānāsa* the details of which are expressly laid down by the Veda has been considered. In the six chapters from the 7th consideration will be given to sacrifices like *Aindrāgna*, the procedure of which is not expressly laid down by the Veda.²¹⁷³ In the 7th chapter what is considered is whether in the *viktis* (sacrifices that are modifications of the model sacrifices) details have to be added and, if so, which and how many of the details have to be carried out.

The 7th chapter deals with the general question of the extension or transference of details in general (i. e. *atideśa* in general) to *Aindrāgna* and other sacrifices. *Atideśa* is the

2173. The न्यायरत्नमाला (in G. O. S.) 4th परिच्छेद p. 257 says: एवं तान्दौ-पदेशिकाः सम्प्रत्यङ्गारः सप्रमाणः पूर्वोक्त्यापदङ्गोचरः प्रदर्शितः । इदानीमातिदेशिका-सम्प्रतिष्ठानं प्रतिपादते । द्विषि हि शब्दजन्यपददेशात्मकमतिदेशात्मकं च । इत्थमिदं कर्तव्य-मित्युपदेशः, तद्विदं कर्तव्यमित्यतिदेशः ।, अतिदेशो नान ये परत्र विहिता धर्मान्मतीत्याप्यत्र तेषां देशः । ... यथा वेदसम्प्रत्यङ्गदौ भोजयितव्य इति । श्लोकमप्युदाहरन्ति । प्रकृतात्कर्मणो रस्मात्सम्प्रत्यङ्गेषु कर्मसु । धर्मदेशो येन स्यात् सोऽतिदेश इति स्थितिः ॥ इति । स च नाम्ना वचनेन वा । वचनं पुनर्द्विषिं प्रत्यक्षमनुमानिकं च । शपर on जे. VII, 1. 12

process or method by which the details prescribed in connection with one rite are taken beyond that rite and transferred to another. Śabara quotes from some ancient author a śloka defining atideśa. The sacrifice from which details are transferred is called *prakṛti* (model or Archetype) and the sacrifice to which details are transferred or extended is called *vikṛti* (or Ectype). Atideśa may be provided for by *vacana* (Vedic text) or by the name. The first is of two kinds viz. by a direct statement or by an inferential process. For example, as regards a magic sacrifice called *Isu* the text says, after speaking of some details, that the rest are the same as in ²¹⁷⁴ Śyena. An instance of an inferential *vacana* is the extension to the Saurya sacrifice of the details of the Āgneya in Darśapūrnamāsa, because both are very closely connected and because no details are prescribed by the text about 'Saurayāga' (PMS VII. 4. 1). The name also is two-fold, viz. name of a rite and name of a *samskāra*. The Māsāgnihoṭra prescribed (vide PMS II. 3. 24) in Kundapāyīnām-ayana is a different rite from the obligatory Agnihoṭra (as in 'yāvajjīvam-agnihoṭram juhuyāt') as proved above, but the name 'agnihoṭra' being common to both, the details of the usual Agnihoṭra (such as milking the cow, offering curds or milk, using a Khadira fuel stick &c.) are to be extended to Māsāgnihoṭra (Jai. VII. 3 1-4). Extension due to *samskāra* name is instanced in Jai. VII. 3 12-15. In the Varunapraghāsa (one of the oāturmāsyas), Avabhr̥tha (bath) is prescribed, but no details are added and therefore the requisite details are to be taken from the rules about the Avabhr̥tha in Somayāga. ²¹⁷⁵

Atideśa is frequently resorted to by smṛtis and digests. For example, Yāj. I. 236 and 242 extend the procedure of Pinda-pitryajña as regards *Agnaūkarana* and offering of pindas to the Pāryanaśrāddha. The Parāśarasmr̥ti (VII. 18-19) speaks ²¹⁷⁶

2174. अस्तीषुर्नाम एकाहः । अपरं इयेनः । तौ ह्यवप्याभिचारिकौ तत्रैवौ काश्चिद्वर्णा-
विधायाह समानमितरच्छेदेनेति । शबर on VII. 1 13. समा ... नेन is आप. श्री.
22. 7 18.

2175. तथावभृथ, सोमात् । जै VII. 3. 12; वरुणप्रवासेषु श्रूयते । वाक्य्या निष्कासेन
तुषैश्चावभृथं यन्तीति । यथा षडहास्पृष्टानामतिदेश एवं सौमिकादवभृथादिह धर्मातिदेशः । कुतः ।
अभिहितो न्यायः । उक्तं क्रियाभिधानं तच्छ्रुतावप्यत्र विधिप्रदेशः स्यात्-इति । उक्तं ... स्यात्
is जै VII. 3. 1.

2176. प्रथमेऽहनि चण्डाली द्वितीये ब्रह्मचारिणी । तृतीये राज्ञी भोक्ता चतुर्थेऽहनि
क्षुप्यति ॥ पराङ्गर VII. 18-19, on which परा. मा. (vol. II. 1. pp. 168-169)
remarks 'चण्डाल्यादिगमने यावात् प्रत्यवायस्तावाहवक्यागमने इत्यभिप्रेत्य तैर्नामनिर्व्वहदारः ।
यथा कुण्डपायिनामपने मासमग्निहोत्रं श्रुद्वेति इत्यग्निहोत्रनामनिर्देशेन नित्याग्निहोत्रधर्मा-
निर्देशस्तद्वत् ।'.

of a woman in her monthly illness as a cāṇḍālī on the first day of the illness, as the murderess of a brāhmana on the 2nd day and as a washerwoman on the 3rd day. The Par. M. remarks that the intention of calling such a woman by these names is to convey that intercourse with her will result in the same sin as would be incurred by a person of higher classes if he had intercourse with a cāṇḍālī &c. For an instance of express extension, vide V. M. pp 56-57 when it quotes a verse of Pitāmaha on the balance ordeal (in which the word 'yūpavat' is used) and remarks that atideśa is prescribed expressly by the word 'yūpavat'.

The 8th chapter deals with specific cases of extension (atideśa). The Darśapūrnamāsa is the prakṛti of all ²¹⁷ *istis* and 'Darśapūrnamāśābhyām yajeta' is called *vidhyādi* and *vidhyanta* is the whole procedure of Darśapūrnamāsa (except the originative injunction 'darśapūrnamāśābhyām yajeta') detailed in the Brāhmanas about the offering of puroḍāśa (cake) &c. In the Vikṛtiyāga called Saurya ^{217a} the sentence 'one who desires to secure the lustre of Vedic learning should offer boiled rice to the Sun' is the vidhyādi, but no details are mentioned there. There is an expectation of some procedure and, though there are numerous vidhyantas in relation to sacrifices, the special word '*nirapatti*' is indicative of the procedure of Darśapūrnamāsa (in which also there is *nirvāpa*) and one comes to understand that the Saurya *caru* is offered as in Āgneya (the first rite in

2177. Vedic sacrifices are usually divided for convenience into three varieties, viz. *Istī* (in which offerings are of milk, clarified butter, rice, barley and other grains), *Paśu* and *Soma* and the latter again into *Ekāha* (lasting for one day like Agnistoma), *Ahina* (lasting for more than one day up to 12 days) and *Sattva* (lasting from 12 days to a year or more) Śabara on PMS IV. 4. 20 states that there are four Mahājāñās, viz. Agnistoma, Darśapūrnamāsa, Jyotistoma, Pindapitryajña. There are seven Soma sacrifices as stated by Gaut Dh S. VIII. 18. Besides these Śrauta rites, there are other rites prescribed in the grhyasūtras, which are offered in *grhya* fire and seven important ones from which are called *pākayajñas*. Vide H. of Dh. Vol II. pp. 193-194.

2178 विद्यन्तो वा प्रकृतिवद्बोद्धव्यां प्रवर्तत तथाहि लिङ्गदर्शनम् । पू मी सू. VII. 4. 10, वेदेषु दर्शपूर्णमासार्गां प्रजेतेति विद्यादि. । विद्यन्तोऽपि प्रधानविधिवर्जितं कुरन्त्येवोत्तरादिना ब्राह्मणम्, तेन समेतोऽयं विद्यादिर्विहितोऽप्येति मतिः पुरयं प्रवर्तयति । तस्मान्नोऽस्मान्तः । इतरः on पू मी. सू. VIII 1 2 इतर explains: विद्यन्तापेक्षो यो वैकृतेति विद्यादिः सोऽपि वेदिकेन विद्यन्तेनानुमानाद् इच्छा संनिहितेनैकमाक्यतां धारयति । यथा सौर्यं चरं निवेद्येदमन्त्रं चर्चकान् इति । तत्र कथमिति विद्यन्तपेक्षायामनेकविध्यन्तसंनिपातेऽस्मात्पात्रेण निवेद्येदमन्त्रं दर्शपूर्णमासिकविध्यन्तसंनिपातेना लिङ्गेन तदीयो विद्यन्तः प्रसज्यते ।

Darśapūrnāmāsa). The details of the prakṛti are to be performed in all other *istis* along with the few details that may have been stated expressly as to some.

The Jyotistoma is the prakṛti of all soma sacrifices of one day and of Dvādaśāha and its details are performed in all modifications of soma sacrifices such as Atirātra. The Agnisomiya is the prakṛti of all sacrifices in which a paśu (animal) is to be sacrificed, the details of which are to be performed in all vikṛtis of paśuyāgas. Dvādaśāha is of two kinds, *Ahina* and *Sattra* and is the prakṛti of all Ahina sacrifices like Dvirātra, Trirātra up to Śatarātra; and Dvādaśāha of the sattra type is the model of all sattras. Gavām-ayana is the prakṛti of all sacrifices like Ādityānam-ayana. Darvihomas are *su: ju:is* and are not prakṛtis or vikṛtis of any other sacrifices. All these are considered in the 8th chapter.

The 9th chapter deals with *ūha* (adaptation). When applying the principle of *atideśa* certain alterations and adaptations are necessary in the matter of mantras, sāmans and saṃskāras. The word *ūha* ordinarily means only *tarka* or *vicāranū* (reasoning), yet in PMS it has a special meaning.²¹⁷⁹

The Āgneya is the prakṛti in which the *nirvāpa* (offering) is to be made with the words 'I offer to Agni what is liked by him'; in the Sauryayāga, which is a vikṛti of Āgneya, the offering has to be made with the words 'I offer to Sūrya what is liked by him.' In the Vājapeya we read 'he offers to Bṛhaspati *nirvāpa* grains cooked on seventeen pans'. The Vājapeya is a modification of Darśapūrnāmāsa in which the grains of rice are sprinkled with water; therefore sprinkling has to be done on nivāra grains also (PMS IX. 2. 40). On the 2nd and following days of the Jyotistoma sacrifice there is recitation of the Subrahmanya litany²¹⁸⁰ addressed to Indra by the Subrahmanya priest, beginning with the words 'Indra āgaccha, hariva āgaccha, Medhātithir-mesa &c'. In the Agnistut sacrifice also there is

2179. यद्यपि ऋग्वेदस्तर्कमात्रवचनस्तथाप्यस्मिन् शास्त्रेऽन्यथावगताना पदार्थानामन्यथाभावविषयो चरतर्कः स ऊहशब्देनोच्यते । न्या २ मा, 4th परिच्छेद p. 263, vide न्यायसूत्र I. 1. 40 'अविज्ञाततत्वेऽर्थे कारणोपपत्तितत्त्वज्ञानार्थमुहस्तर्कः'.

2180 तथा मेघातिथेर्मेघ इत्येवमादि इतिहासवचनमिव प्रतिभाति इतिहासे च विधौ सति आदिमन्त्रा दोषो वेदस्य प्रसज्येत ।.. तस्माच्चेति शुणा इन्द्रे विद्यन्त इत्यसमेतवचनत्वादविकारेण प्रयोग इति तदेतन्न रोच्यन्ते याज्ञिका । ऊहं कुर्वन्ति । अग्न आगच्छ रोहिताम्ब बृहज्ज्ञानो भूमकेतो जातवेदो विचर्यण इति । शबर on पू. मी. सू. IX 1. 44.

Subrahmanya-nigada ²¹⁸¹ addressed to Agni. In reciting it the word 'Agne' is substituted for 'Indra'; but the following words 'Hariva āgaccha' is are not to be changed and are to be recited, as they are attributes which may be predicated of Agni also (PMS IX. I. 42-44). The principle deduced by the *Mīmāṃsakas* seems to be that, only if the words in the original mantra cannot at all be extended to the modified *yāga* as they stand, then *ūha* may have to be resorted to but not otherwise. Śābara however, notes that the 'yājñikas perform *ūha* (i. e. adapt them by suitable changes) i. e. they recite 'agne āgaccha rohitāśva brhad-bhāno' etc.). It is noteworthy that, according to PMS II. 1.34 and Śābara thereon, a mantra as adapted (*ūhita*) is not called a mantra, since only those are mantras ²¹⁸² that are recognized as such by the learned. In the *Darsapūrnāmāsa* when the priest takes out four handfuls of grains and puts them in a winnowing basket he repeats over three of the handfuls the mantra which literally means 'at the command of God Savitr, with the arms of Aśvins and with the hands of Pūsan I take out for Agni thee that art dear (to him)'. ²¹⁸³ The PMS holds (in IX. 1. 36-37) that the words Savitr, Pūsan, Aśvin are not to be changed by *ūha* in the modifications of *Darsapūrnāmāsa* where the deity to which the offering is to be made is not Agni. Śābara assigns rather far-fetched meanings to the words Savitr, Aśvins and Pūsan (as in the note below) and says that they are meant to eulogize the laying aside of the handfuls of grains for offering. There is another interesting case where there is no

2181 Vide H. of Dh. Vol II. pp. 1144-1146 and note 2550 for the *Subrahmanya-nigada* and its meaning.

2182 अनाज्ञातेष्वमन्त्रत्वमाज्ञातेषु हि विभागः। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 34; ऊहप्रवरनाम-
धेषु सदाप-मन्त्रा उत नति। अभिधायकत्वान्मन्त्रा इति शास्त्रे ब्रूमः। अनाज्ञातेषु मन्त्रत्वं न
स्यादभिधायकेषुति। नाभिधायकत्व मन्त्रत्वे हेतुः। किं तर्हि। अभियुक्तमयोगः। येऽभियुक्तैर्मन्त्रा
इति मेरुयन्ते न ते मन्त्राः। न चैवमाद्ययो मन्त्रसमाप्ताये सन्ति। तरनादमन्त्राः। प्रयोजनं
मन्त्रे भेदे यत्मायश्चित्तमन्त्रेषु तत्। श्वर

2183. स्तो दशपूर्णमासौ। तत्र निर्वापमन्त्रः। देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्वाहुभ्यां
पूष्णो हस्ताभ्याम्भवे जुष्ट निर्वापमीति। श्वर on IX. 1. 36, देवस्य ... निर्वापानि occurs in
तै. स. II. 6. 4. 1. देवस्य सवितुः प्रसवे-देवेन सवित्रा यजमानेन प्रसृते, उदिते वा सवितरि।
अश्विनोर्वाहुभ्यां परिक्रममभियेय यजमानयोर्द्वयस्योर्वाहुभ्याम्। अश्विनो हि तौ अग्रवाधेयेऽश्व-
दानेन, अस्मिन्पत्नौ वा सचक्षकलमश्रुवाते। तद्वाह इति स्त्री वाह स्वपदिशति। देवताध्वयोऽश्वि-
मैरले वाह इति। पूषण तु यजमानमेव नन्यते पूष्णाते। एव सर्वे निर्वापमन्त्राज्ञानार्थः। श्वर on
IX. 1. 37. The words 'परिक्रममभियेय' refer to the fact that the priest
adhvaryu is engaged by the *yajamāna* as agent for a payment of fee and
therefore *adhvaryu's* arms are *yajamāna's* arms.

ūha. In the Darśapūrnāmāsa there is a *praisa* (direction) 'set down²¹⁸⁴ the water for sprinkling, put down the fuel sticks and the bunch of kuśa grass, clean the *śruc* and *śruva* ladles, gird up the wife (of the sacrificer) and come out with clarified butter'. Suppose the sacrificer has two or more wives. Still the singular 'patnīm' was to be used and not the dual or plural either in the model itself (IX. 3. 20) or in any modification thereof (IX. 3. 21). Dharmaśāstra works make use of *ūha*. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra provides that one should perform Śrāddha of one's maternal grand-father and the latter's two male ancestors in a similar way by the *ūha* of the mantra.²¹⁸⁵ The mantra in the case of the śrāddha of male ancestors is 'Śundhantām pitarah' (Āp Śr I. 7. 13), which should be changed into 'Śundhantām mātāmahāh', vide Mit. on Yāj. I. 254 and H. of Dh. Vol. IV p. 513 n. 1142a.

When in a sacrifice boiled rice is to be offered the mantra is 'syonam...vr̥hīnām medha sumanasyamānah' (vide pp. 1298-99 n. 2125 above). If boiled rice is destroyed or not available and *nivāra* grains are substituted, there is no *ūha* as 'nīvārānām medha' but the words 'vr̥hīnām medha' are to be retained (PMS IX. 3. 23-26), because, as stated in PMS VI. 3. 27 (sāmānyam tac-cikr̥sā hi), nīvāras are substituted on account of the similarity of parts of boiled *nivāras* with the parts of rice grains.

In the third and fourth pādas of the 9th chapter there are twelve *adhikaranas* about the *adhvigu-praisa* recited by the Hotr in Paśubandha. Vide H. of Dh. Vol II p. 1121, note 2504 for that praisa. There is *ūha* to be made about certain words therein and PMS explains some of the unfamiliar and difficult words in that text.

The tenth chapter is the longest chapter in the PMS, having eight pādas and 577 sūtrae (i. e. more than one-fifth of

2184 अपूर्वे त्वधिकारोऽप्रदेशात्मनीयेत । ए मी सू IX 3 20. दर्शपूर्णमासयोरामनन्ति । श्रोक्षणीरासादयेध्मावर्हिचपसादय सुचं च सुवश्च संवृद्धिं पत्नीं सनह्याज्येनोदेहीति । शबर on IX. 3. 20 The words श्रोक्षणी .. देहीति occur in आप औ सू, II 3 11 This is तै जा III. 2 9. 14. Then शबर proceeds तत्र पत्नीं सनह्येति चिन्त्यते । अस्ति हि यजमान एकपत्नीको बहुपत्नीकश्च । .. इदं तु सन्दिह्यते । किं द्विपत्नीके बहुपत्नीके च प्रयोग ऊहितव्यः पत्नीशब्द उत नेति । .. एवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः । अपूर्वे तु अमकृतिपूर्वके कर्मणि अविकारेण प्रयुज्येत । The next sūtra is विकृतौ चापि तद्वचनात् । IX. 3. 21.

2185. मातामहानामप्येवं आहुं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । मन्त्रोद्देशे यथाव्यायं शेषाणां मन्त्र-परितो ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 75. 8.

the total number of sūtras) just as the third (with 363 sūtras) and the 6th (with 349 sūtras) have eight *pādas* each. This chapter is concerned with *bādha* (annulment or exclusion) and *abhyuccaya* or *samuccaya* which is the exact opposite or antithesis of *bādha*. The general rule is that the details of the *praktiyāga* (model sacrifice) should be taken over in the *vikrti* (modification). But in some cases the *vikrti-yāga*²¹⁸⁶ has a different name, some of the *samskāras* (purificatory and embellishing acts) and some of the substances (*dravya*) employed in the *prakti* cannot be extended to the *vikrtis*, because there are express texts negating their employment or because they serve no purpose or have become useless or senseless. Śābara states that *bādha* occurs when an idea or knowledge determined for certain as this type or that has to be understood as wrong owing to some (special) reason while *abhyuccaya* (addition or combination) occurs when even after we have the knowledge that certain matters are to be extended to the *vikrti* there is the further idea that a few others also are to be additional in the *vikrti*.

The *Mai. S* prescribes that one desirous²¹⁸⁷ of long life should offer a lump of one hundred *kṛsnalas* (golden pieces shaped as grains of rice) heated in clarified butter. But no pounding (*avagṛhāta*, threshing) is to be done in this, as the grains being made of gold, there is no chaff which can be separated by pounding (X. I. 1-3). Similarly, no *upastarana*²¹⁸⁸ (pouring of clarified butter) and *abhiḥgṛhana* (the subsequent pouring of clarified butter) are to be done, since in the model sacrifice these two are done for making the oblation to have a sweet flavour (X. 2. 3-11). A caru of rice has to be boiled (i. e. the heat of fire is to be applied to it). In the same way the golden pieces are to be heated in clarified butter by fire (X. 2. 1-2). The golden pieces have to be sucked like sugarcane pieces (X. 2. 13-16), because they cannot be eaten while in the

2186 पाथो नाम यदेवेदमिति निश्चितं विज्ञानं कारणान्तरेण मिथ्येति कल्प्यते। तथा, अभ्युच्चयो यदिदमिह भवतीति विज्ञानेऽपरमपि भवतीति विज्ञानम्। शबर on X. 1. 1, अपि पाथोभिधानसंस्कारद्वयमप्ये कथितं तादृश्यात्। दू. मी. सू. X. 1. 2, नैव ददति सर्वं माकुर्न विकृते कर्तव्यमिति। अस्मिन्निधिधाननस्कारद्वयं निवर्तितुमर्हति यदुक्तार्थम्। कुत एतत्। अभिधान-संस्कारद्वयं हि नयोजने सति क्रियते नाप्योजनम्। शबर

2187, राजापाय दूने चर्तं निषिञ्जतकृष्णलनामुष्कामः। मै. सं. II. 2. 2. प्राय. वि. p. 37 refers to the absence of threshing in the matter of कृष्णलस.

2188 For उपस्तारण and अभिघरण, vide H of Dh. vol II. p. 528 n 1233.

model sacrifice *idā* and *prāśitra* ²¹⁸⁹ are actually eaten. In a magic rite like *śyena* reeds are spread on the ground and not kuśa grass (as in the model sacrifice). This *bādha* is due to a special text. ²¹⁹⁰ The general rule in vedic sacrifices is that priests have to be chosen and *dakṣinā* is to be paid to them at the end but *sattras* are an exception, since in *sattras* all are priests as well as performers (*yajamānas*). Here the exclusion of *varana* (choosing) is due to the fact that in the other sacrifices the *yajamāna* and priests are different and the latter are engaged for fee. There is a visible purpose in selecting or engaging priests, ²¹⁹¹ but in a *sattra* where *ex hypothesi* all are *yajamānas* and priests as well, there is no visible purpose in going through the ceremony of choosing priests (*rtvivarana*).

One example of *samuccaya* may be given. In the *Vājapeya* (which is said to be a form of *Jyotistoma* according to PMS III. 7. 50-51) seventeen animals are to be sacrificed. In the model sacrifice (i.e. *Jyotistoma*) also there are certain animals to be offered. The question is whether there is *bādha* of the *paśus* prescribed in the *prakṛtiyāga* or whether there is combination (*samuccaya*). The conclusion is that there is *samuccaya* (X. 4. 6), because in the *Tai. Br.* there occur passages like this—“The *Brahmavādins* say ‘why is it that all sacrificial rites are contained in *Vājapeya*’? He should reply ‘by means of *paśus*, viz. he sacrifices an animal to *Agni*, thereby he contains *Agnistoma*, he contains the *Ukthya* &c.” This shows that he has to sacrifice also other animals besides the seventeen. ²¹⁹² The *Mit.*

2189. For *idā*, vide vol. II p. 1065 n 2382 and for *prāśitra*, vol II. p. 1039 n 2339. स्याद्वा निर्धानदर्शनात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 2. 14, स्याद्वा हिरण्यस्य भक्षः। भक्षणविशेषदर्शनात्। निरवधयन्तो भक्षयन्ति चुच्छुपाकारं भक्षयन्तीति। प्राप्ते भक्षे केवलं भक्षोपाय विधास्यति शब्द इति। शबर, पूर्ववाक्ये कुण्डलानां प्राधान्यादायस्य च तदङ्गत्वात् तेषामेव भक्षणवाक्येऽन्यत्। तेषां चानदनीयानामपि प्रदानवद्भक्षणमपि बन्धनाद्भविष्यतीति। तेषामेव चुच्छुपाकरणविशिष्टं भक्षणं विधीयते। शास्त्रदीपिका चुच्छुपा is an onomatopoeic word for making a smacking sound when sucking juice

2190 सोमारीन्द्रं चरं निर्घोषकुण्डानां ब्रौहीणामभिचरन् शरमयं वहिर्भवति वैभीदक इध्मः। शृणादिति शरमयं वहिर्भवति। मै. स II 1 6 and पू. मी. सू. X 4. 1-2

2191 वरणमुत्विज्यामानमनार्थत्वात्सत्रे न स्यात् स्वकर्मत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 2 34. वरणं ऋत्विजां सत्रेषु न स्यात्। न कर्तव्यमिति। स्वार्थे हि तेषां कर्म। न च कश्चिदात्मानं वृणोति। प्रकृतौ च आनमनार्थं वरणं दृष्टप्रयोजनमिति न शक्यमदृष्टं कल्पयितुम्। तस्मात्सत्रेषु वरणं न स्यात्। शबर. आनमन means 'submission or obedience to another's direction.'

2192 प्राजापत्येषु चान्नानात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 4. 6; शबर quotes the passage 'ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति . एतावन्तो वै यज्ञकतवः, तान् पशुभिरेवावकन्ते' (तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 4) and remarks 'इति समुच्चयं दर्शयति'.

on Yaj. III. 243 furnishes examples of *samuccaya* in the matter of expiations.

The *Tantravārtika* (on PMS III. 3. 14 pp. 859-860) collects together about three dozen cases of *bādha* in general not dependent on either the conflict between *śruti*, *linga* &c. or not falling under the *bādha* instanced above. They are 'inference and such appearances as mirage are dispelled by or invalidated by direct perception, deceptive means of knowledge by the six means of knowledge, *smṛti* by *śruti*, a contradictory and untrustworthy *smṛti* by a trustworthy and uncontradicted *smṛti*, a *smṛti* with a visible purpose by another with an unseen purpose &c.'

There is in the 10th chapter an important topic about *dakṣiṇā* (sacrificial fees). In X. 2. 22-28 it is established that *dakṣiṇā* is to be given not for an unseen purpose (*adrsta*) but for engaging the priests to perform rites required in sacrifices. In III. 8 1-2 it is established that the *yajamāna* (the *svāmin*) is to engage priests for sacrifices except where a vedic text expressly directs otherwise (as in Tai. S. V. 2. 8. 2). In X. 3. 39 the items of *dakṣiṇā* are set out from Tāndya XVI. 1. 10-11; it is held that the words 'dvādaśaśatam dakṣiṇā' mean²¹⁹³ that the cows are to be 112 (X. 3. 39, 49) and in X. 3. 50 it is provided that the *yajamāna* should himself distribute the fees and X. 3. 55 sets out the method of distribution. All priests are not to receive equal shares. The four principal priests are *hotr*, *adhvaryu*,²¹⁹⁴ *udgātṛ* and *brahmā* and each of these four have three assistants arranged in a certain order set out in the note below. Suppose there are one hundred cows to be distributed

2193. अति ज्योतिषोमं, ज्योतिषोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति । तत्रैवमाग्रायते । गोश्वाश्च-
श्वाश्चतस्रश्च गर्दभश्चाजाश्चावयश्च व्रीहयश्च यवाश्च तिलाश्च माषाश्च । तस्य द्वादशशतं दक्षिणा ।
इति X. 3. 39. There is great divergence of views about the *dakṣiṇā* to
be given, vide H. of Dh. vol II p 1188.

2194. एवौ मैत्रावरुणोऽच्छायाको ग्रावस्तुत्, अध्वर्युः पतिप्रस्थाता नेदोकेता, ब्रह्मा
प्राज्ञगार्हपत्ये आग्नेयः, वेता, उद्गाता प्रतोता प्रतिहर्ता हुन्नह्वण्य-इति । The four principal
priests are underlined, three assistants come after each principal one. The
assistants immediately after all four principals are called *and'mah* (they
get half of their principal, they being मैत्रावरुण, पतिप्रस्थाता, ब्राह्मणार्हसिन् and
प्रतोता); the thirds to each group of four constitute what are called *trīṇymah*
(they get 1/3 of what their principals get, they being अच्छायाकः, उद्गा, आग्नेयः,
प्रतिहर्ता); the last to each of the four groups are called *pāṇinah* (they get
one-fourth of what their principals get, they being ग्रावस्तुत्, यजेता, वेता and
हुन्नह्वण्य) Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1188-1189 and vol III. p. 469 for
distribution of fees among sacrificial priests.

as fee. Each group of four is assigned $1\frac{1}{4}$ i. e. 25 for *hotā* and his assistants, the *hotā* getting 12 and the other three getting respectively 6, 4, and 3 i. e. they get respectively half, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of what their principal gets. The same method applies to the other three groups. The *prima facie* ²¹⁹⁵ view is that there should be an equal distribution of the fee (cows) as *śruti* does not lay down any unequal distribution; this is not accepted and it is proposed that the fee should be distributed in proportion to the work done by each. The established conclusion is that both the views are unacceptable and that the distribution should be in accordance with the meaning of the words 'ardhinah, ²¹⁹⁶ *trītyinah* and *pādinah*' employed by *Śruti*.

Manu (VIII 210) mentions the method of the distribution of fees in Vedic sacrifices outlined above and extends its principles of division to men working jointly on such undertakings as the construction of houses &c. ²¹⁹⁷ Though the *sūtra* (*samam syād-āśrutivāt*) is only the *pūrvapakṣa* view and not accepted as to the distribution of the cows as fees in Vedic sacrifices, it has been frequently followed as an equitable rule by medieval *Dharmaśāstra* writers. The *Sm. C.* relies on it about the liability of sureties (II, p. 152), about equal shares between father and sons in partition (II, p. 260) and II, 285 (distribution of *yantrika* among unmarried daughters), II, 404. Kullūka on Manu III, 1 (where 36 years are laid down as the period of studentship for mastering the three Vedas) states, relying on the *sūtra* 'samam' &c. that thirty-six years should be equally distributed over the three *Vedaśākhās*. The *Madanaratna* (on *Vyavahāra*) p. 202

2195. समं स्यादश्रुतित्वात्। अपि वा कर्मवेदम्यात्। अतुल्योः स्युः परिक्रये विपमस्या विधिश्चतौ परिक्रयात् कर्मण्युपपद्यते दर्शनाद्विशेषस्य तथाभ्युदये। प्र. भी. सू. X, 3. 53-55.

2196. अध्वर्युः गृहपतिं दीक्षयित्वा ब्रह्मणं दीक्षयति तत उद्गातारं ततो होतारम्। ततस्तं प्रतिमस्थता दीक्षयित्वा आर्धिनो दीक्षयति।... ततस्तं नेष्टा दीक्षयित्वा तृतीयिनो दीक्षयति।... ततस्तच्छ्रेता दीक्षयित्वा पादिनो दीक्षयति। ततस्तं ब्रह्मणः सुब्रह्मण्यमुद्गातुः प्रापरतं होतः। शबर on V. 1. 1 and also on X, 3. 55. Vide आप. श्री. सू. XXI, 2. 16-20 for a similar passage.

2197. सर्वेषामर्थिनो मुख्यस्तदर्थेनार्धिनोऽपरे।... अनेन विधियोगेन कर्तव्यांशमकल्पना मनु VIII. 210-211; एतत्तत्तदश्रुतिपरिकल्पनविधानं तस्य द्वादशशतं दक्षिणेति क्रतुसम्बन्धमात्रेण विहितार्यां दक्षिणार्यां न तु ऋत्विग्विशेषसम्बन्धित्वेन विहितार्याम्। अथ दद्यान्निविदां शस्त्रे इति तत्त्वतिपादकश्रुतिविरोधापत्तेः। मदनरत्न (व्यसं) pp. 202-203 मदनरत्न adds (p. 204) पञ्चवन्धादौ विपमविभागो नोक्त इति तत्र साम्येन दक्षिणाविभागः। If there be 112 cows, 28 cows are to be assigned to each of four वर्ग (viz. होतृवर्ग, अध्वर्युवर्ग, उद्गातृवर्ग and ब्रह्मवर्ग); then होतृवर्ग share is to be divided into 25 and होतृ is to get 12 out of 25 parts and his assistants 6, 4, 3 respectively i. e. the shares would approximately be 13, 6, 5, 4 (in 28 cows).

quotes both verses of Manu (VIII. 210-11), then quotes Manu VIII. 210 (on p. 213) and explains and then sets out the distribution of the daksinā if it was 112 cows. The Vyahāraprakāśa pp. 443 and 548 (on division of mother's yautaka strīdhana by unmarried daughters) refer to the rule of equal division. Most of these works (as printed) read the sūtra as 'samam syādaśrutatvāt' and not as Jaimini and Śābara read.

The eleventh chapter deals with *tantra* which embraces cases where one act serves the purpose of several other acts or rites.²¹⁹³ For example, there are three yāgas viz. puroḍāśa (cake) baked on eight potsherds for Agni, curds for Indra and milk for Indra; one performance of the Prayājas serves these three (XI. 1. 5-19 and XI. 1. 29-37). Ādhana (establishment of the sacred fires) is to be done only once and is not to be repeated in each *stī*; paśuyāga or somayāga (XI. 3. 2); the utensils required for Śrauta rites are prepared only once and are to be kept till the death of the sacrificer (XI. 3. 34-42).²¹⁹⁹ All these are cases of *tantra*. The general rule is that the place, time and the performer as regards all principal matters in one composite rite such as Āgneya and others in Darśapūrṇamāsa are one (XI. 2. 1) and also that they are the same for aṅgas (details); but in the case of the aṅgas (details) the place, time and the performer may be different on account of express texts.

If the fruit or result (*phala*) follows from all the component sacrifices collectively, then the subsidiary details have to be

2198. यत्सकृत्कृतं बहुनामुपकरोति तत् तन्त्रमित्युच्यते यथा बहुना ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कृतं प्रदोषः। यस्तामुपकरोति स आवाप। यथा तेषामेव ब्राह्मणानामङ्गलेपनम्। श्लोकम-
प्युदाहरन्ति-साधारणं भवेत्तन्त्रं परार्थं त्वम्योजकः। एवमेव प्रसङ्गः स्याद्विद्यमाने त्वके विधौ।
इषर on XI. 1. 1; against repeating such acts as प्रयाजस, इषर remarks 'येन सकृत्कृतेन नोपकृतं स पुनः क्रियमाण उपकरोत्यपीति काशाः' on XI. 1. 30, even the
Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali mentions this rule, on वार्तिक 4 (तत्राप्येव शास्त्रार्थ-
संप्रत्ययो यथा लोके) on VI. 1. 84 it remarks 'यथा लोके वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नी-
नादधीतेति सकृदावाप कृत. शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुन. प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति। यथा गर्मादने ब्राह्मण
उपनेय इति सकृदुपनीय कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति।'.

2199. यज्ञाद्युधानि धार्यन् प्रतिपत्तिविधानादजीवदत्। पू. नी. सू. XI. 3. 34. The
Vedic text is आदिवाग्निभिर्मिर्ददन्ति यज्ञपत्रैश्च, Ten यज्ञाद्युधस are enumerated in
तै. स. 1. 6. 8. 2-3 (स्वयश्च कपालानि च etc.). For these and other utensils required
in Vedic sacrifices, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 985, n. 2233, vide also पू. नी. सू.
XI. 3. 43-45 which establish that the Yajñopastās are to be kept from the
day of Agnyādhya and that placing them on the body of the sacrificer
after his death is *pratīpattikarma* of the utensils and of the sacred fires.
Vide इषर on जै. XI. 3. 45.

performed only once and not separately in the case of each component; this is *tantra*. But if the result follows from each of the component sacrifices separately, then the subsidiary details should be performed with each one of those components. That would be a case of *āvāpa* (decentralisation or scattering). In the *Darśapūrnāmāsa* there are really two sets²²⁰⁰ of sacrifices, one called *Darśa* (on *amāvāsya*) and the other *Pūrnāmāsa*. The subsidiaries prescribed for each are almost the same. Yet they have to be repeated with each of the two sets, the principal reason being that the two are performed on two different days separated by a fortnight, though the two sets together make one single sacrifice leading to a single fruit. Vide PMS XI, 2, 12-18 which is a case of *āvāpa*.

The *Avesti* is a sacrifice which is performed as part of the composite sacrifice called *Rājasūya* that could be performed only by *Ksatriyas*. It is also an independent sacrifice that could be performed by any one of the three higher *varnas*. This is no part of the *Rājasūya* and is different from it, though the passage about it occurs in the midst of the description of *Rājasūya*.²²⁰¹ This is relied upon by the *Nirṇayasindhu* in connection with the *Navarātra* from *Āsvina* 1st to 9th of the bright half. There were different views, viz. *Devipūjā* was to be performed for 9 days or on 8th or 9th *tithi* (vide above p. 154). The *Kalikā-purāṇa* quotes²²⁰² a verse about *Devipūjā* on the 8th or 9th alone of *Āsvina* (*śukla*) and the N. S. interprets it as a separate worship on 8th or 9th alone distinct from the whole *Navarātra*.

2200 On XI 2.15 शबर says 'अपि वा न तन्त्रमङ्गानि स्युः । कुतः कर्मपृथक्त्वात् । तेषां च तन्त्रविधानात् । कर्माणि तावदेतानि भिन्नानि अन्यः पौर्णमासः सङ्गदायोन्य आमा-वास्यः । एवं सर्वत्र । तेषां च देशकालभेदः । पौर्णमास्या पौर्णमास्या यजेतेत्येवमादिः साङ्गानां च तेषां तत्र तत्र देशकालविधिः । . तस्मात्पौर्णमास्यङ्गानां पौर्णमासीकालः । अमावास्याङ्गानाम-मावास्याकालः । तत्र गृह्यते विशेषः । विशेषग्रहणाद्भेदः ।'.

2201. अवेष्टी यज्ञसंयोगात्कृतमथानुच्यते । पू मी सू II. 3. 3 ; अस्ति राजसूयः राजा राजसूयेन यजेतेति । ते प्रकृत्यामनन्ति—अवेष्टिं नामेष्टिम् । आग्नेयोऽष्टाक्षपातो हिरण्यं दक्षिणा इत्येवमादि । ता प्रकृत्य विधीयते । यदि ब्राह्मणो यजेत बाह्वैस्त्वय मध्ये निधायान्वृत्तिं माहुतिं हुत्वाभिधारयेत् । यदि राजसूय ऐन्द्रं यदि वैश्यो वैश्वदेवम्—इति । शबरः for यदि ब्राह्मणो ... वैश्वदेवम् vide आप श्री. 18. 21. 11. The सूत्र 'अवेष्टी यज्ञसंयोगात्' may be expanded as follows 'अवेष्टी यदि ब्राह्मण इत्यादिकं ब्राह्मणादिकर्तृकप्रयोगान्तरप्रधानं स्यादेकस्यैव क्षत्रियस्य राजसूययज्ञसंयोगात्, then come अवेष्टी चैकतन्त्रं स्याद्विद्वद्वर्णना । वचनात्कामसंयोगेन । कत्वर्थोयामिति चेन्न वर्णसंयोगात् । पू मी सू. XI. 4. 8-10.

2202. एकाहपक्षौषि कालिकापुराणे—यस्त्वेकस्यामथाष्टम्यां नवम्यामथ साधकः । पूजयेद्भरदा देवीं महाविभक्तवित्तरे ॥ इति । तत्तु राजसूयेऽप्यग्नीः समप्रधानायाः संहिताया अप्यवेष्टेरेतयाकाशकामं याजयेदित्येकत्वान्मध्ये विधानाच्च यथा फलार्थो बहिः प्रयोगस्तथा नवरात्रमध्यस्थाया अष्टम्या नवम्या वा फलार्थः पृथक्प्रयोगः । नि. ति. p. 164. .

The same *adhikarāṇa* where the Pūrvapakṣa proposes that Rājā means any one of any varṇa who rules over a kingdom and offers protection to the country and its cities, the *siddhānta* (PMS and Śābara) holds that 'rājā' is a word expressive of a caste viz. Kṣatriya, and this is referred to by several late Dharmaśāstra works like the Rājadharmakaustubha (p. 5). The V. P. refers to this *adhikarāṇa* and interprets the verse of Nārada viz. 'one who is an apostate from the order of ascetics would become the slave of the king' as providing that even a kṣatriya apostate would have to be the slave even of a vaiśya ruler, though the word 'rājā' in the primary sense means a kṣatriya yet in a secondary sense (*lakṣanā*) any one who protects subjects could be called rājā. The Par. M. discusses this *adhikarāṇa* at great length (I. 1. pp. 449-55). It may be noticed that the meaning of 'rājā' as kṣatriya in early texts changed to any ruler of any class who protects the country and people ruled over by him. This change is brought out briefly in Tantravārtika on III. 5. 26.

The 12th chapter deals with the topics of *prasāṅga*, *vikalpa* and the like. *Prasāṅga* occurs when something done in one place is helpful in another place also, just as when a lamp is lighted in a mansion it illumines the public road also.²²⁰³ In connection with the Agnisomiya animal sacrifice an offering of *paśupurodaśa* (a cake of the meat of the animal sacrificed) in the words 'having offered the omentum of the animal to Agni and Soma one offers a *paśupurodaśa* cooked on eleven potsherds to Agni and Soma'. The question is whether the details such as *prayājas* should be performed afresh for this or whether those details performed at the time of offering the omentum will suffice. The established conclusion is that the details already performed at offering *paśu* (omentum) will serve for the offering of the meat cake also.²²⁰⁴ In such cases the place or time and performer are to be the same. This conclusion is relied upon in the *Prāyascittavivēka* which says that when a man performs the expiation for twelve years in connection with grave sins of

2203. अन्यत्र कृतस्याप्यत्रापि प्रसक्तिः प्रसङ्गः । यथा मदीयस्य प्रासादे कृतस्य राजमार्गे-
त्यतो रुक्मणम् । शबर on सू. मी. XII 1 1

2204. अग्नीषोमीये पशून् इरोदाशः, अग्नीषोमीयस्य वपया प्रचर्याग्नीषोमीयं पशुइरोदाशमे-
कादमारुपात् निर्वेपेदिति । किं तस्य दृश्यत्वेनाहुनि कर्तव्यानि उत यानि पशोः कृतानि तस्याप्युप-
कुर्वतीति । शबर on XII, 1. 1; अथवा नैव भेदेन इरोदाशस्य तन्त्रं कर्तव्यम् । किं तर्हि
मुन्यत्रैव सिद्धिः स्यात् । पाशुकमेव तन्त्रं इरोदाशस्योपकुर्वात् । किं कारणम् । तन्त्रमहो
विधानम् । पाशुकस्य तन्त्रस्य तस्यै इरोदाशो विहितः, अग्नीषोमीयस्य वपया ... कपात्
निर्वपेदिति । शबर on XII 1 3.

different kinds or of the same kind, there is no necessity of a separate expiation for venial sins on the analogy of paśupuro-dāśa.²²⁰⁵ Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 88-91 for twelve years' expiation for brāhmana-murder.

Vikalpa has already been dealt with above (pp. 1249-1252).

The preceding pages are enough to exhibit the main doctrines and some of the principal Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation and the great influence that the Mīmāṃsā exercised for over two thousand years on Dharmaśāstra works from the Āpastambadharmasūtra to late medieval works like the Smṛti-tattva, Nirmayasindhu and Vyavahāramayūkha. An exhaustive treatment of the numerous technical terms, topics and principles of the mīmāṃsā would easily cover a thousand pages, would enormously add to the extent of this work and has to be given up here for reasons of space, if for no other reason.

The Mīmāṃsā rules have been of considerable help to Dharmaśāstra writers. But it should not be supposed that application of the Mīmāṃsā rules is easy or that the rules always enable scholars to arrive at agreed or certain and definite conclusions. Apart from the schism between the Prābhākara and Bhātta schools already referred to above (on p. 1189) there are many circumstances which militate against the certainty and usefulness of mīmāṃsā conclusions. There are variant readings in the sūtras themselves (e. g. on I. 2. 9 there are three readings according to Tantravārtika p. 123, on I. 2. 14 two readings acc. to Tantrav pp. 128-129). Śābara omitted the sūtra II. 4. 17 (vākyāsamavāyāt) and the Tantravārtika notes (pp. 895-897) that Śābara omits six sūtras after III. 4. 9. Śābara frequently mentions a predecessor called Vṛttikāra with great respect but differs from him in some cases (e. g. on I. 1. 3-5), does not like his way of dealing with sūtras like II. 1. 32, 33 and VIII. 1. 2. Śābara gives alternative explanations of the same sūtra (e. g. of I. 3. 4, VII. 4. 13, VIII. 1. 39). Sometimes he treats two or more sūtras as forming one *adhikarana* and alternatively treats one of them as forming a separate *adhikarana* (as in I. 3. 3-4, II. 2. 23-24). He proposes more than two explanations of the same sūtra viz. IV. 1. 2. He puts forward two or more explanations of the same *adhikarana* (as in IV. 3. 27-28, VIII. 3. 14-15).

2205. एवमतुल्यरूपेषु पापेषु समानजातीयेषु विजातीयेषु वा श्रुत्यापेक्षेन द्वादश-
वार्षिकादिरूपमायश्चित्ते कृते स्वल्पपापानां पशुपुरोडाशान्यायेन मसङ्गादेव कार्यसिद्धेर्लघ्वान्न न
पृथक् प्रायश्चित्ताच्छास्त्रान्न। प्राय. वि. p. 85.

of two sūtras out of four), IX. 1. 1, IX. 1. 2-3, IX. 1. 34-35, IX. 2. 1-2, IX. 2. 21-24, IX. 2. 25-28 four explanations, X. 2. 30-31 three explanations, X. 1. 1-2 three explanations, X. 4. 1-2 three explanations. On 'Vīśaye prāyadarśanāt' II. 3. 16 Śābara himself is at a loss as to what the doubt intended by the sūtrakāra is or what the sūtrakāra wants to establish and relies upon what the vrttikāra says about the passage to be discussed and about the doubt that arises. Besides, Śābara and Kumārila differ about the subject matters of certain *adhikāraṇas* as in 1. 3. 3-4 (where Kumārila gives on pp. 194-195 a different interpretation altogether after first accepting Śābara's view), 1. 3. 5-7, 1. 3. 8-9, 1. 3. 11-14. Kumārila shows scant respect for Jaimini by naming him without the honorific title 'bhagavān' or 'ācārya' on pp 495, 650, 655, 895, charges Jaimini with composing sūtras not containing much substance (p. 895) and remarks that Jaimini's sūtra is improper or wrong (e. g. vide p. 1241 about IV. 2. 27).

Kumārila is often critical of Śābara's bhāṣya and remarks dozens of times that the bhāṣya is improper (*ayukta*) or deserves to be discarded, is unmeaning or absurd (*asambaddha*) as on pp. 165, 302 (*upeksitavya*), 313 (*asambaddha*), 314, 662, 710, 731, 863 (*asambaddha*), 950, 953, 1090-91, 1615 (*bahavo dosāḥ*), 1714, 1980, 2004, 2193, 2204.

Another circumstance that makes one entertain grave doubts about the universal validity and usefulness of the principles evolved by the PMS system must also be adverted to. The greatest students of Mīmāṃsā arrive at entirely different conclusions on many points. Some striking cases may be referred to here. One of the most glaring of such cases is the interpretation of the short sūtra of Vasistha²²⁰⁶ (15. 5, *na strī putram dadyāt pratighrñiyād vā anyatrānujñādbhartuh*) 'a woman should not give or take a son in adoption except with the assent of her husband.' This has been interpreted in four different ways by works and authors about a Hindu widow's power of adopting a son. The Dattakamīmāṃsā holds that no widow can adopt a son, because, the husband being already dead, no assent of his can be had at the time of adoption. Vācaspati,

2206 अत एव वसिष्ठः । न स्त्री पुत्रं ... ददति — इति । अनेन विधयाया भर्तृद्वयज्ञानामभवा-
दनधिकारो गम्यते । ... किं च स्यादसिद्धिर्वा अद्वयान्धवं संनिष्ठमेव प्रतिगृह्णीयात् — इति
समानकर्तृनापीधृत्वाद्यवयवश्रवणात् होमकर्तृरेव प्रतिग्रहसिद्धेः स्त्रीणां होनानधिकारत्वात् परि-
दत्तानधिकारः — इति वाचस्पतिः । दत्तकमीमांसा pp 19 and 22-23 (Āvan)

a Maithila writer, was of the same opinion on the further ground that, as Vasistha lays down that one about to take a son in adoption should, after having performed a *homa* in the middle of his house with the *vyāhrtis*, take (in adoption) only him who is closely related and who is a kinsman and not remote (in habitation &c.) and, as women cannot perform a *homa* with Vedic mantras, all women including widows have no power to adopt. But in Bengal, it was held that the husband's assent need not be given at the time of adoption and that it may be given long before the actual adoption. In Madras it was held that the word husband in 'except with the assent of the husband' is only illustrative and that therefore the assent of the agnates of the father-in-law (husband's father) or of the husband's agnates would be enough to enable a widow to adopt. The Vyavahāramayūkha,²²⁰⁷ the Nirṇayasindhu and the Samskāra-kaustubha hold that the assent of the husband is required for a woman whose husband is living and that a widow can adopt provided she has not been forbidden to adopt by her husband. For a detailed presentation of these four views and the case law, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 668-674. The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (No. 78 of 1956) has made far-reaching and radical changes in the Law of Hindu adoptions and section 4 of that Act overrules all texts, rules or interpretations of Hindu Law or customs and usages as part of that law, except in so far as they may have been expressly saved by that Act.

The Mitākṣarā and the Dāyabhāga, both steeped in Mīmāṃsā lore, differ on numerous points, some of which are:— (1) The Mit. holds that property or ownership arises by birth, the Dāyabhāga denies it and says it is on the death of the previous owner or by partition, (2) superior right to inherit depends on religious efficacy according to the Dāyabhāga, while nearness of blood relation is the determining factor according to the Mit.; (3) Members of a joint family hold family property in quasi-severalty and can dispose of their shares even before partition according to the Dāyabhāga; the Mit. does not say so; (4) acc. to Dāyabhāga even in a joint family a widow succeeds to her husband's share on his death without male issue, while the Mit. does not accept this view.

2207.. भर्त्रक्षणा तु सधवाया एव दृष्टार्थत्वात् । विधवायास्तु ता विनापि पितृस्तदभावे ज्ञातीनामाज्ञया भवति ... अतो यस्यामवस्थाया भर्त्रक्षणा माता सेवादान्मुख्ये न स्वपूर्वा विधीयते ।

अतो विधवाया भर्तृराज्ञा विनाप्यधिकारः । इद. न p. 113 : उक्तविधवत्तत्त्वाधिकारः शुभेति श्रीभिरपि सधवाभिर्विधवाभिश्च कार्यः । स कौ. p. 160

One may note the great cleavage of opinion (above p. 1230) on such texts as Yāj I 51 (whether there is a vidhi or a niyama or parisankhyā), in note 2111 (p 1291) between the V M and Raghunandana both great Mīmāṃsakas; in note 2113 p 1292 on the interpretation of the word 'mātr' by Aparārka and the Dayabhāga; on pp 1302-3, notes 2133-34 above on Brhaspati's verse on re-united coparceners.

In passing it may be stated that to call the Act 'Hindu Adoptions Act' is a travesty and misnomer. It should have simply been called the Law of Adoptions in India and should have retained the ancient Hindu rules for Hindus as developed by the courts and should have been of a permissive character for all Indians like the English Statute (of 1926) on the adoption of children. The general Hindu law of adoption as developed in the authoritative smṛtis and commentaries and the case law did not contemplate the adoption of a daughter (except when she was made in ancient times a *putrikā*) and to allow the adoption of a daughter when a son was living throws to the winds the basic principle of the Hindu Law that a *sonless* man should adopt a male as a son for the sake of the presentation of pindas and water (to the Manes) and for continuance of the family name (sections 7 and 11 of the Act). The Act allows a woman (even if not married) to adopt to herself a son or daughter or both and under it a woman, if married, can adopt a daughter even if she has a son but a married woman cannot adopt a daughter if she has already a daughter or a son's daughter living at the time of adoption (sections 8 and 11) The Act does not recognize *dvyāmusyāyana* adoptions which were recognized by Sanskrit texts and also by judicial decisions. The ministers in the Government and their followers (most of the latter hardly know what Hindu Law was and has been) were carried away by enthusiasm for equality of rights for both men and women. As the Indian Union is now a welfare State and it is professed that laws are to be made keeping in view a socialistic pattern, Govt. should have disallowed adoptions altogether or at least put great curbs on indiscriminate adoptions. Instead, they extended the scope of adoption among Hindus by allowing a man to adopt a daughter even when he had a son or sons and by allowing even unmarried women to adopt a son or daughter or both. This is against a socialistic pattern. If adoptions had been disallowed entirely or allowed within narrow limits cases of escheat to Government for want of heirs would have been many and to that

extent a socialistic pattern would have been advanced. There is no evidence to show that women were keen on the right to adopt a son or daughter even when they were unmarried. The first principle of introducing reforms in the existing law is that only strictly necessary changes should be put forward. Reformers and legislators should take to heart the advice of Mr. Aldous Huxley (in 'Ends and Means,' p. 30) that change as such is more or less distressing to most human beings, that man's conservatism is a fact in any historical situation and that social reformers should abstain from making unnecessary changes or changes that are of startling magnitude. Legislators should not forget that when they introduce far-reaching changes to lessen hardships, real or supposed, deemed to be caused by existing social conditions, they very often create new problems for the immediate future. To take a simple example, under the old Hindu Law all girls were to be married before puberty, though Manu (IX, 90) provided that a girl should wait for three years thereafter during which, her parents or relatives might select a bridegroom for her, but that if they failed to do so she may herself choose her partner. This was not a bad provision. People however went in for child marriages for girls and the problem of spinsters never arose. Then over thirty years ago came the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) whereby the legally allowed marriageable age for girls was fixed at 14. By subsequent amendments and by the Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) the lowest marriageable age for girls is now fixed at 15. This Act of 1929 originally went a long way in raising the minimum age for the marriage of girls. Then, after the second world war, owing to economic stringency, and other factors, the tendency of marrying at a late age increased and now the problem of spinsters among Hindus has emerged and great difficulties about the marriages of grown-up women in middle class families are being experienced.

Appendix to Section VII Chap. XXX.

It would be helpful to the students of *Pārvamīmāṃsā* and of *Dharmaśāstra*, if some of the important and frequently cited maxims (*nyāyas*) of the former, are brought together in one place with references from the P. M. S., Śābara, Kumārila, Pārthasārathi, the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Śāṅkarācārya's *bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtras*, the *Bhāmati* on the *Śāṅkara-bhāṣya* and a few others. Kumārila, particularly, is very fond of employing *Nyāyas* in the *Tantravārtika* e. g. on p. 415 (on *Jai. II. 1. 8*) he employs five different *nyāyas*. Many of these *nyāyas* have been explained in the several volumes of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* to which references will be furnished at the appropriate places. Several of the *nyāyas* here mentioned occur in the *Lankila-nyāyāñjali* (in three parts) published by the indefatigable scholar, Col. Jacob. In some cases his explanations are not accurate or satisfactory, but one must not forget that he wrote about half a century ago

असिद्धोक्त्याय — जै. VI. 2. 23-26, vide शङ्कर on वे. सू. III 4 32.

अङ्गुणवितोषन्याय — जै. XII. 2. 25, vide शबर thereon and मी. न्या. म. p. 166.

अङ्गभूयस्त्वे फलभूयस्त्वम् — शबर on जै. X. 6. 62 and XI. 1. 15.

अङ्गाङ्गिन्याय — जै. II. 2 3-8, Vide above p. 1308 n 2146

अङ्गानां प्रधानोपकाररूपैककार्यार्थत्वम् — जै. XI. 1. 5-10.

अणुरपि विशेषोऽप्यवसायकर — vide व्य. म. p. 525 and व्य. म. p. 143.

अधिकारन्याय — जै. VI. 1. 1-3 and 4-5 (*śāstra* is meant only for human beings), but vide वे. सू. I. 3 26-33, where शङ्कर on I. 3. 26 holds that Śābara's words have no application to *brahmavidyā*.

अनन्यत्वम्: शब्दार्थः — मी. न्या. म. p. 92 'अत्राहुः। स एव शब्दस्वार्थोयः प्रकारान्तरेण न लभ्यते। अनन्य...र्थ इति न्यायात्।; vide भामती on वे. सू. I. 3. 17 (प्रसिद्धेश्च).

अनुपलब्धन्याय — जै. II. 1. 48, vide pp. 1304-1306 above and स्मृतिच. (on आह. p. 381), व्य. न. p. 147,

अन्तरद्वन्द्वद्विपरान्तरद्वन्द्वं बलीय. — vide शबर on जै. XII. 2. 27, महाभाष्य (on पा. I. 1. 4, I. 1 5) says 'असिद्धं द्विपरान्तरद्वन्द्वम्'.

अन्धपरम्परान्याय — तन्त्रवा. on जै. I 3. 27 p. 282 and on III. 3. 14 p. 858, मेधा. on मनु X 5, शङ्कर on वे. सू. II. 2 30.

अन्यायश्चानेकार्यत्वम् — शबर on जै. II. 1 12 p. 410, on V. 4. 14 p. 1340, on VI. 1 22 p. 1366, on VII. 3 3, p. 1550. तन्त्रवा. on II. 4. 10, p. 639, भामती on वे. सू. I. 3. 17, vide मद्. पा. p. 369 and p. 1292, n. 2112 above

अपरच्छेदन्याय — शबर on जै. VI. 5. 49-50 defines अपरच्छेद as 'संयुक्तस्य हि पृथग्भा-
वोऽपरच्छेद' and व्य. म. p. 535 The word occurs in जै. VI 5 56.

अत्राने दातृत्वमर्थम् — This is part of जै. VI 2 18 and means 'विधिना तावत्तदेव विधेयं दातृत्वान्तरात्प्राप्तम्' मी. न्या. म. p. 222.

अभिर्ज्ञानन्याय — जै. III 7 8-10; व्य. म. p. 535.

अन्यासधिकरण— जै II. 2. 2 (with reference to five Prayājas in ते सं. II, 6. 1. 1-2). Vide H. of Dh vol. II p. 1057 n 2368 and above p 1306.

अभुविनेदिन्याय— जै VI 5. 1-9, मित्ता- on यां III 253 and व्य न pp. 151-152 and notes thereon pp 277-279 and भामती on वे. सू III. 3. 7.

अरुणान्याय nr अरुणाधिकरण— जै III. 1 12 on ते सं VI 1 6. 7 अरुणया पिङ्गाद्या त्रीणाति, vide अपरार्क p. 1030 on या. III 205, नट पा pp. 88-89, H. of Dh vol II p 1142 n 2547 and above pp 1294-5

अर्कं चेन्मधु विन्देत किमर्थं पर्वतं वजेत्—शबर nn जै I 2 4 quotes the latter half also as इदमर्थस्य मसिद्धौ को विद्वान् यत्नमाचरेत् He explains अर्कं as a plant (*Calatropis Gigantea*); vide also तन्त्रवा, nn same p. 111, विश्वरूप on या III 243 (first half), शङ्कर on वे सू. III 4 3 quotes the first half as a न्याय

अर्धकुक्षुडिपाक— means the same thing as अर्धजरतीय, vide तन्त्रवा° p 720 on जै. II. 1 13 It means 'it involves a total contradiction to say that one would cook half a hen for food and keep the other half for laying eggs'

अर्धजरतीय— Vide नहामाप्त् on वार्तिक 5 on पा. IV. 1. 78 (अर्ध जरत्याः क्रामयतेर्धं चेति) शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू 1. 2. 8 (यथाज्ञानं तर्हि ज्ञात्रीयर्थः प्रतिपत्त्यो न तत्रार्धजरतीयं लभ्यम्), परा ना II. 1 p 702

अर्धवैशस— Resembles अर्धजरतीयन्याय Vide तन्त्रवा. pp 170, 174, 180, 261; शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू. III. 3 18 वैशस means 'destruction, rending into pieces, conflict' The कुमारमन्त्र IV. 31 employs the word in the literal sense

अर्धमन्त्रेदि मिनात्यर्थं वहिर्वेदि— Vide शबर on जै. III. 7. 14 and तन्त्रवा pp. 1083-84, quoted by व्य. न pp. 115, 146 and notes (by the present author) pp 189-191 and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1114 and vol III pp. 694-95.

अवयवप्रसिद्धे. ममुद्रायामभिद्धिर्वलीचसी— vide शबर on जै VI. 7. 22, who gives अश्वकर्ण (name of a tree) with leaves like horse's ears as an instance (which has neither अश्वत्थ nor कर्णत्व). तन्त्रवा on जै I, 4. 11

अवेद्व्यधिकरणन्याय— जै II 3 3 and XI. 4 10. Vide H. of Dh vol. III. p 38 and above pp 1332-33 n 2201-2, शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू III. 3 50

अश्वभिधानीन्याय— इमानयुष्मन्ऽनामृतस्येत्यश्वभिधानीनादस्ते— ते सं V 1. 2 1 and the mantra occurs in ते सं. IV 1 2. 1, explained in मी न्या य. p. 80, अर्थसंग्रह p 5. Vide p 1308 n 2147.

अश्वकर्णन्याय— vide हुपदीका on जै IV. 4 1 p 1270 This is put forward to assert that in राजसूय the conventional meaning has to be taken and not the literal one.

आकाशमुद्रिहन्नन्याय— vide तन्त्रवा nn जै. I 3. 12 p 236 (अन्नतृणलुपादाय तुरीमात्र-परिग्रहान्। पट कर्तुं समीहिन म हन्याद् व्यंजनमुद्रिभिः); शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू II. 1. 18.

आरूपालानामर्थं ब्रुवतां शक्तिः सहकारिणी— शबर on जै I 4 25, अर्थसंग्रह (p 16, calls it a न्याय), श्रौतकवा (on चोदनासूत्र verse 47 p 59), तन्त्रवा 00 जै II. 1. 1 p 378 (शक्तयः सर्वभावनानां नास्तु योजया स्वभावतः। तेन नाना वदन्यर्थान् श्रुति-न्ययपादनः.) Vide p 1291 note 2111 above.

आगन्तुनामन्ते निवेष्टा — Vide श्वर ०० जै V 3. 4 and X. 5. 1, शाङ्करभाष्य ०० वे. सू. IV. 3. 3, II nī Dh. vol. III. p. 731 notes 1413-14 and तिथितत्त्व p. 63, एव म p 143

आनन्तर्यमकारणम् — Vide यस्य नेनार्थसम्बन्ध below Vide the sūtra आनन्तर्यमचोदना (जै. III. 1. 24) and जै IV. 3. 11 a part of which is 'अर्थतो ह्यसमर्थानामानन्तर्यसम्बन्धः'.

आत्यधिकरणन्याय — जै VI 4 22, तै ब्रा III. 7 1 7-8 has यस्योभयं हविरातिमान्छेदेन्द्र पञ्चशरावनोदनं निर्वपेत् Here the word उभय is अविवक्षित and is ०० part of the विधि

उद्दिश्यमानस्य (or उद्देश्यगत) विशेषणविवक्षितम् — Vide above p 1286 notes 2098-99 no ग्रहं समार्ति and हुपटीका nn जै VI 4. 22 p 143S, on VII 1 2 p 1526, on IX 1 1 p 1636, nn X 3. 39 p 1882 (उद्दिश्यमानस्य च सख्या न विवक्ष्यते ग्रहस्येव) and एव म pp 45-46, 90, 132, 210 and विश्वरूप ०० या. III, 250 (न च लक्ष्यमाणस्य विशेषण विवक्षितमिति न्यायः)

उद्भिदधिकरण — जै I 4 1-2. उद्भिद्, चित्रा, अग्निहोत्र are names of *yāgas* (and nnt शुनविधि) and are प्रमाण Vide pp 1244-45 n 2021-22 above

उपक्रमोपसंहारन्याय — If the उपक्रम is doubtful it is the उपसंहार 'that settles the same and nnt vice versa Vide भासती on वे सू III 3 17.

उपसंहारन्याय — जै III. 1 26-27, उपसंहारो नाम सामान्यत प्राप्तस्य विशेषे सङ्कोचरूपो व्यापारविशेषो विधेः । सी न्या म p 261, vide मिता on या. I. 256, नि. सि pp 37 and 71, एव म p 111 and the precept author's notes to V. M. p 179

ऊर्तुलिङ्गन्याय — This refers to the verse यथावृत्तलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये । दृश्यन्ते तानि तान्येव यथा भावा शुभादिषु ॥ आदिपर्व 1 39 (= cr. ed 1 37), शान्तिपर्व 210 17 (= cr ed 233. 15) This verse is quoted by तन्त्रवा on जै. I. 3 7 p 202, in शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू I 3 30 It is also वायुपुराण 9 65, विष्णुपुराण I. 5. 61, मार्कण्डेय 45 43-44

एकगम्यतान्याय — जै II 1 46 Vide M M Jha's 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources' pp 192-193 for explanation and examples and H, of Dh vol. III p 443 note 744 and pp. 1297-98 n 2123 above विश्वरूप on या III 248 exemplifies this न्याय The word एकगम्यता occurs in वे. सू III. 4 24.

एकवाचनीन्याय — m. by तन्त्रवा on II 1 12 p 415 It is the same as अक्षयान्याय above

एकार्थान्त विरूपेण — This is part of जै. XII 3 10. मिता nn या III 257 states 'एकार्थान्तो विरूपो द्वीपवयस्ति न च दण्डतप्तसोरेकार्थत्वम्'

ऐन्द्रिन्याय — vide pp 1309-10 notes 1251-52 on ऐन्द्रा गार्ग्यस्युपतिष्ठते

औदमेपिन्याय — If a man's name is औदमेपि one at once infers, without being expressly told, that he is the son of one called उदमेय Vide श्वर on जै III. 5 26 p 1003 and on II 3 3 at p 580 and तन्त्रवा p 580.

औदुम्बराधिकरण — जै I. 2 19-25 concerning नै चै II 1 1 6 औदुम्बरो यूषो भवति, ऊर्मो उदुम्बरा उक्तं पञ्च तन्त्रवा p 352, सी न्या म p. 134 ff.

कपालन्याय or कपालाधिकरणन्याय — जै X 5 1, explained in नलमासतत्त्व p. 779.

कपिन्याय — जै XI 1 35-46 and also pp 1289-89, n 2105 Vide तन्त्रवा p 415 (on या II 1 12), and p 1001 (on जै III 5. 26) saying कपिल-न्याय विधेः धर्तृधुनिरव्याप्यते. परम. मा 1 2 p. 281

कम्बलनिर्णेजनन्याय — शबर on जै. II. 2. 25 p. 545 (निर्णेजन ह्युभयं करोति कम्बलशुद्धिं पादयोश्च निर्मलताम्).

कर्मधूयस्त्वात्फलधूयस्त्वम् — Vide स्तुतिच. II. p. 264 and परा. मा I. 1. p. 25 (कर्म-धिव्यात्फलाधिक्यमिति न्यायसमाश्रयात्).

कलञ्जन्याय — शबर on जै. VI. 2. 19-20 on 'न कलञ्जं भक्षयितव्यं' says that this is downright prohibition (प्रतिषेध) and not a पर्युदास Vide मी. न्या. प. pp. 248-249 and तिथितत्त्व p. 6.

काश्यभोजिन्याय — This occurs in the पु. मी. सू. XII. 2. 34 itself (अधिकश्च गुणः साधारणेऽविरोधात्काश्यभोजिवदमुख्येऽपि). शबर explains 'क्षिण्यस्य काश्यपात्रभोजिन्यनियमः, उपाध्यायस्य न नियमः । यदि तयोरेकस्मिन्पात्रे भोजनमापद्यते, अशुक्तस्यापि क्षिण्यस्य धर्मो नियम्येत मा भूद्धर्मलोप इति'.

काकदन्तपरिक्षान्याय — Vide दुपुटीका p. 1388 on जै. VI. 2. 1. Some actions such as counting the hair on the skin of an ass or the teeth of a crow are useless or profitless.

काकाक्षिगोलकन्याय — Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 198 on जै. I. 3. 7, मेधा on मनु VIII 1, च्य म. p. 534, च्य म. p. 95 and notes thereon at p. 135.

काण्डाद्युत्तमय — शबर on जै. V. 2. 3 pp. 1310-11 Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 739-740, vol. IV, pp. 441-442 note 987 and पदार्थाद्युत्तमय below

कारणाद्यविधायिकार्यन्याय — तन्त्रवा. p. 245 on जै. I. 3. 16. The qualities of the cause are found in the effect.

कुण्डपायिनामयनन्याय — जै. VII. 3. 1-4 Vide आप. श्रौ. 23. 10. 6 ff and H. of Dh. vol. IV, pp. 136-137 n 312 for references and p. 1307 above.

कुशकाशावलम्बनन्याय — Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 268 on जै. I. 3. 24. (कुश is a grassy plant with white flowers). These are so frail that no one can support himself by means of these, so metaphorically it means "supporting by frail or hopeless arguments" Vide च्य म. p. 527.

कुत्वाचिन्तान्याय — Taking up a purely hypothetical point for discussion, occurs frequently in Sābarabhāṣya, e. g. on जै. VI. 8. 43 p. 1522 (कुत्वाचिन्तायां प्रयोजनं वक्तव्यम्), on XI. 3. 16 p. 2175, XII. 2. 11 p. 2242, vide तन्त्रवा. p. 287 (on जै. I. 3. 27) and p. 890 on जै. III. 4. 1 (यस्तु भाष्यकारेणोपन्यासः कृतः स कुत्वाचिन्तान्यायेन)

कुसुतिकन्याय — The word is derived from कुसुत, used in such passages as in कादम्बरी 'गर्भेश्वरत्वं .. इतिकुसुतं चेति महतीषं खल्वनर्थपरम्परा, सर्वाविनयानामेवैकमप्येवामायतनं कुसुतं समवायः' । Vide च्य म. p. 241 and present author's note on p. 419 of the notes to च्य म.

क्षामेष्टिन्याय — जै. VI. 4. 17-20. If the Puroḍāśa to be offered in दशपूर्वमास is partially burnt, still one should perform the rite with the unburnt part of the cake and a prāyaścitta would be necessary only if the whole puroḍāśa is burnt Vide मिताक्षरा on या. III. 243.

खलेकपोतवत् — Meaning 'like all pigeons, young and old, simultaneously alighting on a threshing floor' Vide शबर on जै. XI. 1. 16 p. 2111, मी. न्या. प. p. 65

गार्हपत्यन्याय — Same as ऐश्वरीन्याय above. Vide शबर on जै. III. 2. 3 and अर्थसंग्रह p. 6

गुणकामाधिकरण — जै II 2, 25-26 based on दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुहुयात् (तै ब्रा II. 1. 5 6), the meaning being अधिकरणत्वेनेन्द्रियं भावयेत् Vide मी. न्या म. pp 42-43, and 36-39 and p. 1310 above

गुणमुख्यव्यतिक्रमन्याय — This is part of जै. III. 3 9 (गुणमुख्यव्यतिक्रमे तदर्थत्वा-मुख्येन वेदसंयोगः). Vide तन्त्रवा. pp. 810 and above p 1290 n. 2108, शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III 3. 33 quotes this sūtra

गुणलोपे च मुख्यस्य — This is जै X. 2. 63 The words क्रिया स्यात् (or भवति) are to be understood

गोचलीवर्द्धन्याय — In such a sentence as गाव आनीयन्ता बलीवर्द्धाश्च, the separate mention of balivardas that are really included under 'gāvah' is due to the fact that bulls are more intractable than cows and require special attention and effort This is often used in Dharmasāstra works Vide मिता on पा III 312-313, रघुतिच (on व्यवहार) pp. 66, 67, 102, 169, 260, 300, कुल्लुक on मनु VIII 28, रघु म p 2 and H of Dh vol. III p 526 note 966

गौणमुख्ययोर्द्वयै कार्यसंप्रत्ययः — Vide शबर on ज. III. 2 1 This न्याय is also cited as मुख्यगौणयोः ... संप्रत्ययः. शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू IV. 13. 12 cites it मुख्य and गौण respectively mean 'primary sense' and 'secondary sense.' The महाभाष्य has the परिभाषा 'गौण ... संप्रत्ययः' on वार्तिक 1 on पा I. 1 15 and on वार्तिक 4 on पा VI. 3. 46. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 725, note 1399.

ग्रहैकत्वन्याय — जै III 1 13-15 based on दृशापवित्रेण ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि (तै सं. III 2 2 3). Vide H of Dh, vol II, p 589 note 1380 and above p 1285-86 and n. 2098.

चतुर्धाकरणन्याय — जै. III. 1, 26-27. Vide मी. न्या म p. 261, अर्थसंग्रह p. 24. Vide vol IV, p 670 n 1517.

छत्रिन्याय — Vide शबर on जै I. 4 23 (यथा छत्रिणो गच्छन्तीत्येकेन छत्रिणा सर्वे लक्ष्यन्ते), तन्त्रवा on I 4. 13, p. 347, दुष्टीका on जै IV 4. 1 p 1270 and VII 3 7, p 1552 and H. of Dh. vol II, pp 500-501, शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू III 3 34 employs it in explaining ऋते पिबन्ती (कठोप. III. 1)

जतिर्लक्षयान्ता जुहुयात् — This appears like a विधि, but it is only an अर्थवाद for praising पयोष्टेम The vedic passage is in तै सं V. 4. 3 2 and जै X. 8. 7 deals with it. मामती on वे सू III 3. 18 relies on it.

जातेष्टिन्याय — जै IV. 3. 38-39 on तै. सं II 2, 5. 3 वैश्वानरं ह्यादशकपालं निविषेत् पुत्रे जाते Though the performer of the rite is the father, the fruit accrues to the son that is horn. Vide मिता on पा. II 56 and III. 220, प्राय वि p. 18, रघु म p. 253-54, दत्त मी p. 136 (Ānan. ed.)

जुह्वन्याय — जै IV. 3. 1 based on passages like यस्य पर्जनयी जुहूर्भवति न स पापं श्लोकं शृणोति (in तै सं. III. 5 7 2). Such sentences are not फलविधिस, but merely अर्थवाद्स.

तत्रकौण्टिल्यन्याय or ब्राह्मणकौण्टिल्यन्याय — Vide तन्त्रवा p. 860 (द्विषि ब्राह्मणेन्यो दीयता तर्कं कौण्टिल्याय), श्लोकवा. (वनवाद, verse 15) If only the words द्विषि. दीयता were uttered, कौण्टिल्य being a ब्राह्मण would be included, but if the whole sentence be used he would be excluded from the first part. The महाभाष्य frequently cites this Nyāya, e g. on वार्तिक 4 on पा VI 1. 2 and वार्तिक 1 on पा I. 1. 47 and on वार्तिक 2 on पा. VI. 2 1; vide मिता on पा III, 257 for this maxim

तत्प्रत्ययन्याय — जे I. 4. 4 (तत्प्रत्यय चान्यशास्त्रम्), which means तस्य शुणस्य प्रत्ययं मापकं अन्यशास्त्रं यच्च भवति. In तं स I 5.9.1 we read अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति (स्वर्गनाम.). Here अग्निहोत्र is the name (नामदेव) of a rite (अग्नये होत्रं होमो यस्मिन्) and not a शुणविधि. Vide भी न्या. प्र. p. 64, धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय p. 3, अर्थमग्रह pp. 4 and 20, तद्व्यपदेशन्याय — जे I. 4. 5 The example is स्येननाभिचरन् यजेत. Here the word स्येन (meaning 'hawk') is applied to the rite called syena, because it resembles the bird in its swift action. Vide भी न्या. प्र. p. 238 (तेन व्यपदेशः उपमानम् । तद्व्यपदानुपपत्त्येति यावत्) and p. 1245 above.

दण्डावृपन्याय or दण्डावृपिकनीति — This is very often employed in धर्मशास्त्र works. Vide विवरूप 00 या I 147 and III 257, मित्त on या II 126, स्मृतिच 00 व्यवहार pp. 142, 146, 242, 249, 283, 296, 301, 315, 326, दायभाग X 30, दायतत्त्व p. 170, च्य न p. 131 (and my notes on the same at pp. 221-222). For the derivation of दण्डावृपिक, vide अलङ्कारसर्वस्व on अर्थापत्ति p. 196 and जयर्थ thereon.

द्विहोमन्याय — जे VIII 4. 1, तन्त्रवा p. 115 00 जे I. 2. 7, भी. न्या. प्र. p. 149. In this compound word होम is the principal word and the word द्वि is उपसर्जन (or अवयव). Therefore द्विहोम is the name of a rite.

दशहरान्याय — Vide प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण of भरद्वाज p. 18, प्रायश्चित्त p. 81, द्युतिवत्त pp. 240-241. There is a व्रत on the 10th tithi of the bright half of Jyestha called दशहरा, since it removes ten sins. The maxim means that in certain cases, by a single performance one may be able to secure several objects.

दृष्ट प्रयोजनमुत्पृज्य न अन्यमदृष्ट कल्पयितुम् ।

दृष्टे कले अदृष्टफलरूपना अन्याय्या ।

दृष्टे सति अदृष्टकल्पनाऽन्याय्या ।

दृष्टे संभज्यदृष्टस्यान्याय्यत्वम् ।

Vide शबर on जे IX 3. 3 p. 1745, on जे X 2. 23 p. 1835 and 00 X, 2. 34 p. 1838, भी. न्या. प्र. p. 201, एकादशीतत्त्व p. 89, भागती 00 वे सू. III. 3. 14 and H. of Dh. vol. III p. 837 n. 1628 and above p. 1260 note 2051.

देहलीदीपन्याय — देहली door-sill. A lamp thereon sheds light inside the room as well as outside. This is the same as प्रासाददीपन्याय below. प्रदीपयत् occurs in जे XI 1. 61, vide शबर thereon. च्य. न. p. 149 explaining या. II 139 employs it.

द्वयोः प्रणयन्तिन्याय — जे VII 3. 19-25, Relied upon and explained in Mit. on Yāj. II 135, दायभाग XI 5. 16 p. 194 and च्य. प्र. pp. 500-502 and 535, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 704-705 note 1347a for explanation.

धेनुकिशोरन्याय — जे VII 4. 7 (in which the words यथा धेनुः किशोरेण occur), शबर explains it clearly. धेनु, ordinarily means 'cow', but किशोर means 'foal'. Therefore in कृष्णकिशोरा धेनु, धेनु means 'mare'.

न तो पशौ करोति न मोमे — जे X. 8. 5 and XII 1. 7 तो refers to आज्यभानौ, vide व्यवहारसार p. 231 (part of दृढिहमसाद), द. भी. p. 182 and above p. 1249.

न विधी परः शब्दार्थः — means that it is not permissible to hold that in a विधि-वाक्य a word thereon has a meaning other than the direct one. The कल्पतरु 00 भागती (on वे सू. I. 1. 1 p. 10) explains 'निधायकं शब्दे परी लक्ष्य-शब्दार्थो न भवति', vide शबर on IV. 4. 19 (which says अनुवादं च लक्षणा न्याय्या न निधी) and also on IV. 1. 8, where the ten यज्ञास्तुथा (स्य वाग्देवो sword etc.) mentioned in तो सं. I. 6. 8. 2-3 are held to be an अनुवाद and not a विधि. Vide परा. मा. I. 2. p. 298 and मद. पा. p. 372, दत्त. भी. p. 180.

नटाश्वद्वधरण्याय — Vide शबर on जै II 1 1 p 376, तन्त्रवा ०० जै. I 2, 7 and on III, 3, 11 p. 818 This is an old न्याय. वार्तिक 16 on पा I 1, 50 is संप्रयोगो वा नटाश्वद्वधरण्यात् and the महाभाष्य explains 'तवाश्वो नटो ममापि रथो दग्धः, उभौ संप्रयुज्यावहे इति'. मेधा. on मनु V 51 and भामती on I. 1 4 p 108 mention it The idea is इतरेतरोपकारकत्व.

न हि निन्दा निन्ध्यं निन्दितं प्रयुज्यते, अपि तु विधेयं स्तोत्रम् — vide H of Dh. II, p. 581 n 1359 and above p 96 n 237 for passages from Śābara and Tantravārtika The मित्ता on पा. III 221 paraphrases it

न ह्येकस्य शब्दस्यानेकार्थता सत्यां गतौ न्याय्या — Vide शबर on जै. VIII, 3, 22 and IX, 4, 18 and the न्याय 'अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम्' above p 1339

नागृहीतविशेषणन्याय — This is often expressed in the form नागृहीतविशेषणा विशेष्ये बुद्धिरुपपद्यते (as in शबर on जै VII 2, 13) or as न ह्यप्रतीते विशेषणे विशिष्ट केचन प्रत्येतुमर्हन्ति (as in शबर on जै I 3, 33 p. 304). Vide तन्त्रवा. pp 304, 326, 916, एका तत्र p. 15, बुद्धितत्त्व p 313, व्य न p. 89 (and the present author's notes thereon pp 117-118).

नास्ति वचनस्यातिभारः — This न्याय occurs very frequently in शबर and धर्मशास्त्र works in different forms, but the meaning is the same viz 'there is nothing too heavy (i. e. impossible to prescribe) for a sacred text' Vide शबर ०० जै II, 2 27 (किमिव हि वचनं न कुर्यान्नास्ति . भारः), on जै III 2 3, X 5, 11, on जै VI. 1 44, the wording is 'न हि वचनस्य किञ्चिदलभ्यं नाम'. शाङ्कराचार्य on वे सू III 3, 41 and III, 4 32 employs it Vide विश्वरूप on पा. I. 58 (referred to in H of Dh vol II, p. 525 n 1224), मित्ता on याज्ञ III 298 (H. of Dh vol IV, p 66 n 161, परा. सा. II 1 p 202 and II, 2 p 64).

निमित्तगतं विशेषणमविवक्षितम् — Similar to आत्यधिकरणन्याय. Vide विश्वरूप on पा. III 212

निमित्तवृत्ता नेमित्तिनाश्रुति — जै VI 2, 27-28 and 29. Such passages as मिच्छे जुहोति स्क्वे जुहोति really lay down that whenever such a *nimitta* as breaking occurs a fresh homa has to be performed. Vide मेधा on मनु XI, 220 (एतदुष्टास्तथा &c) and मित्ता on पा I. 81.

निरादर्शपत्तिन्याय — जै VI. 1 51-52. Vide H. of Dh vol II, p 46, vol. IV, p 2; n 58 and above pp. 1295-96 and n 2121 It is employed by परा. ना, I. 1 p 49, प्राय वि p 132, व्य, स p 112.

न्यायसाध्य — नि सि. p 67 states that rules about śrāddha on a solar eclipse apply by analogy to śrāddha on a lunar eclipse

पक्षमक्षालनन्याय — This is expressed in the half verse 'पक्षालनाद्धि पङ्क्तस्य दूरादभ्यर्जनं यस्मै' introduced by विश्वरूप on यर I. 210 with the words तथा च दक्षिणा This half verse is उपपर्व 2 49, which reads श्रेयो न स्वर्गो न वृणाम् and the other half is धर्मार्थे यस्य विज्ञेया उर तस्य निरीहता. शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू III 2 22 quotes it

पदार्थमापत्ताधिकरण — जै I 3 5-7 on the place of आचमन to view of the words वेदं हत्वा वेदिं कुर्यात् and explained by शबर on I. 3, 7.

पदार्थाभिमतम् — टी. V 2 1-2 and vide कण्डासुतमच above p. 1342.

परमतमन्तिनिरन्तरमतं भवति — This is like 'silence shows consent' — Vide दत्त. मी p 82 and H of Dh vol. III, p 669 n 1264 and शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. II, 4, 12.

पर्णमयीन्याय — जै. III. 6 1-8; certain passages like यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति न स पापं श्लोकं कृणोति occur in जै. III 5 7, 2 without express reference to any topic. They are to be applicable to the modifications. Vide मी. न्या. म p 117 and आसती on वे. सू. I 1. 4 pp. 123-124.

पशुन्याय — जै IV. 1. 11 and हुपदीका pp 1203-5 on the Vedic text यो दीक्षितो यदग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभते The emphasis is that both एकस्व and दुस्व are to be insisted on

पशुपुरोडाशन्याय — जै XII I. 1-6, vide प्रायश्चित्तमकरण of भवदेव p. 20, प्राय वि. p. 85 and गोविन्दानन्द's तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on the latter and n 2205

पिष्टपेषणन्याय — Occurs in Śabara's Bhāṣya on Jai IX 2. 3, XII 2. 16, तन्त्रवा. I. 2. 31 p 147. पिष्टपेषण — Means grinding what is already well ground and therefore unnecessary repetition (of arguments).

पृष्ठाकोटन्याय — Literally means 'bending the back again and again to observe each of many objects lying on the ground' Vide शबर on जै II. 1. 32 and तन्त्रवा thereon p 434. The मित्ता. on या III. 216 employs it

मकुतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थे सद्व्रतः — Vide शबर on जै III 4 12 p 922 and oo जै. XI 1 22 p 2013, तन्त्रवा. on जै. II 1. 1 p 380, III 1. 12 p 674, III. 4. 12 p 902, III. 7 10 p 1080 It occurs in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on या. III. 1. 67 Vide above pp 1235-38 n 2010.

प्रतिनिधिन्याय — जै. VI 3 13-17, स्मृतिच. (on आह p. 460). It means श्रुतद्रव्यापचारे द्रव्यान्तर प्रतिनिधाय प्रयोगः कर्तव्यः.

प्रतिनिमित्तं नैमित्तिकशास्त्रमावर्तते — Vide the न्याय 'निमित्तावृत्तौ' etc. above, मित्ता. on या. III. 263-64 and 288 for this form of the न्याय.

प्रतिपदाधिकरण — मी. न्या. म p 47 The first part of the interpretation of जै. II I 1 by Śabara is so called and the 2nd part is called भावार्थधिकरण

प्रतिपद्यानं गुणावृत्तिः — शबर on जै III 3. 14 p. 844, परा. मा. I. I p. 391 illustrates it

प्रथमातिक्रमे कारणाभावात् — जै. X. 5. I and 6 (on which शबर says ये क्रमवन्त आरब्ध-व्यास्ते प्रथमादुपक्रमितव्याः), तन्त्रवा. on जै. III 2 20 p 772 and on III. 4. 51 p. 988, च म. p 134

प्रधानमल्लनिवर्हणन्याय — Lit. 'Crushing the principal wrestler', the idea being that lesser champions would be regarded as vanquished if the principal wrestler is vanquished. Vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू. I. 4 28 and II 1. 12.

प्रधानस्य चोद्दिश्यमानस्य विशेषणमविवक्षितम् — Vide हुपदीका on जै VII. I 2, p 1526 and the न्याय 'उद्दिश्यमानस्य' etc. above.

प्रयोजनमल्लोद्दिश्य न संदोऽपि प्रवर्तते — Vide श्लोकवा (सम्बन्धाक्षेपः verse 55 p. 653 quoted above on p. 1179 n 1917.

प्रस्तरमहरणन्याय — जै III. 2 11-15 referring to the direction to दर्शपूर्णमास 'सूक्तवाकेन प्रस्तरं महरति' (the priest casts the bunch of kuśās called *prastara* into the fire to the accompaniment of Sūktavāka mantra, which thns becomes an aṅga) For प्रस्तर, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1013 and for सूक्तवाकमन्त्र H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1073 n 2398.

मासाददीपन्याय—same as देहलीदीपन्याय. Vide शबर on जै. XII. I. 1 and 3.

प्रेषङ्गन्याय—Vide तन्त्रा on जै II. I. 12, p 415 It refers to the example cited by शबर on जै I 3. 8 'तत्र केचिदीर्षयुक्तेषु यवशब्दं प्रयुज्यते केचिद्विग्रहपु'.

फलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम्—In जै IV 4. 34 (which is a lengthy sūtra) we have the words तद्युक्तं स्वयलक्षणं यफलवत्त्वं तत्संनिधावसंयुक्तं तदङ्गं स्यात्. Vide शबर on जै IV. 4. 19, कुट्टुक on मनु II 101-102 employs it and so does the Śābhara-bhāṣya on V.S II. 1 14. Vide H. of Db vol IV p 481 n 1082.

घर्हिर्न्याय—जै. III 2 1 शबर cites the mantra बर्हिर्देवसदनं द्वाग्नि (I cnt off barhis as an abode for the deity) and remarks that the mukhya sense is to be takeo and not ganna (secondary sense, based on similarity)

वाह्मणकौण्डिन्याय—Vide तत्कौण्डिन्याय above p. 1343. The मित्ता on या. III 257 refers to it

वाह्मणपरिब्राजकन्याय—शबर on जै II. 1. 43 has 'इतो वाह्मणा भोज्यन्तान्मित्रः परिव्राजका इति'. The भान्ति on वे. सू III. I. 11 states that this nyāya means the same thing as मोषलीवर्दन्याय The शाङ्करभाष्य mentions it on वे. सू I 4. 16, II 3. 15, III I II Vide सुषोधिनी on या II. 96 (ed. by Mr Gharpure).

वाह्मणवसिष्ठन्याय—मेधा. on मनु VII. 35 employs it. वसिष्ठ also was a brāhmaṇa but he may be separately mentioned as he was most eminent in *śāpas*.

भावार्थाधिकरण—जै. II I I, नी न्या. म p 128 and p. 1236 n 2010 above.

भूतभक्ष्यसमुच्चारणन्याय or भूतभक्ष्यसमुच्चारणे भूतं भक्ष्यागोपदिश्यते—शबर frequently mentions it as on जै II. 1. 4, III. 4 40, IV. 1 18, VI. I 1, IX. I 9. The हुप्टिका on जै IV I 18 explains 'भूतं ब्रूयं भव्यां क्रियां निर्वर्तयतीति क्रियातोऽष्टयम्'. च. म. p. III mentions it, vide the present author's notes thereon pp 173 ff and H of Db, vol III. p. 695 n 1322

भूयमान्याय or भूयसा स्वास्त्यर्मेत्वम्—based on जै XII. 2. 22 (विप्रतिदिष्टधर्माणां समवाये भूयसा स्वात् सधर्मेत्वम्) When there is a composite sacrifice comprising several rites the various details of which present conflicts the procedure to be adopted is such as to secure the performance of the details common to the largest number; this is relied upon in स्मृतित्व (on श्राद्ध p 498) and च्यव नि. p 202.

मादसुद्रन्याय—जै VI. 3 20 The rule is that if a substance prescribed for a sacrifice cannot be had, a similar substance may be used (as पुतीक for सोम mentioned by Śabara on जै. VI 3. 14). but where a substance is expressly forbidden it cannot be employed as a substitute, even when it is similar to the one prescribed. If mādga pulse cannot be had māsa pulse cannot be used, as Tai S. V. 1. 8. 1 declares māsa grains to be unfit for sacrifice. Vide मित्ता. on या II. 126, दायभाग XIII. 16 (in both this nyāya is mentioned), प्राय. तत्त्व p 482, च्यव म. p. 555.

मिष सन्धन्याय—same as वात्रेर्ग्रीव्याय (जै. III. 1. 23).

मिषोऽसन्धन्याय—जै III I. 22 and शबर thereon and मद् या p 89. A gunavākya (clause laying down a subsidiary matter) is not to be taken as subsidiary to another gunavākya, as both are subsidiary to the main purpose and are of equal status. There are two rites viz. Agnyādhya

and Pavamāoa offerings and it is stated that one of these is subordinate to the other Both observe the same purpose, viz. being employed in Darśapūrnamāsa and other sacrifices. A Vedic text states that vessels made of Varana and Vaikankata wood are fit for sacrifices, but a vessel of Varana wood is not to be used for homa while one of Vaikankata may be used. Both classes of vessels are subsidiary to sacrifices, but the text about not using Varana vessel in homa is of a general character. Therefore, one of the two clauses is not subordinate to the other, Hence Vaikankata vessels are to be used in yāgas in which homa is requisite, but Varana vessels are not to be used in such yāgas.

मुख्यगौणयोश्च मुख्ये सप्रत्ययः — शबर ०० जै III 2 1. Vide above गौणमुख्ययोश्च etc. मुख्यप्रत्ययचारे (or मुख्यलालभे) प्रातिनिधि शास्त्रार्थः — जै VI 3 13-17; vide तिथितत्त्व p. 13, दत्त. मी p. 206.

यथाशक्तिन्याय — जै. VI 3 1-7, vide H of Dh vol. III p 373 and above pp 1163-64, धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय p 105, एका. तत्त्व pp 18, 26.

पवरादाधिकरण — जै. I. 3. 9 and above p 1293 note 2116

यश्चोभयोः पक्षयोर्दोषो न तमेकश्चोभो भवति or यश्चोभ... नासावेकं पक्षं निवर्तयति or यश्चो... नासावेकस्य वाच्यः — Vide शबर on जै. VIII. 3 7 and 14 (pp 1616, 1619) and X 1 25 p 1816.

यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्ध इति न्यायात् — This is part of the verse यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्धो दूरधेनापि तरसः । अर्थतो ह्यसमर्थनामानन्तर्यमकारणम् । q by न्यायमुद्रा (p. 1076) on तन्त्रवा III. 1 27 as वृद्धश्लोक, तन्त्रवा p 744 has यस्य .. सम्बन्ध इति न्यायात् Vide above p 1298 n 2124 This n्याय is employed also in works on Poetics, e g. the व्यक्तित्विक-न्यायव्या p. 39 (TSS) and by अभिनवभारती on नाट्यशास्त्र (G O. S. vol I. p 210 'तथापि यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्ध इत्यर्थकम आदर्शयो न शब्द इति')

यान्वृत्तनं वाचनिकम् — Vide शबर on जै. V 4 11 (यान्वृत्तं न तत्र न्यायः क्रमते) and on V 3 12 (यान्वृत्तं कं न सहस्रपुस्तकमिति). The idea is in the case of an authoritative text that much only is to be accepted as covered by it which is expressed by the words used and that it should not be made applicable to other cases on the ground of similarity or analogy. Vide तन्त्रवा ०० जै III 5. 19, भास्की on वे सू IV 1. 4 and ०० IV. 3. 4; मेधा ०० मनु X. 127 applies this maxim. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 469 n 1101.

सुगपद्वृत्तिद्वयविरोधन्याय — One and the same word in a *vrddhi* cannot be taken to have been used at the same time in the primary sense as well as in the secondary sense. Vide जै III. 2 1 and शबर thereon, व्य. स p. 92 and notes there on by the present author (pp 129-131), दायभाग III. 30 p 67 and H of Dh. vol III, p 725 note 1399 and above pp. 1292-93 notes 2112-14

योगसिद्ध्याधिकरण — जै IV 3 27-28 The *vyogatishtam* does not simultaneously bring out all the rewards but only one after another. The word occurs in sūtra 28 itself and योगसिद्धि means पर्याय according to शबर. Vide मेधा ०० मनु XI. 220, छुद्धितत्त्व p. 239 (for explanation), प्राय. वि. p. 78 and प्राय प्रकरण of भवदेव (p. 18).

स्थकाराधिकरणन्याय—Vide जै VI. 1. 44-50, मी न्या प्र p. 113 and above
p 1290 n 2110 and परा मा I. 1. p 48.

शत्रिप्तत्रयनाय— जै IV, 3, 17-19 and H. of Dh. vol IV, p. 602 note 1367,
above p 1227 n 1995 and दत्त मी p 207, भास्ती on शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू
I 1 4 p. 111 as part of the Pūrvaṇṇa

रुचिर्वागमपहरति — This means that the conventional meaning of a word is to be preferred to the etymological meaning as in the case of the word 'rathalāra' in Jai VI 1 44 ff., vide परा मा. I. 1 p. 300. As against this one must note another nūya sometimes relied upon viz. योगसम्भवे परिभाषाया अशुक्लत्वात् (used by the निता on च II. 143 about the meaning of the word लीधन). Vide H of Dh vol II p 780 n 1508 and the नी. न्या. प. pp 112-113

रेवत्याधिकरणन्याय— जे. II 2. 27 and सी न्या प्र pp 40-42

लक्षणा छद्मकल्पनाया ज्यायसी—Vide शबर on जै I 1. p. 7 and I. 4. 2 p. 324.

वर्चोन्याय—जे III 8 25-27. In दशरूपामास the adhvaryu priest recites 'ममाग्रे वर्चो विवेदयस्ति' (मै सं. I 4. 5). The reward, however, goes to the sacrificer and not to the adhvaryu, as the latter works for a fee.

वाजपेयन्याय— जै I. 4 6-8 In the sentence वाजपेयेन स्वाराज्यकामो यजेत, वाजपेय is the name of a yāga and does not lay down any detail about a sacrifice; mentioned in Mīt on Yāj. I. 81.

पार्श्वहीन्याय—जे III. 1. 23 Tai S. II. 5. 2. 5 lays down that the Vātraghñī verses are recited on Purnamāsī and the Vrdhanvatī verses on Amāvāsyā. These two are prescribed in relation to sacrifices that require the recitation of two annvālyās. There is only one annvākyā at the Darśa or Purnamāsī rite; therefore these verses cannot be used in Darśapūrnāmāsa. But two annvālyās are known to be used in the Āyabbhāgas, which are subsidiary offerings in Darśa-Pūrnāmāsa. Therefore, the two annvālyās 'Vātraghñī' and 'Vrdhanvatī' are to be connected with Āyabbhāgas alone and not with the principal rite.

विधिबलिगदाधिकरण—Vide above pp 1239–40 note 2015; दायभाग II. 30 (स्थावरं द्विपदं ... न विक्षयः) remarks 'कतस्थपदमवश्यमत्राध्याहार्यम्' This is a विधि, though there is no word expressing exhortation.

विश्वजिह्वाय— श्री IV. 3 15-16. Where no fruit or reward is expressly pre-
scribed for a sacrifice *svarga* is the reward This is so with the *Viśvajit*
sacrifice in which the sacrificer had to donate all that he owned at the
time of the sacrifice, mentioned by मेधा on मनु II, 2, परा. मय I 1 p. 148,
मन्त्रा. तत्तु p. 23.

विधौ लक्षणा अन्याय्या—Vide शबर on जै I. 2. 29, IV. 4 19 and the न्याय 'न विधौ
पर शब्दार्थ' above मलमासतत्त्व (p. 760) relies on this

पंचदेव्याः— ज १ ४, १३-१६ पञ्चदेव is the first *parva*, of the four *parvas* of
Cāturvīdya. It is a name (*nāmādheya*) and not a *gunavādhī*. It is
employed in the दत्त श्री p. 239

पेशान्तराधिगणनाय — Vide आतेष्टिन्याय.

शाश्वतान्तरन्याय — जे. II 4 8-33 It is the same as सर्वशाश्वतप्रत्ययन्याय below.

श्रुतिलक्षणाविशये च श्रुतिन्याय्या न लक्षणा—Vide शबर on IV. 1. 23, IV. 1. 46, IV 2-30.

षोडशिन्याय—जै X. 8 6, vide above p. 1249 n 2030 on अतिरात्रे षोडशिनं युक्ताति and नातिरात्रे... युहति, अर्थसंग्रह p. 24.

संयोगपृथक्त्वन्याय—जै. IV. 3 5-7 The word संयोगपृथक्त्व occurs in जै IV. 3 5 itself; vide above p 86 note 217, मेधा on मनु II 107, परा मा I. 1. 60, प्राय तत्त्व p 474, एका तत्त्व pp. 29-30, तिथितत्त्व p 44, नि. सि. p. 84.

सकृत्कृते कृतं शास्त्रार्थः—Vide शबर on जै. XI. 1. 28 and XII. 3, 10, employed in एका तत्त्व p. 32 and उद्वाहृतत्त्व p. 133, it is mentioned in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 4 on पा V1 1 84 This nyāya has a limited application and often the maxim निमित्तावृत्तौ etc. (i. e. repetition) applies

सकृच्छ्रुतं श्रुद्वस्तमेवार्थं गमयति—Vide द्वायभाग III. 29-30 p 67, मद पा p. 369, accepted in 6 Cal. 119, 126 (F. B) and in L. R. 41 I A p. 290 at pp. 303-4

समं स्यादश्रुतिवात्—This is the पूर्वपक्षसूत्र in जै. X. 3 53-55, but it is held generally applicable unless there is a special or express provision for unequal distribution. This is followed in मित्ता on याज्ञ. II. 265, द्वायभाग IV 8 p 80 (on स्त्रीधनविभाग), स्मृतिच (II pp 152 and 285), कुल्लूक on मनु III 1. (समं स्यादश्रुतत्वादिति न्यायेन प्रति. द्वादशवर्षाणि व्रताचरणम्), परा मा I. 2 p 362, मदनमल (on व्यवहार) p. 204.

सप्तदशसामिधेयिन्याय—जै III 6. 9 Passages like सप्तदश सामिधेयनीयुज्यात् in At Br 1. 1 that occur without being attached to any particular sacrifice are applicable only to vikrtis and not to the model (prakṛti) sacrifice, vide मित्ता on या I. 256

सर्वपरिदानाधिकरण—जै III. 4 17 based on Tai. S. II. 6 10 1-2 which prohibits threatening or striking a brāhmana Vide H of Dh vol. III. p 515 note 937-938 and प्राय तत्त्व p. 479, प्राय ति p 6

सर्वशक्त्यधिकरणन्याय—Vide यथाशक्तिन्याय and एका तत्त्व pp 18, 26

सर्वज्ञास्त्राप्रत्ययन्याय—जै. II. 4. 8-33. Vide H. of Dh vol. III p. 870 note 1693, vol IV. pp 89-90 note 211, pp. 453-55 note 1011 and मित्ता. on या. III. 325, अपरार्क p 1053, स्मृतिच. (I p 5), मद पा. pp 11 and 91, छुद्रितत्त्व pp. 378, 380 and above p. 1273 n 2074

सामान्यविशेषन्याय—Vide शबर on जै VII. 3 16 (वाच्यते च सामान्यं विशेषेण) and तरत्रवा. p 1030 on जै III. 6 9 'तत्र नाम विशेषेण सामान्यस्य निराक्रिया। प्रत्यक्षी यत्र सम्बन्धो विशेषेण प्रतीयते। तुल्यप्रमाणको हि विशेषो बाधको भवति न दुर्बल-प्रमाणकः' and p. 1120, vide for examples स्मृतिच (on व्यवहार pp 142, 299, 381) and परा मा. 1. p. 233.

सामर्थ्याधिकरण—जै. 1 4 25 Vide above p 1291 note 2111.

सारस्वतौ भवतः—जै V 1 14, vide above pp. 1315-16 n 2164 and स्मृतिच. (on व्यवहार p 297), छुबोधिनी (on पितरौ) on p 72 (text) and p 183 (tr by Mr. J. R. Gharpure)

सार्थक्यन्याय—जै. I 2. 1 and 7, vide p. 1284 and शबर on जै II. 2 6 and on III 1 18 (on आनर्थक्यात्तदङ्गेषु). अनर्थक means either 'meaningless' or 'purposeless'.

सुवर्णधारणन्याय — जै III. 4. 20-24. In तै. ब्रा. II, 2. 4. 6 there is a passage not connected with any specific sacrifice viz सुवर्णं हिरण्यं भार्यम् (one should wear bright gold) This is a purnasadharma and not a sarvaparakarana-dharma. Vide मिता, on या. II 135-136, where this is used as an argument against the view that all wealth is for *yajña*.

सुक्तवाकन्याय — Vide जै. III. 2 16-19 and प्रस्तरप्रहरणन्याय (p 1346) for the meaning of सुक्तवाक and प्रस्तर In these sūtras it is established that the whole सुक्तवाक is not to be recited in both Purnamāsa-īsti and Darśa-īsti, but only those portions of it that refer respectively to the deities of the two istis.

स्थालीपुलाकन्याय — The word स्थालीपुलाक occurs in Jai VII. 4 12 itself, vide शबर on जै. VIII. 1. 11 and तन्त्रवा on जै. III. 5 19 p. 998 The महाभाष्य knew it since it says on वार्तिक 15 to या I. 4 23 'पर्यातो ह्येक. पुलाकः स्थाल्या निर्देशनाय'.

रथूणानिखनन्याय — Fixing a post firmly in the earth by frequently pushing it down and about, occurs in शबरभाष्य on जै. VII 2. 1 and शाङ्करभाष्य ०० वे, सू II. 1 34 and III 3. 53

स्वर्गकामाधिकरण — जै. VI 1. 1-3, referred to in H. of Dh vol. IV, p. 169.

ऐतुपलिगदाधिकरण — जै I. 2 26-30. Vide H. of Dh, vol III, p. 676 and notes 1276-77, विश्वरूप on या. III, 263, मलमासतत्त्व p. 760 for application.

शोलाकाधिकरण — जै. I. 3. 15-23. Vide above p. 1281 n 2093 for explanation

SECTION VIII

Relation of Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Tarka to Dharmaśāstra

CHAPTER XXXI

Dharmaśāstra and Sāṅkhya.

Sāṅkhya is one of the well-known six *darśanas* (philosophical points of view)

Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya ²²⁰³ on V. S. II 2. 17 says that Manu and others who were deeply versed in the Veda took up to some extent in their works the doctrine of *madhūna* being the cause of the world with the idea of relying on that part of its doctrine viz. the effect is (already) existent in the cause. Similarly, on V. S. I. 4. 28 he says that great effort was made by the Sūtrakāra and himself for refuting the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya system (and not for the refutation of the theory of atoms being the cause of the world), since the Sāṅkhya system is near to the Vedānta as it accepts the view of the non-difference of cause and effect and as some Dharmaśāstra writers like Devala have had resort to it in their works. On V. S. II. 1. 3 Śaṅkarācārya remarks that, though there are many smṛtis dealing with metaphysical topics, great effort was made for the refutation of Sāṅkhya and Yoga only, since the two systems are well-known in the world as means of securing the highest goal of man, as they have been accepted by *śiṣṭas* (respectable and learned people) and are supported by Vedic indications in their favour (as in Śvetāśvatara Up. 'tat-kāranam sāṅkhyayogābhīpannam' VI. 13). It would be shown later on that Manu and Devala rely on and propound (some) Sāṅkhya doctrines.

2203. प्रधानकारणवादो वेदविद्विरपि कैश्चिन्मन्वादिभिः सत्कार्यत्वाद्यंशोपजीवनाभि-
प्रायेणोपनिषद् । अथ तु परमाणुकारणवादो न कैश्चिदपि शिष्टैः केनचिदप्येकेन परिगृहीत
इत्यत्यन्तमेवानादरणीयो वेदवादिति । शाङ्कर on वे. सू. II. 2 17 (अपरिग्रहाच्चात्यन्तमन-
पेक्षा); “ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दश्च”-इत्यारभ्य प्रधानकारणवादः सूत्रैरेव पुनः पुनराशङ्क्य निराकृतः
तस्य हि पक्षस्योपोद्बलकानि कानिचिद्विद्वद्भासानि वेदान्तेष्वापातेन मन्दमतीन्द्रतिभ्रान्तीति ।
स च कार्यकारणानन्धत्वाभ्युपगमात्प्रत्यासन्नो वेदान्तवादस्य । देवलमश्रुतिभिश्च कैश्चिद्धर्म-
सूत्रकारैः स्वग्रन्थेष्वभिहितस्तेन तत्प्रतिषेधे यत्नोऽस्तीव कृतो नाण्वादिकारणवादप्रतिषेधे ।” शाङ्कर-
भाष्य on वे. सू. I. 4. 28.

It would not be irrelevant to say a few words about the origin and development of the Sāṅkhya system. This (rise of Sāṅkhya) is one of the most difficult problems in Indian philosophy. A good many works and papers have been written on the Sāṅkhya system.²¹⁰⁹ As to what the original Sāṅkhya teaching revised in the Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa was, no generally accepted answer can be given. From the 5th century A. D. at least the Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa has been regarded as the foremost exponent of the Sāṅkhya. The Sāṅkhyakārikā and a commentary on it were translated into Chinese about 546 A. D. by Paramārtha, originally a brāhmana of Bhāradvāja gotra and a śramana from Ujjayinī (vide BEFEO, 1904, p. 60). Śāṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 4. 11 quotes the whole of the 3rd verse of the Sāṅkhyakārikā and the first quarter of it on V. S. I. 4. 8. But the Sāṅkhya system, it appears, went through several phases. Chinese sources say that there were eighteen Sāṅkhya schools (p. 2 of Johnston's "Early Sāṅkhya," quoting Takakusu in BEFEO, 1904, p. 58).

There is the Sāṅkhyasūtra or Sāṅkhyapravācanasūtra attributed to Kapila (published with two commentaries viz that of Aniruddha and parts of the *Tikā* of Vedāntin Mahādeva edited by Garbe in B. I. Series 1881). This is a late work composed about 1400 A. D. as shown by Garbe in his Introduction and by

2209. Those interested in Sāṅkhya may consult the following: Fitz-Edward Hall's 'Introduction to Sāṅkhya-pravācana-bhāṣya' (B. I. Series 1856); 'Sāṅkhya-Kārikā' exposition of the system of Kapila, translation and notes by John Davies (first published in 1881, 2nd ed. in 1957, Calcutta), Richard Garbe's 'Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie', 1894, and Introduction to his edition of the Sāṅkhyapravācana-bhāṣya of Viśvānabhiṣan in the Harvard Oriental Series; 'Six systems of philosophy' by Prof. Max-Müller ed. of (1903) pp. 219-330, 'the Philosophy of the Upanishads' by Paul Deussen translated by A. S. Geden (1906) pp. 239-255, Prof. A. B. Keith's Sāṅkhya system (1924); 'Early Sāṅkhya' by E. H. Johnston (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, 1937), Das-Gupta's 'Indian Philosophy', Vol. I, pp. 208-273 (1922), Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'Indian Philosophy', Vol. II, pp. 248-335 (1927) and 'Philosophy, Eastern and Western', Vol. I, pp. 242-257, 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof. A. B. Keith, Vol. II, pp. 535-551, 'Beginning of Epic Sāṅkhya' by Dr. W. Ruben in ABORI, Vol. 37 (1956) pp. 174-189, 'Sāṅkhya in the Mokṣapāra' by Shri Jayadev Yogendra in J. of Bom. Uni. (1957), Vol. 26, New Series, Arts number, pp. 123-141; 'Studies in Sāṅkhya, Pañcāśikha and Caraka' in ABORI Vol. 38, pp. 140-147 and 'Studies in Sāṅkhya', the teaching of Pañcāśikha to the Mahābhārata' ABORI, Vol. 38, pp. 233-244, both by Shri V. M. Bedekar.

Fitz-Edward Hall in his learned Introduction to the edition of the Sāṅkhyapravacana-bhāṣya (B. I. Series, 1856). There is an edition of 23 sūtras called Tattvasamāsa with a commentary called Kramadīpikā in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series which has also published several other brief late works that are passed over here. Several commentaries on the Sāṅkhyakārikā have been published. The earliest appears to be the one translated into Chinese by Paramārtha about 546 A. D., which has been reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese by the learned Pandit Aiyaswami Sastri and published (in 1944) in the Sri. Venkatesvara Oriental Series with a valuable Introduction; another commentary styled Mātharavṛtti was published (in 1922) in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Dr. Belvalkar (in ABORI vol. V. pp. 133-161) contributed a long and scholarly paper on the Mātharavṛtti in which he holds that the Mātharavṛtti is the original of the commentary translated into Chinese by Paramārtha together with some accretions made from time to time, that Gaudapāda's commentary is a simplified abridgment of the Mātharavṛtti (p. 148), that the Mātharavṛtti cannot be placed later than 450 A. D. (p. 155) and that Īśvarakṛṣṇa cannot be assigned to a date later than 250 A. D. (p. 168). Prof. A. B. Keith in 'Sāṅkhya system' (p. 51) places Īśvarakṛṣṇa at a date not later than 325 A. D. Another early commentary is the Yuktidīpikā of an unnamed author edited from a single ms. by Shri Pulinabehari Chakravarti in Calcutta Sanskrit Series (1938). This is a very valuable commentary and has been very competently edited even from a single ms, though there are a few gaps here and there. That commentary is replete with quotations and polemical discussions, mentions several Sāṅkhya teachers who differed among themselves and whose opinions are cited on many topics. For example, vide under Vindhyavāsin below. It mentions some ācāryas that are hardly ever mentioned in any Sāṅkhya work. It frequently cites an author called Pañcādhikarāna (vide pp. 6, 108, 114, 132, 144, 147, 148 where two Āryās apparently of Pañcādhikarāna are quoted). Another hitherto unknown Sāṅkhyācārya mentioned by this com. is Paurika on p. 169 and p. 175, who holds the surprising view ²²¹⁰ that there is a separate *madhūna* for each Puruṣa. Patañjali is frequently mentioned on pp. 32 (who denied the existence of

2210. प्रतिपुरुषमन्यत् प्रधानं हरिराद्यर्थं करोति । तेषां च माहात्म्यद्वारीरमधानं यदा प्रवर्तते तदेतदाययि, तद्विद्वत्तु च तेषामपि निवृत्तिरिति पीरिक्कः सात्त्विकाचार्यो मन्यते । शुक्तिः
p. 169.

Ahankāra), 108, 132 (there are 12 *karanas* and not 13 as S. Kārikā in verse 32 asserts), 145, 149, 175; Vārsaganāh (in the plural) are mentioned on pp. 39, 67, 95, 102, 133, 145, 170; Vārsagana (pp. 6, 108) and Vārsaganavīra (on pp. 72, 108, 175) styled bhagavān on p. 72 and Vrsaganavīra (on p. 103 probably meaning 'the son of Vrsagana'); all these refer to the views of Vārsaganas Pañcasīkha (p. 31 in the plural, p. 61, p. 175) is mentioned and one passage which is quoted in the Vyāsa-bhāṣya (on Y. S. I 4) and ascribed to Pañcasīkha by Vācaspati is quoted by the Yuktidīpikā on p. 41 as Śāstra. From pp. 113 and 129 it appears that the author of the com. was a Vedāntin.²²¹¹ It is probable that he flourished between 500 and 700 A. D., since he quotes (on p. 39) Dinnāga's definition of 'pratyakṣa' and is not cited by Vācaspati and other commentators on the Sāṅkhya

Gaudapāda composed a commentary on the S. Kārikā but only on 69 verses published in the Ch. S. Series. The Commentary called Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī by the famous writer Vācaspatimīśra was published in the Chowkhamba S. S. in 1919. A commentary called Jayamangalā ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (in the colophon) on the S. Kārikā was published at Calcutta in 1933 by Sri H. Sarma with a brief but interesting Introduction by Principal Gopinātha Kaviraj (vide also I. H. Q. vol. V. pp. 417-431) where Sri H. Sarma tries to prove that the Jayamangalā is earlier than Vācaspatimīśra. Viṇṇānabhikṣu composed (about 1550 A. D.) a bhāṣya on the Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra. The Sūtrakāra and Viṇṇānabhikṣu make efforts to establish the impossible thesis that the teachings of the Sāṅkhya system are not in irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine of a personal God or with the Advaita Vedānta. The Mātharavṛtti on S. Kārikā 71 furnishes the names of certain teachers that flourished between Pañcasīkha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa viz Bhārgava, Ulūka (Kauśika?), Vālmīki, Hārīta, Devala and others, while the Jayamangalā mentions Garga and Gautama as Sāṅkhya teachers after Pañcasīkha (vide note one in Pandit Aiyaswami's edition on p. 99). The Sanskrit commentary reconstructed from the Chinese version of Paramārtha (p. 98 of Pandit Aiyaswami's edition

2211 सङ्ख्यमूलोपनिषदविषयवृत्त्यो हि अयं यतिरेन्द्रियाणामन्तःकरणस्य च प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तौति। एतावत् एतन्नामोऽविद्यापर्वणोऽतिश्रावः परस्य ब्रह्मण्य प्रत्यनन्तरो भवति p. 113; सोऽप धर्मादिषु प्रत्यनन्तनिषेधापक्रान्त. सत्त्वारातो विनिवृत्ताभिमानी ज्ञाननिष्ठ सविष्टुर्गोचिरचिरेण परं ब्रह्मोपपद्यत इति। p. 127

states that the line of teachers and pupils from Pāṇcaśikha is : Pāṇcaśikha-Gārgya-Ulūka-Vārsagana-Īśvarakṛṣṇa. It is clear from the above that several teachers, in any case not less than five or six, intervened between Pāṇcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. From a somewhat mutilated passage²²¹² of the Yuktidīpikā (p. 175) it appears that at least ten persons intervened between Pāṇcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. If this be accepted and if Īśvarakṛṣṇa be assigned to about 250 A. D., then Pāṇcaśikha cannot be placed later than the first century B. C. and may be much earlier still. On 'tena ca bahudhā kṛtam tantram' (S. Kārikā 70) the Yuktidīpikā speaks of *bhagavat* Pāṇcaśikha as 'daśama-kumāra' (tenth son of Prajāpati?) and states that he expounded the sāstra to many persons such as Janaka and Vasiṣṭha and thereby identifies Pāṇcaśikha with the teacher Pāṇcaśikha mentioned by the Śāntiparva (vide note 2186 below).

Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya (II. 23) sets out eight alternative views among Sāṅkhya writers on the question of 'darśana' and 'adarśana' and remarks that the fourth out of the eight alternatives is the real doctrine of the Sāṅkhyasāstra²²¹³. From about the 5th century A. D. the Sāṅkhyakārikā has been regarded as the standard work on the Sāṅkhya system. The S. Kārikā itself states that the holy sāstra was expounded by Kapilamuni to Āsuri, who expounded²²¹⁴ it to Pāṇcaśikha and the latter expounded the (Sāṅkhya) system to several disciples and that it came down to Īśvarakṛṣṇa in a succession of teachers and disciples, who summarised it in Ārya

2212. अन्व तु शास्त्रस्य भगवतोऽयं प्रवृत्तन्मातन शास्त्रान्तरवत् यदा शास्त्रो वर्धमदलं रज्याग्न्यातुम् । संक्षेपेण तु हान ... (gap) शास्त्रोन्नादुलि-कृत-परिक-रूपमेव-पर्याय-करण-वत् श्रुति-पार्वण्य-काण्डिण्य-मुक्तादिकादिप्यपरम्परयागत etc । युक्तिः p 175.

2213. On 'द्रव्यं शास्त्रगता विकल्पाः' of Vyāsa-Bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II. 23 Vācaspati remarks : 'तदेव विकल्प्य चतुर्थं विकल्पं स्वीकृतमितरेषां विकल्पानां मार्गश्चास्त्रगतानां सर्वदुरुपमाधारण्येन भोगमैच्छिष्यामात्रमन्तरेन दूषयति द्रव्यं शास्त्रगता इति ।'

2214. एतन्विविचमयं मुनिरासुरयेऽनुरूपया प्रवृद्धी । आसुरिरपि पञ्चज्ञिग्राय तेन च बहुधा ह्यन तन्वच्च ॥ शिष्यपरम्परयावत्तमीश्वरकृष्णेन चैवद्वयाभिः । संक्षिप्तमार्थमतिना मन्व-विज्ञाया विद्वान्तुम् । मां. का 70-71. It should be noticed that Gaudapāda comments only on 69 verses and omits these two and a subsequent verse 'सत्तन्वां क्रिद वेदार्थान्तेषां कृष्णस्य पठितन्वस्य । आर्यायिकान्तरिहिताः पर्यायविनिताश्चापि ॥', which means that all the matters contained in the whole Sāntiparva (of Pāṇcaśikha) are contained in the seventy verses (of the Sāṅkhyakārikā), excluding the illustrative stories and the controversies with others. The Sāṅkhyakārikā is known as Sāṅkhyasaptati and in Chinese as 'Savarna-saptati'.

verses. Kapila-muni is here said to be the first promulgator of the Sāṅkhya.

Before proceeding further the most characteristic and fundamental conceptions of the standard Sāṅkhya must be set out. The most fundamental conception is that there are two entirely distinct essences existing from eternity, viz. *prakṛti* (i. e. nature or matter) also called *pradhāna* and *avyakta*, and *puruṣa* (soul or spirit, the knowing subject). The 2nd fundamental conception is that puruṣas are many. Another most characteristic feature of the Sāṅkhya system is the doctrine of three ²²¹⁵ *gunas* (factors) called *sattva* (light, intelligent), *rajas* (energetic, active, domineering), *tamas* (coarse, inert, enveloping, dark). *Pradhāna* or *prakṛti* or *avyakta* is said to be constituted by the three *gunas* (*triguṇātma*) when they are in equilibrium (*Sattvarejastamasām sāmyāvasthā*). The Sāṅkhya analysed all physical and mental phenomena. The lowest factor is the heavy impenetrable matter and coarse foolish impulses. They are called *tamas* (described as *guru*, heavy and *varamaka*, enveloping). Then there is the factor of constant change in the physical world as well as in the mental. This is called *rajas* (*cala*, changing and *upastambhaka*, exciting, as the S. Kārika puts it). The third factor or element in the world is the varied operation of consciousness that leads to knowledge and experience, which is called *Sattva* (*laghu*, light as opposed to the coarse, merely material objects and *prakāśaka*, luminous, as contrasted with *tamas*). These three factors or elements combine in various proportions and make up the evolving universe. The three are called *gunas* from several points of view viz they are qualities, they also bind as with a rope the Purusa to *samsāra*. The basis of the universe is to be found in the *gunas*. *Pradhāna*

2215. सत्त्वं लघु प्रकाशकमिदमुपपद्यते च लघु च रजः । शुभ वरणकमेव तमः प्रदीप-
प्राप्यते वृत्तिः ॥ सां. का. 13. *gunas* are so called because they multiply
(*gunapṛatīti*) and evolve objects. Compare 'मोहात्मकं तमस्तेषां रज एषा प्रवर्तकम् ।
प्रकाशमलगात् सत्त्वं ज्ञाय दृश्यते ॥ वनपर्व 212 4 and शीता 14. 5-18 for a dis-
course on the three *gunas*, particularly the following 'सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणः
प्रकृतिसम्भवाः । V. 5. तत्र सत्त्वं निर्मलमात् प्रकाशकमनामयम् । सुखसङ्गेन वदनाति ज्ञानसङ्गेन
चानय । verse 6. रजो रागात्मकं विद्धि दुष्णसङ्गसमुद्भवम् । verse 7. On वे सू II 2 10
गान्तराज्यं notes that the Sāṅkhya system presented contradictions in the
days of the V. S 'परस्परविरुद्धं व्याप सत्त्वानामभ्युपगम । कचित्सतेन्द्रियाण्युक्तानन्ति
कचिदेन्द्रियाः । तथा कचिन्नरुतस्तन्मात्रसर्गमुपदिशन्ति कचिदेन्द्रियात् । तथा कचिरजीव्यन्त-
रराजनि रजपति कचिदेकमिति ।' The seven *indriyas* would be the *ślo*, five
āreन्द्रियाः and *mind*, the three *antahkaranas* would be *buddhi*, *abhyākāra*
and *manas*. The one *antahkaranam* would be *buddhi*.

is not different from the gunas, but it is only the name of the primordial matter before evolution starts. Prakṛti being *anūdi* and eternal, the Sāṅkhya system did not postulate God as creator, and held God to be a superfluity. The Sāṅkhya propounds a theory of cosmic evolution which is practically as reasonable as any modern theory of evolution. It is probably the earliest attempt to furnish an answer from reason alone to the questions about the origin of the world, about the nature of man and his relation to the physical world and man's future destiny. In the nineteenth century mind and matter were held to be entirely different and atoms were supposed to be indivisible. Modern physics has reduced matter to energy but the nature of this last also is a mystery. Under the Sāṅkhya system, *purusa* or *prakṛti* or both serve no religious purpose. There is no definite or convincing answer as to why *purusa* becomes entangled in the web of *prakṛti*. The Sāṅkhya simply says that as a result of non-discrimination *purusa* somehow becomes entangled. The *Vedāntasūtra* refers to *pradhāna* as *smārta* in I. 2. 19 and as 'ānumānika' in I. 4. 1. From *Prakṛti* evolves *mahān* (i. e. *buddhi*, consciousness) from which arises *ahaṅkāra*, from which evolve on the one hand the five *tanmātras* (subtle elements, viz. *śabda*, *sparśa*, *gandha*, *rasa*, *rūpa*) and on the other hand *manas* (mind) and the ten *indriyas* (sense organs). From the five subtle elements are evolved the five great elements, earth, water, *tejas*, *vāyu* and *ākāśa* (ether). These are twentyfour²²¹⁶ *tattvas* (categories) and *purusa* is 25th. *Pradhāna* is distinct from *purusa* and serves the purpose of *purusa* (who is passive and a *sākṣi*) who is distinct from the evolutions of *prakṛti* and is *bhoktr* (and not *kartr*). The Sāṅkhya²²¹⁷ does not admit God. *Prakṛti* and *purusa* come together in order that the latter may see its working; just as a blind man and a cripple (a lame man) may come together (and the blind man may carry the lame man on his shoulder, the latter showing the way and both may reach their destination by this joint effort)²²¹⁸ When

2216 In V. S. I. 4. 11 the *pūrvapakṣa* is advanced as follows (after quoting Br. Up. IV. 4. 17 'yasmin pañca pañcajanā') तथा पञ्चविंशतिसंख्यया यावन्तः संख्येया आकाक्ष्यन्ते तावन्त्येव च तत्त्वानि सारूप्यैः संख्यायन्ते 'मूलमकृतिरविकृतिर्महदाद्याः प्रकृतिर्विकृतयः सप्त। षोडशकश्च विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृतिः पुरुषः ॥'. This last verse is स. का. 3.

2217 The Sāṅkhya-pravacana-sūtra (I. 92-93) states 'ईश्वरासिद्धेः शुक्तपद्मयोरन्यतराभावात् तत्सिद्धिः ॥'

2218. पुरुषस्य दर्शनार्थं कैवल्यार्थं तथा प्रधानस्य । पद्मवन्धवदुभयोरपि सयोगस्तत्कालं सर्वैः सां का. 21. The sixty topics dealt with in the *Sastitantra*, according
(Continued on next page)

purusa realizes the difference between himself²²¹⁹ and the gunas constituting Prakṛti he is liberated. Both Sāṅkhya and Yoga treat the external world as real. They both postulate plurality of souls (purusas), that are eternal and unchanging. This latter is one of the most crucial differences between Sāṅkhya and advaita Vedānta. It is not necessary for our purpose in this chapter to go into greater details. One more doctrine of the Sāṅkhya is called *salkāryavāda* i. e. the theory that the effect already exists in the cause and does not arise from nothing (S. Kārikā, verse 9); compare Chān. Up. VI. 2. 2 (kathamāsataḥ sajjāyeta) and Gītā II. 16 (nāsato vidyate bhāvo).

It is difficult to assign a definite date to the Sāṅkhya-kārikā. As Paramārtha translated the Kārikā as well as commentary on it into Chinese in about 546 A. D. the Kārikā cannot in any case be placed later than about 250-300 A. D. It may be earlier by a few centuries. Umbeka in his commentary on the Śloka-vārtika of Kumārila mentions an author called Mādhava as 'Sāṅkhyānāyaka' and Yuan Chwang also refers to a Sāṅkhya teacher called Mādhava. Dr. Raghavan in 'Sarūpa-Bhārati' (pp 162-164) shows that Mādhava was really a destructive critic of Sāṅkhya, that the proper reading is 'Sāṅkhyānāśaka-Mādhava' and that he was probably earlier than even Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti (i. e. earlier than 500 A. D.).

Śankarācārya in the passage quoted in n. 2208 remarks that certain Upaniṣad passages may be relied upon as apparently supporting the Sāṅkhya system. Some of the Upaniṣad passages that either foreshadow Sāṅkhya doctrines or employ words that have technical meanings in the Sāṅkhya system would be

(Continued from last page)

to the सुक्तिदीपिका p 2 verses 10-12 and the राजवार्तिक quoted by Vācaspati in his commentary साख्यतत्त्वकौस्तुभे were: प्रधानास्तित्वमेकत्वमर्थवत्त्वमथान्यता। पारदर्श च तथाऽनैक्यं विद्येयो योग एव च। शेषवृत्तिरकर्तृत्वं मोलिकार्थाः स्मृता दज्ञ। विपर्यय पञ्चाविमयोक्ता नव तुष्टयः। करणानामसामर्थ्यमटार्षिकतिवा मतम्। इति षड् पदार्थानामटभि सह तिसृभिः ॥ साख्यतत्त्वकौस्तुभे ed by Gangānātha Jha, Bombay, 1896) Vide sa. ka. 47 for the enumeration of 50 topics (in addition to the ten basic ones in the verse प्रधानास्ति) The अष्टादशसंक्षिप्ता in chap XII 20-29 sets out the sixty topics of Sāṅkhya-tantra, but they differ from those enumerated in the Rājavarṭika quoted by Vācaspati

2219. धर्मेण गमनमूर्ध्वं गमनमधस्ताद्वत्परधर्मेण। ज्ञानेन चापगो विपर्ययादिष्यते मन्त्रः। सां प्रारिता। 44. compare गीता 14 18 'अर्थं गच्छन्ति &c.' यादुराचार्य on वे सू. I. 4. 4 states 'ज्ञेयस्य च सांप्रयै. प्रधानं स्मर्यते गुणसुखान्तरज्ञानाकिं ह्यमिति वदद्भिः ॥

cited.²²²⁰ But one passage from the Atharvaveda X. 8. 43 deserves notice, viz. 'the knowers of Brahma know that *yaksa* endowed with *ātman* which abides in the lotus with nine gates (the physical body) covered by three *gunas*.' With this may be compared Śv. Up. III. 18 and Gītā V. 13 (*navadvāre pure dehi*). The Mundaka Up. states 'From Him are born *prāna*, mind, all *indriyas*, the five elements, and sky, wind, *vyoma*, *tejas*, waters and the earth.' The Katha Up refers to *indriyas*, the objects of senses, mind, *buddhi*, *mahān*, *avyakta*, *purusa* as a rising series, similar to that of the Sāṅkhya with one exception viz the Up. does not mention *ahankāra* and holds that *buddhi* and *mahān* are different, while the official Sāṅkhya identifies them. It is, therefore, clear that the evolution in these two Upanisads is very similar to the theory of evolution stated by the classical Sāṅkhya, the only difference being that the Upanisads postulate a supreme Creator (that produces the cosmos) while Sāṅkhya drops the creator and accepts the evolutionary series only. On V. S I. 2. 12 Śaṅkarācārya cites the verse 'dvā suparnā sayujā' (which is Mundaka Up. III 1. 1, Śv Up III. 1 and also Rg. I. 164. 20) and explains it, as referring to the individual self (*jīva*) and the Highest Spirit (*paramātman*) The ācārya then mentions the argument of a predecessor who relies upon *Paṅgirahasya-brāhmaṇa* where the latter half of the verse is explained as mentioning *sattva* (*buddhi*) and *ksetrajñā* (i. e. the individual self). This indicates that some took that verse as putting forward Sāṅkhya ideas. The Katha Up III, 4 states that the description of the individual soul as the enjoyer (*bhoktr*) results

2220 गुणद्वयीकं नवद्वारं त्रिभिर्गुणेभिरावृतम् । तद्विमन्यद्यक्षमात्मन्वत् तद्वै ब्रह्मविदो विदुः ॥ अथर्व० X. 8. 43 It is difficult to say what यक्ष here means. That word also occurs in Rg IV. 3 13, V. 10. 4, VII 61 5, where *sayaj* gives different meanings एतस्माज्जायते प्राणी मन सर्वेन्द्रियाणि च । स वायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवी विश्वस्य धारिणी ॥ मुण्डकोप० II 1 3, इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च पर मनः । मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्ब्रह्मात्मा महान्पर ॥ महत् परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तायुरूप. पर. । पुरुषाच्च परं किञ्चित्सा काठा सा परा गतिः । कठोप० III. (valli) 10-11. These occur with slight variations in बृहद्वेदो न्यायसूत्रवद्वयस्मृति IX. 184-186. On V. S I. 4. 1 the Sāṅkhya objector relies upon this Katha text as providing evidence of the Sāṅkhya doctrines being based on the Veda, compare भगवद्गीता III. 42-43 Then शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू I 2 12 cites द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परित्यज्याते । तयोरेकः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वयमननं कन्योऽभिचाकशीति ॥ मुण्डक III 1.1, श्वेताश्वतरोप० IV. 6 and क्र. I. 164.20 and states 'अपर आत् । द्वा सुपर्णा - इति । नेयसृगस्याधिकरणस्य सिद्ध्यान्त भजते पैङ्गिरवस्य- ब्राह्मणेनान्यथा व्याख्यातत्वात् । तयोरेकः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वयतीति सत्त्वम्, अनश्रजकन्यो . अभि- पश्यति ज्ञातवतीति सत्त्ववेत्तज्ञौ ॥ This verse (द्वा सुपर्णा) is the subject of V S III. 3 34 also.

from the union of the *ātman* with organs of sense and the mind. The *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* expressly ²²²¹ refers to *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* (in VI. 13) and says that 'on realizing that cause which can be apprehended by means of the study of *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* he is released from all bonds'. That *Upaniṣad* is full of words that are frequently employed in the *Sāṅkhya* system such as 'avyakta' (I. 8), *guṇa* (V. 7 'sa viśvarūpaś-triguṇah' and VI. 2, 4 and 16), *jñā* (v. 2, VI. 17), *prakṛti* ('māyām tu prakṛtim vidyāt' IV. 10), *puruṣa* (I. 2, III. 12, 13, IV. 7), *pradhāna* (I. 10, VI. 10 and 16), *linga* (I. 13, VI. 9). The *Śv. Up.* (VI. 11) describes the one God as 'sākṣī cetā kevalo nirguṇaś-ca'. The *Sāṅkhya* denies God and transfers these epithets to the *Puruṣa*, who in his true essence is, according to the *Sāṅkhya*, merely a passive witness, pure intelligence, unaffected by *guṇas*. The *Prasna Up.* (IV. 8) speaks of the five elements and their *mātrās* (prthivī ca prthivimātrā ca &c), the ten *indriyas* and their objects, *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahankara* &c. The *Sāṅkhyas* rely on the verse 'ajamekāṁ' (*Śv. Up.* IV. 5) ²²²² for *Upaniṣadic* support to their theory about *prakṛti* and its three *guṇas* (vide *bhāṣya* of

2221. नित्यो नित्यान् चेतनश्चेतनात्मानो बहूना यो विदधाति कामान्। तत्कारणं सारूपयोगाधिगम्य ज्ञात्वा देवं मुच्यते सर्वपापैः॥ श्वेताश्व० VI. 13. The first half occurs in कठोप V. 130. शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सु II. 1.3 remarks 'यस्य दर्शनमुक्तं तत्कारणं सारूपयोगाधिगम्य इति, वैदिकमेव तत्त्वज्ञानं ध्यानं च सारूपयोगशब्दाभ्यामभिलष्यते प्रत्यासर्तेरित्यगन्तव्यम्॥'. Compare गीता 13. 19 and 21 प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव etc. for the relation of पुरुष, प्रकृति and गुण; साक्षी is explained by Pāṇini as 'साक्षाद् दृष्टिं सज्ञायाम्' V. 2.9 The word कैवल्य, the *summum bonum* of the *Sāṅkhya*, is derived from केवल (which word occurs in *Śv Up.* I. 11 and VI. 11) and means केवलस्य भाव.

2222. अजमेका लोहितशुक्लकृष्णा वर्णा प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपा । अजो ह्येको जयमानोऽमुशेते जहात्येना मुक्तमेवामजोऽस्य॥ श्वेताश्व० उप 4.5 This verse metaphorically speaks of *Prakṛti*, *Puruṣa* and *Gunas* acc. to the *Sāṅkhya* objector. अज and अज ordinarily mean 'she-goat' and 'he-goat'. The words also mean 'unborn'. Therefore, *ajā* stands for *Prakṛti* and *aja* for *Puruṣa*, both of which are eternal acc. to the *Sāṅkhya* system. *Lohita* (red) stands for the *guṇa rajas*, *śukla* (white) for *saṁtva-guṇa* (which is *prākāśaka*) and *kṛṣṇa* (dark) for *tamas*. From *Prakṛti* are evolved numerous objects. The latter half refers to a soul that is enveloped in ignorance and therefore lives in bondage, but one who has realised the distinction between *guṇas* and *Puruṣa* abandons *prakṛti*; i.e. is liberated. The relations of the numerous *puruṣas* (poetically represented as he-goats) to the one *Prakṛti* (represented as a she-goat) are mentioned in this verse. These three colours really stand for three elements viz. *tejas*, *waters* and *food* (i.e. earth). Vide Chāṇ. Up. VI. 3.1 'पदमे रोहितं रूपं तेजमस्तद्रूपं यच्चयुक्तं तदप्यं यद्रूपं तद्वस्त्वय'.

Śankara on V. S. I. 4. 8). That verse means : there is one unborn (female), constituted by red, white and black, but producing manifold progeny resembling each other, there is one unborn being (a male) who resorts to her (loves her) and lies by her; there is another, who leaves her after having experienced enjoyment. Similarly, Sāṅkhyas argue that Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system, is mentioned in the Śv. Up. (V. 2) 'it is he who, in the beginning, bears (nourishes) by thoughts Kapila sage when born and looks on while he is being born.' If one looks to various passages of the Śv. Up. such as III. 4, IV 12, VI. 18 one must hold that rsi Kapila,²²²³ the reddish sage, is Hiranyagarbha (the golden child), the first creation (Hiranyagarbhah samavartatāgre, Rg X. 121. 1). Śāṅkarācārya (on V. S. II. 1. 1) replies that from the mere occurrence of the word 'Kapila' one cannot at once jump to the conclusion that he must be the founder of the Sāṅkhya, since another Kapila, called Vāsudeva, who reduced to ashes the sons of Sagara by his angry look, is well-known.²²²⁴ Śāṅkarācārya concedes on V. S. II 1. 3 that both Sāṅkhya and Yoga are within the pale of Vedic orthodoxy as regards those portions of them that are not in conflict with the Veda. The five elements (mahābhūtāni) are mentioned in the Ait. Up. (III. 3), Praśna VI. 4 and the five special qualities of these five in Katha Up. (III. 15).

In view of the fact that the word 'Sāṅkhya' occurs in the Śv. Up. and that the Katha and Mundaka have some doctrines similar to the Sāṅkhya system and the Śvetāśvatara employs many words that occur frequently in the works on Sāṅkhya, the question arises—what is the relation of the Sāṅkhya to the Upanisads. There are three possible views, (1) that Upanisad thought and Sāṅkhya made parallel progress, (2) that Sāṅkhya adopted and expanded some of the germinal ideas

2223 या तु श्रुति कपिलस्य ज्ञानातिशयं प्रदर्शयन्ती मदीक्षिता न तथा श्रुतिविरुद्धमपि कपिलं मतं अद्भुतं शक्यं कपिलमिति श्रुतिसामान्यमात्रत्वात्। अन्यस्य च कपिलस्य सगर-पुत्राणां मतसुर्गुह्यदेवनाम्नः स्मरणात्। भाष्य on वे सू II. 1. 1. येन त्वंशेन न विरुध्येते वेनेष्टमेव सारूपयोगस्तुर्योः सावकाशत्वम्। शङ्कराचार्य on वे सू II. 1. 3.

2224 In the Visṇupurāṇa IV 12 Kapila is said to be a part of bhagavān Puruṣottama, who reduced to ashes the 60 thousand sons of Sagara, that suspected that the Aśvamedha horse grazing near that sage must have been stolen by him (IV. 4 16-23) For Vāsudeva Kapila, vide Vāṇa-parva 107. 31-33, where we read (in Chitrāśāṇī ed.) 'ततः क्रुद्धो महाराज कपिलो मुनिसत्तमः। वासुदेवेति यं प्राहुः कपिलं मुनिपुङ्गवम्। ... दग्धं सुमहतिना मन्दबुद्धीं च सागरान्।' The story is also mentioned in Vāṇa-parva 47 (7-18)

of the Upaniṣads, (3) that some Upaniṣads borrowed from the Sāṅkhya. It is not possible to discuss these questions here for reasons of space and relevance. The present author holds that it is the Sāṅkhya that based itself on the thoughts of the Upaniṣads, particularly when the older Upaniṣads like the Br. Up. and Chāndogya hardly exhibit any traces of Sāṅkhya doctrines or technique, when Sāṅkhya reference are found only in Katha, Mundaka, Svetāśvatara, Praśna (which are held to be later than Chān. Up. and Br. Up. by modern scholarship) and when there is hardly any work or writer of purely Sāṅkhya doctrines that can be assigned to a period even a few centuries earlier than the Christian era and when no one can place the principal Upaniṣads (about twelve, including the Svetāśvatara) later than 300 B C, since even the Śv. Up. is referred to as 'Śruti' in V.S I. 4, 8, II. 3, 22. Garbe (in 'Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie' pp 3 ff) denies that Sāṅkhya underwent any essential modifications in its long history. Jacobi does not agree, holding that Sāṅkhya originated out of a common cultural and philosophical heritage and Oldenberg sees the origin of Sāṅkhya in the Katha and Śv Up. and holds that epic Sāṅkhya is an independent development ('Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus', 1915, pp. 206 ff). Sāṅkhya and Yoga were known to Kautilya (Sāṅkhyam Yogo Lokāyatam cet'yanviksiki' Arthasāstra I 2. p 6.). Therefore, we may say that Sāṅkhya as a philosophical school started at least before the 4th century B C.

We should now turn to Sanskrit works other than the Upaniṣads for seeing the origins of the Sāṅkhya system. First comes the Mahābhārata.

In many passages of the Śāntiparva²²⁵ references to some of the doctrines, technical words and persons connected with the mature Sāṅkhya system occur. The references are so many that the present writer will have to select only a few passages by way of sample. In chap 203 there is a dialogue between a clever pupil and his guru. It begins by stating (in verse 8) that Vāsudeva is all this (Vāsudevaḥ sarvaṁ-idam), then it proceeds 'just as from one lamp thousands of lamps can proceed, so prakṛti

225. 1. In the Śāntiparva only the critical edition of the Mahābhārata issued by the LORI is cited in this section on Sāṅkhya from this paragraph or words. The quotations from other parvas are taken from the Cūṭasāli Press edition.

creates endless things, but does not become reduced (in size) thereby; buddhi springs from the activity of avyakta (i.e. prakṛti) and ahankāra is produced (from buddhi) and from ahankāra is evolved ākāśa from which vāyu arises and then tejas, water and the earth arise each from its predecessor; these eight are the mūlaprakṛtis²²²⁶ and the whole world is centred in them (verses 24-26). Then the chap. mentions five organs of knowledge (ear, skin, eye, tongue, sense of smell) and five senses of activity (hands &c) and then there are the five objects of sense (viz. śabda, sparśa &c) and the mind is all-pervading and the 16th (verses 27-31). Then the chapter speaks of puruṣa (the soul) that resides in the city with nine²²²⁷ gates and is undecaying and immortal, which shines in all beings just as a lamp, whether big or small, does. In chapter 204 the same dialogue is pursued and the first verse says all *bhūtas* spring from *avyakta* and are merged (die) in *avyakta*, it refers to *kṣetra* (the body) and *kṣetrajña* (in verse 14) and winds up by saying that, just as seeds burnt by fire do not grow, the soul is not again connected with *kleśas*²²²⁸ when they are burnt by the fire of (correct) knowledge. In chap. 205, verses 22-23 speak of the characteristics of the three *gunas*; chap. 206 says that when a person brings under control anger, avarice,²²²⁹ fear, pride and becomes pure he merges into the highest self that is Viṣṇu in *avyakta* form and chap 207 deals with the measures for reaching the highest goal and puts forward *brahmācārya* (sexual purity) as

2226 मूलप्रकृतयोऽष्टौ ता जगदेतास्त्ववस्थितम् ॥ ज्ञानेन्द्रियाण्यन्तः पञ्च पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाण्यपि । विषयाः पञ्च चैकं च विकारे षोडशं मनः ॥ verses 26-27. Compare साङ्ख्यकारिका 3 q above in n 2216 for षोडशकश्च विकार etc.

2227 नवद्वारं पुरं पुरुषमेतन्मनसैः समन्वितम् । व्याप्य क्षेत्रं महानात्मा तस्मात्पुरुष उच्यते ॥ शान्ति 203 35 Compare also भगवद्गीता 'नवद्वारे पुरे देही नैव कुर्वन् न कारयन्' The word पुरुष is generally derived as पुरि क्षेत्रे इति पुरुषः. Vide निरुक्त I 13 यथा चापि प्रतीतार्थानि स्थूलथैतान्याचक्षीरन् पुरुषं पुरिहाय हृत्पाचक्षीरन्, but in II. 3 it gives three derivations of 'पुरुषः पुरिषाद्: पुरिहायः पुरयतेर्वा' (the first being पुरि+प from सद् to sit) The derivation of the word from पुरि क्षेत्रे occurs ever in the बृह उप. II. 4 18 'स ना अयं पुरुषः सर्वान् पुंषु पुरिहायः' The words नवद्वारे पुरे देही occur in श्वेताश्वः III 18.

2228 क्लेशा is a technical term in the Yogasūtra where it occurs frequently as in I 24, II. 2 and 3, II. 12, IV 28 and 30. Yogasūtra II 3 enumerates the five *kleśas* as अविद्या-अस्मिता-राग-द्वेष-अभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः. They are so called because they harass man (क्लिश्यन्ति पुरुषम्).

2229 क्रोधलोभौ भयं दर्प एतेषां साधनाच्छुचिः ॥ परमं परमात्मानं देवमक्षयमम्यम् । विष्णुमम्यक्तसंस्थानं विशन्ते देवसत्तमम् ॥ chap 206. 1-2.

is first measure. In these chapters, though some doctrines peculiar to the standard Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā appear, they are all brought in line with the Vedānta of one supreme Being, which is negatived in the official Sāṅkhya.

That there were philosophers, who adopted some of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines, postulated Paramēśvara (Supreme Deity) and held that the three, viz Pradhāna, Purusa and Īśvara were different from each other, is expressly stated by Śaṅkarācārya²²³⁰ in his bhāṣya on V. S II. 2 37. Therefore, the Mahābhārata references to Sāṅkhya probably relate to philosophical doctrines in which all three viz Prakṛti, Purusa and Supreme Self were recognized, from which arose the later official Sāṅkhya that discarded any supreme Ruler of the Universe. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva (quoted in note 1544 p. 954 above) 'Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedas and Pāśupata are said to be knowledges (jñānāni) and 'nānāmatāni' (different points of view) and Kapila, a paramarsi, is said to be propounder of Sāṅkhya. Chapter 294 (in verses 26-49) deals with the twenty-five tattvas of the Sāṅkhya from Prakṛti or Avyakta, mahat, ahankāra, the five elements from abhankāra (these eight being called prakṛtis) and then 16 *vikāras* (verse 29). These are called *ksetra*, the soul is the 25th (v 35) and is called *ksetrajñā* and Purusa (v 37 'avyaktake pure śete purusaś-ceti kathyate', and Īśvara or *brahma* is not brought in anywhere in that chapter

Chapters 211-212 (containing in all 100 verses) of Śāntiparva deal with what Janaka, called Janadeva,²²³¹ king of Mithilā, learnt from Pāñcasikha, when the latter, after wandering over the whole earth, visited Mithilā and who is described as the first (or foremost) pupil of Āsuri and who is said to have performed a sattra for a thousand years on Pāñcasrota²²³²

2230 तस्मात् मूलिरधिष्ठाता केवल निमित्तकारणमीश्वर इत्येव पक्षो वेदान्तविदित-
ब्रह्मसत्त्वतिपक्षस्याव्यक्तनाम प्रतिपिद्यते । सा चैव वेद्याष्टेश्वरकल्पनात्मकमकारा । केचित्सारव्य-
योगस्याश्रया कल्पयन्ति प्रधानपुरुषयोराधिष्ठाता केवल निमित्तकारणमीश्वर इत्येतद्विलक्षण-
प्रधानपुरुषेश्वरा इति । शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू II 2 37 (परसुरसात्मनश्चर्यात्) .

2231. Janadeva may be a proper name of Janaka and may mean 'Lord of men' (i.e. same as 'Janādhipa') In the Brhan-Nārāyaṇīya-purāṇa I. chap 45 the same story about Janaka and Pāñcasikha is narrated often in the words of the Śāntiparva.

2232. Pāñcasrota probably means 'Pāñcanada' (the five rivers of the Punjab) Vide II, of Dh. vol IV p 787. The cr ed of the Śāntiparva

(Continued on next page)

(verse 10). He was the son of a brāhmana woman called Kapilā and was therefore known as Kāpileya (verses 13-15). Janaka had a hundred ācāryas in his palace who propounded the different views of different sects. Verse 9 says that Pāñcasīkha made people wonder when he appeared like Kapilā, the great sage (paramarsi) and Prajāpati, that he confounded the hundred ācāryas by his arguments (v. 17). Later Janaka abandoned those ācāryas and followed Pāñcasīkha (verse 18). He, after creating disgust in Janaka about his caste or about rites and about everything, expounded to Janaka the highest *mokṣa* which is declared as Sāṅkhya. In chap. 212 Pāñcasīkha expounds five elements, five jñānendriyas, five karmendriyas, mind (verses 7-22) and the signs (*lingas*) of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa bhāvas (verses 25-28) and describes how a person who seeks the Self is freed from the fetters of pleasure and pain and being beyond the fear of old age and death reaches immortality. In the first place, these two chapters are not sometimes very clear, offer no consistent clear-cut system and employ words that are difficult to construe and are not completely identical with the scheme of the 25 tattvas of the official Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā, since chap. 211 verse 13 speaks of 'ekākṣara brahma assuming many forms'. For example, it is difficult to say what is meant by 'puruṣāvastham-avyaktam'. The meaning that can be drawn out of the words seems to be 'he (Pāñcasīkha) conveyed knowledge (to Janaka) about Avyakta (i. e. Pradhāna) that depends upon Puruṣa (i. e. that becomes active through union of Puruṣa with it), which is the highest truth. It further says that Pāñcasīkha became perfect (in knowledge) by the performance of *śrāddhas* and *śatras*, again by abounding *tapas*, had a vision of the deity (God) and he realized the distinction between *kṣetra* and *kṣetrajña* and also realized *brahma* symbolized²²³³ by om. There-

(Continued from last page)

omits one verse in chap. 211 (corresponding to chap. 218 of the Citraśāli Press ed.), which is पञ्चश्रोतसि निष्णातः पञ्चरात्रविशारदः । पञ्चज्ञः पञ्चकृत्यश्चमूणः, पञ्चशिखः स्मृतः ॥ which is 11-12 in that chap. Here पञ्चशिखः is said to have been profoundly learned in पञ्चरात्र (चैवणव) doctrines. As he was called कपिलेयः, it was probably imagined that his mother was Kapilā.

2233. तं समासीनमागम्य मण्डलं कपिलं महत् । पुरुषावरयमव्यक्तं परमार्थं व्योपपद्यत् ॥ इदिसन्नेहं संसिद्धौ भूयश्च तपसा युजिः । क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्भक्तिं सुबुधे देवदर्शनम् ॥ यत् देकाक्षरं ब्रह्म नानारूपं महद्भवेत् । ज्ञान्ति 211. 11-13, पुरुषावरयं must be dissolved (in order that some sense can be made out of it) as पुरुषे अस्वभावात् (अस्वभावात् यस्य) or 'पुरुषे अवतिष्ठते इति'. The meaning of मण्डलं कपिलं महत् is not at all clear,

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fore, the doctrine of Pañcasikha in these chapters of Śāntiparva is really *advaita* (monism) on which are grafted some doctrines similar to the later official Sāṅkhya for explaining creation and so forth.²²³¹ In Śāntiparva 306. 56-66 (= Chitra ed. 318 58-62) Viśvāvasu tells Yājñavalkya that he has heard about the 25th tattva (i. e. Purusa) from Jaigisavya, Asita-Devala, Vārsaganya (of Parāśara gotra), Bhṛgu Pañcaśikha, Kapila, Śuka, Gotama Ārṣṭisena, Garga, Nārada, Āsuri, Pulastya, Sanat Kumāra, Śukra and Kāśyapa (father of Viśvāvasu) and 336. 65 (Chitra. ed 318. 67) states that Yājñavalkya had mastered completely both Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Śāntiparva 304 4 (= 316. 4 of Chitra. ed.) states that Sāṅkhya and Yoga are one ²²³⁵

Pañcaśikha figures frequently in the Mahābhārata. In Śāntiparva, chap. 307 (containing only 14 verses) Yudhisthira asks Bhīṣma how one can rise superior to old age and death,

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but from the passages in the Abirbodbhaya-sambhitā, chap XII, 18-29 it follows that the doctrines of Kapila's Sāṅkhya—tantra were divided into two mandalas called Prākṛta and Vairṛta and the two had 32 and 28 topics respectively. 'संख्यरूपेण सङ्ग्रह्यो वैष्णवः कपिलादये। उद्धितो यादृशः पूर्वं तादृशं शृणु मेऽखिलम्। यद्विभेदं स्मृतं तत्त्वं साख्यं नाम महासुते। प्राकृतं वैकृतं चेति मण्डले द्वे समासतः ॥'. The com. Arjunamīśra appears to take it as 'the great doctrine of Kapila came to him (Pañcaśikha) in the form of an aura of light and expounded to him the highest truth' etc This is extremely far-fetched. There is a doubt about the agent of 'nyabodhayat' and as to whom 'samāsīnam' refers. To me it appears that the meaning is that 'Pañcaśikha came to him (i. e. to Janaka) and imparted to him the great Kāpila mandala, the highest truth, the avyakta etc' According to the usual sanskrit construction the agent of 'āgamya' and 'nyabodhayat' must be the same (i. e. Pañcaśikha). समासीनं refers to जनक Compare 'एकाक्षरं परं ब्रह्म' मनु II 83 and 'ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म स्यादस्मिन् नाममुत्तमम्' गीता VIII 13. Verse 13 of chap. 211 is आसुर्निर्मण्डले तस्मिन् प्रतिपेदे तद्व्ययम्। (अव्ययं refers to एकाक्षर-ब्रह्म) Therefore, मण्डल should be taken to mean 'the circle of the doctrines first propounded by Kapila'

2234. The position reached by Janaka on Pañcaśikha's teaching is stated in Śānti 212. 50-51 'न खलु नम तुषोऽपि दायतेऽत्र स्वयमिदमाह किल स्म रुमिरात्। उदममृतपदं विदेहस्य स्वयमिह पश्यामिहैव भाष्यमाण ॥ Compare शान्ति 171. 56 अनन्तं वा मे भित्ति चरय मे नास्ति किञ्चन ॥ मिथिलाया प्रदीपाया न मे दायति किञ्चन ॥ धन्यपद 203, उक्ताध्यायनसूत्र 9. 14 सुतं दत्तानो जीवानो जेति मे भण्यति किञ्चन। मिथिलाए एवमासीत् न मे दण्डत किञ्चन ॥ इमा तु यो वेद विमोक्षशुद्धिमाप्नोति तस्मिन् विदुषि न दिष्टये तस्मै त्रैलोक्ये पञ्च सितस्यैव जनेन सिद्धम् ॥ शान्ति 212-44, vide note 1640, pp 1035-6 above for the figure of a lotus leaf and water falling thereon

2235 'वेदो योगाः पदरन्ति तत्साम्येरेव हि दृश्यते। एके सात्त्विके च योगे च यः पश्यति न पदरति।

whether by very great tapas²²³⁶ or by rites or by Vedic learning or by the use of *rasāyanas* (elixirs of life or alchemist's prescriptions). Bhīṣma speaks of an ancient dialogue between Janaka and Bhikṣu Pāñcaśikha, where the same question was put by Janaka and Pāñcaśikha replied that none can escape these two and that union with wife and relatives is like meeting persons when on a journey (i. e. the company of these is not durable or permanent), nobody has seen heaven or hell, that one's duty is not to violate the ordinances of Vedas, and to make gifts and to offer sacrifices. In this chapter there is hardly anything which approaches the special doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, though Pāñcaśikha's views are here set forth Chap. 308 (191 verses out of which less than 30 have anything to do with Pāñcaśikha's teachings directly) begins with the question of Yudhiṣṭhira 'who secured mokṣa without giving up the stage of householder.' Then Bhīṣma narrates to him the dialogue between Janaka called Dharmadhvaṇja²²³⁷ and Sulabhā, a nun Janaka was learned in the Veda, in mokṣasāstra and in his own sāstra (rājadharmā), he had controlled his senses and ruled the earth. She heard from ascetics about Janaka's righteous conduct and she desired to find out the truth. She gave up her form as a nun by her yogic powers and became a woman, a paragon of beauty, and met Janaka. The latter informed her that he was the pupil of old bhikṣu²²³⁸ Pāñcaśikha of the Pārāśarya gotra who stayed with him during the four months of the rainy season and who expounded to him the threefold mokṣa (viz. Sāṅkhya, Yoga and the science of government) and yet who did not ask him to give up rulership. Janaka said

2236. तपसा वा सुमहता कर्मणा वा श्रुतेन वा । रसायनप्रयोगीर्वा केनैपि ज्ञानतः ॥ ...
केन वृत्तेन भगवत्प्रतिक्रामेज्जगन्तः ॥ तपसा वा यज्ञेन वा कर्मणा वा श्रुतेन वा ॥ ज्ञानेन
307. 2 and 5.

2237. 'Dharmadhvaṇja' may be a proper name here; if not, it means 'one who has raised aloft the banner of dharma' i. e. who proclaims to the world that he follows dharma in all matters.

2238. पाराशर्यमगोत्रस्य वृद्धस्य सुमहात्मनः । भिक्षोः पञ्चाशद्व्याहृतं शिष्यः परम-
मनसः ॥ सांख्यज्ञाने तथा योगे महीपालविद्यो तथा । त्रिविधे मोक्षधर्मेऽस्मिन् गताध्या लिलसन्सय ॥
तेनाहं सांख्यसुरयेन सुदृष्टार्थेन तद्वत्तः । आश्रितस्त्रिविधं मोक्षं न च राज्याद्विचलितः ॥ सोऽहं
निश्चला वृत्तिं त्रिविधां मोक्षसंलिताम् । सुकुरागश्चराम्येकः पदे परमके स्थितः ॥ वैराग्यं पुनरे-
तस्य मोक्षस्य परमो विधिः । ज्ञानादेर्यच्च वैराग्यं जायते येन सुच्यते ॥ ज्ञानं 308. 24-29.
A conjecture may be hazarded that this Pāñcaśikha is entirely different from
the Pāñcaśikha who was one of the founders of the Sāṅkhya and that he is
probably the same as the Pārāśarya who is credited by Pāṇini as having
composed a 'bhikṣusūtra', 'पाराशर्यशिलाश्रित्या भिक्षुनटपुत्रयोः' वा IV. 3. 110.
Vide note 1901 p. 1169 above.

"I, giving up all attachment, though occupying the highest position (as ruler), follow the three paths of *mokṣa*, the highest rule of this *mokṣa* is 'freedom from attachment, the absence of attachment is due to correct knowledge whereby one is freed from bondage (of *samsāra*)". Janaka further avows that²²³⁹ on account of the knowledge imparted to him by the *bhikṣu* who is called after his top-knot, he is free from all attachment, though looking after the kingdom and that he is different from other *sannyāsins*. Then Janaka gives in verses (308, 38-41) another meaning²²⁴⁰ of the threefold *Mokṣa* propounded by *Pañcaśikha* to him viz. (1) highest knowledge and renunciation of actions, (2) strict adherence to the *pañha* of *karma* (duties prescribed by *Śāstra*) and (3) combination of knowledge and actions, and it is said that those who follow this third path resemble householders in several respects. Janaka asserts his view 'wearing ochre-coloured²²⁴¹ garments, shaving the head, carrying a water-vessel placed on three staves-these are merely outward signs and do not lead to *mokṣa* and that *mokṣa* does not consist in non-possession of wealth and bondage does not follow possession of some wealth, but it is *jñāna* by which a person secures deliverance, whether there is possession or non-possession of wealth'. It appears from verse 40 that *Pañcaśikha* emphasized the third kind of *Mokṣanīsthā* (*Jñānakarmasamuccaya*) and Janaka followed that teaching. The rest of the chapter (308) is concerned with Janaka's charges against *Sulabhā* and *Sulabhā*'s scathing remarks against Janaka.²²⁴² She says at the end 'you

2239 सङ्गृह्यता तेन शिखामोक्तेन भिक्षुणा । ज्ञानं कृतमधीजं मे विषयेषु न जायते ॥... युक्तसङ्गः स्थितो राज्ये विशिष्टोऽन्येऽसिद्धादिभिः ॥ Chap. 308, 34-37. पञ्चाशिक्ष literally means 'one having five śikhās (locks of hair on the head)'. Therefore, he is referred to as शिखामोक्त (lit declared by his śikhās).

2240. लेके हि त्रिविधा निष्ठा दृष्टा पूर्वमपिभिः । ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरं यच्च सर्वत्यागश्च कर्मणाम् ॥ ज्ञाननिष्ठा पदन्त्येके मोक्षशास्त्रविदो जनाः । कर्मनिष्ठा तथैवाप्ये यतयः दुःखमदक्षिणः । अदक्षोऽप्यमप्येतत् ज्ञानं कर्म च केनलम् । तृतीयैव समाख्याता निष्ठा तेन महात्मना ॥ 308, 38-40.

2241. कायावधारणं मौण्ड्यं त्रिविधम् । कमण्डलुः । लिङ्गान्यवर्त्यतेतानि न मोक्षायैति मे मतिः ॥ ... अकिञ्चन्ये न मोक्षोऽस्ति कैश्चन्ये नास्ति घञ्चनम् । कैश्चन्ये चेतरे चैव जन्तु- इति नमुच्यते ॥ Chap 308 47 and 50 अकिञ्चन means one who possesses nothing and अकिञ्चन्य means 'the state of being अकिञ्चन'. Should we read अज्ञार्थम् or अर्थाप्यम् for अरार्थम् as some mss. do? The verses are chap. 320 47 ff of चित्रः ed.

2242. Some of her telling retorts are set out here. 'यद्यात्मनि परस्मिन्श्च मनतामपरपरसि ॥ अथ मां कास्ति कश्चेति किमर्थमनुवृत्तम् । ... मां रो न्ये शो राजा सर्ग' (Continued on next page)

have indeed heard from Pañcaśikha the whole (doctrine) about moksa together with the means (for attaining it), with the Upanisad passages expounding it or with the auxiliaries (of meditation) and with definite conclusions.'

This passage expressly refers to Upanisads in connection with moksa and the preceding verses emphasize the freedom from attachment on the part of Janaka (in 308. 37 'mukta-sanga'). The Br. Up. in III. 1 refers to the sacrifice performed by Janaka, king of Videha, who set apart a thousand cows to be given to him from among the brāhmanas assembled at it, that would be the most profound in learning and be *brahmistha* (most learned in or devoted to brahma). Yājñavalkya asked his disciple to take the cows away; thereupon followed a learned disquisition by questions (of angry brāhmanas including a woman) and answers by Yājñavalkya; ²²⁴² the questioners were Āśvala (the holy priest of Janaka), Jāratkāra, Artabhāga, Bhujyu, Lāhyāyana, Usasta, Cakrāyana, Kahola, Kausitakeya, Gargi, Vācakaṇavi, Uddālaka, Āruni, Vidagdha Śākalya (III. 1-9 ending with 'vijñānam-ānandam brahma'). In Br. Up. IV. 2 it is said that Janaka Videha approached Yājñavalkya, did obeisance to him and said 'instruct me' and that then the sage spoke to him 'you have studied the Veda and the Upanisads have been expounded to you by ācāryas, but, when you will be leaving this body, where will you go?' Janaka replied that he did not know it and requested the sage to enlighten him on that point. Then a long disquisition follows (Br. Up. IV. 2 ff) in which occurs the famous passage ('sa esa neti netyātmā, agrhyo na hi grhyate asango na hi sajjate abhayam vai Janaka prāptosi' (IV. 2. 4). It appears to the present writer that some one desirous of boosting Sāṅkhya teachings inserted the chapters about Sāṅkhya in which Pañcaśikha is substituted in place of Yājñavalkya as the teacher of Janaka.

It would be seen from the brief synopsis of the chapters 211-12, 307 and 308 that the views described in all of them are not the same as those of the official or standard Sāṅkhya, that Pañcaśikha's views as presented in chapters 211-212 seem to be different from those in chap. 308, particularly when chap. 308 emphasizes that jñāna-karma-samuccaya was the view of

(Continued from last page)

स्वे स्वे गृहे गृहीः विग्रहाद्ययदौ कुर्वन्तुत्यो जनक राजभिः ॥ 308, 126-27, 147. ननु नाम
व्या मोक्ष. कृत्स्नः पञ्चशिखाच्छ्रुतः। सोपायः सोपनिषदः सोपासङ्गः सनिश्चयः॥ chap 308,
163. The Com. Nūkanātha explains: उपासङ्गो ध्यानाङ्गानि यमादीनि.

Pañcaśikha, while the official *Sāṅkhya* holds that *jñāna* alone leads to liberation. It should be noted that these chapters nowhere refer to a work of *Pañcaśikha* but show him to be a wandering ascetic holding certain views. The present writer believes that the author of these passages in the *Śāntiparva* had no work before him and only knew by hearsay and tradition that *Pañcaśikha* was a great *Sāṅkhya* teacher. Prof. Keith holds that the *Pañcaśikha* of the *Śāntiparva* is not identical with *Pañcaśikha*, the author of *Sastitantra* (p. 48 of '*Sāṅkhya System*').²²⁴³

There are other chapters in the *Śāntiparva* where the peculiar *Sāṅkhya* doctrines and terminology are employed but they are brought in line with *Vāsudeva* or Highest Self to which the *Sāṅkhya* doctrines are made subordinate. For example, in chap. 340 *Nārada* is said to have been²²⁴⁴ told by God himself some of the tenets of *Sāṅkhya* such as the twenty-four *tattvas* and *Purusa* as the 25th *tattva*, the three *gunas*, that *Purusa* is *keśatrajña* and *bhoktr*, that *ācāryas*, who have arrived at definite conclusions about *Sāṅkhya*, call God who is in the orb of the Sun as *Kapila*, that *Hiranyagarbha*, who is well praised in the *Veda* and is announced as (author) of *Yogāsāstra*, is 'myself'.

Not only in the *Śāntiparva*, but also in other *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*, *Sāṅkhya* doctrines are dwelt upon. For example, the *Āśvamedhika* (in chap. 35, 47-48) speaks of *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas* as *ātmagunas* and mentions their equilibrium. In another place, the same *parvan* enumerates the 24 *tattvas* viz. *avyakta*, *mahān*, *ahāṅkāra* &c and describes the three *gunas*.²²⁴⁵

2243. Vide p. 11 (note) of Hall's Preface to the edition of *Sāṅkhya-pravacanāsūtra* (1856), where passages ascribed to *Pañcaśikha* are grouped together and Richard Garbe in Festgruss an Rudolph von Roth (Stuttgart, 1893) pp. 75-80 for fragments of *Pañcaśikha*.

2244. द्विर्द्वादशेयस्तत्त्वेषु. ख्यातो यः पञ्चविंशकः । पुरयो निष्क्रियश्चैव ज्ञानहृदयश्च कथ्यते ॥ यः प्रविश्य भवन्तीह शुक्ला वै द्विजसत्तमः । स वासुदेवो विज्ञेयः परमात्मा सनातनः ॥ .. सर्वं रजस्तमश्चैव गुणानेनात्मचक्षते । एते सर्वशरीरेषु तिष्ठन्ति विचरन्ति च । एतादृश्यास्तु क्षेत्रज्ञो युक्ते मेभिः स मुच्यते ॥ .. विद्या सदायवन्तं मामादिरयस्य सनातनम् । कपिलं ब्राह्मणं चाप्यौ सारणभिक्षित्वा निश्चयाः ॥ हिरण्यगर्भो भगवानेव हृन्दसि हृन्दुतः । सोऽहं योगगतिर्विद्वान् योग-शास्त्रेषु शान्तिः ॥ शान्तिः 340, 23, 24, 26-27, 64-65. हिरण्यगर्भ is praised in the hymn Rg. X. 121. 1 and appears to be identified with *Prajāpati* in the last verse of the hymn (X. 121. 10 *Prajāpate na tvadetānyanyo*). The *ज्ञानिपर्व* chap. 340 corresponds to chap. 339 of the *Chitrashala* edition and the verses quoted here all occur in that chap.

2245. सर्वं रजस्तमश्चैव त्रय आत्मगुणान् रमुना । तेषां गुणानां साम्यं चेत्तदाहुः रसपदमजम् । तेषामप्यतमोर्लोके विधानमुपदिश्यते ॥ आश्वमेः 12 4-5; compare *ज्ञानि-*
(Continued on next page)

Āsuri is mentioned by the S. Kārikā as the pupil of Kapila, also in a quotation in Yogasūtrabhāṣya on I. 25 (note 2251) and by the Śāntiparva (chap. 306). But no work is attributed to him and hardly any quotation from him is cited by writers on Sāṅkhya (except a verse quoted as his by Haribhadra a late Jain writer). Kapila is a legendary figure. In Rgveda X. 27. 16 Kapila²²⁴⁶ is mentioned as one among ten (Angirases) whom, though similar to them, they (Angirases) urge on for a sacrifice. Vide Hall's Preface to Sāṅkhya-pravacanabhāṣya (ed. 1856) pp. 14 ff for the confused legends about Kapila. Some references to Kapila in the Mahābhārata have already been noted. In Vanaparva (221. 26) Kapila is styled as the promulgator of Sāṅkhya-yoga, as Paramarsi and as an incarnation of Agni. In the Matsyapurāṇa²²⁴⁷ it is stated that water should be offered to the seven sons of Brahmā, viz. Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vohu and Pañcaśikha. The Vāmana-purāṇa (60. 70) mentions Kapila (as knower of Sāṅkhya), Vohu, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha (as 'yogayukta') and states that Sanat-kumāra approached Brahmā for yoga lore.

In the Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana (kāṇḍikā 3) attached to the Pāraskaragrhyaśūtra the above seven are the only persons to whom *tarpana* is offered among *rsis* (vide H. of Dh. vol. II.

(Continued from last page)

पर्व 16 11-13. Gunas in the Sāṅkhya system must be understood to be of the nature of both substance and qualities. Vide also तमो रजस्तथा सत्त्व गुणान्-
तात् प्रचक्षते। अन्योन्यामिथुनां सर्वे तथान्योन्याहुर्जीविनः॥ तमसो मिथुनं सत्त्वं सत्त्वस्य
मिथुनं रजः। रजस्तथापि सत्त्वं स्यात्सत्त्वस्य मिथुनं तमः॥ आश्वने 36 4 and 6 Vide
chap. 36 12-15 for तामसगुणस्य and 17-20 for तामसगुणं and chap. 37 for राजस-
गुणगुणं and 38, 1-9 for सत्त्वगुणस्य.

2246. दृष्टानामेकं कपिलं समानं तं दिव्यं कृतं पर्यायं। गर्भं माता सुधितं वक्षणा-
स्त्वेनन्तं वृषयन्ती विभक्तिः॥ अ. X. 27. 16. The latter half is mystical and not
clear.

2247. मनुष्यास्तर्पयेद्भक्त्या ब्रह्मपुत्राद्यर्षीस्तथा। सप्तकश्च सप्तदश द्वितीयश्च सनातनः।
कपिलश्चासुरिश्चैव वोहो पञ्चशिखस्तथा। सर्वे ते वृत्तिमायान्तु मद्भक्तैराम्बुना सदा॥ मत्स्य
102. 17-18. The Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (IV 2 272-274) mentions these seven
sons of Brahmā but in a different order. The वामनपुराण (60 69-70) mentions
the seven sons as सनत्कुमार, सनातन, सनक, सनन्दन, कपिल, वोहो and आसुरि and
adds पञ्चशिख. In the बृहद्गीताज्ञातवल्क्यस्मृति (VII. 66) these same seven are
said to be human sons of Brahmā. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 193 quotes मत्स्य 102.
14-21 on the topic of तर्पण, but reads 'कपिलश्चासुरिश्चैव सौहो पञ्चशिखस्तथा'। In
verse 18, वोहो or वोह is a strange name and no verse or prose passage of
his has been cited in works and commentaries on Sāṅkhya. It looks more
like a prakṛit form of some Sanskrit word. Vide Garbe in 'Die Sāṅkhya
Philosophie' p. 72 for Vohu,

p. 693). In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (I. 3. 10) Kapila is said to be the 5th avatāra of Viṣṇu, is called *siddheśa* (the lord of siddhas) and the teacher of Āsuri in Sāṅkhya that had become decadent (by lapse of time). The Gītā also (X. 26 'siddhānām Kapilo munih') mentions Kapila as a *muni* and the most eminent among siddhas. The S. Kārikā also refers to him as *muni*. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 7. 7) echoes the very words of the Gītā ('siddhānām Kapilo munih').

In the *raṁśas* in Br. Up. II. 6. 3 and VI. 5. 2-3, in which succession lists of teachers and pupils differing from one another occur, Āsuri is said to be disciple of Bharadvāja in the first and the pupil of Yājñavalkya in the second. Each list contains at least 60 teachers from Brahmā downwards. In the first place, it is difficult to hold that these lists are authentic and there is no evidence to establish that the Āsuri mentioned in both is the same as the pupil of Kapila.

Pañcasīkha's is a great name in the Sāṅkhya system. His systematic work on that system was called Śastitantra. The S. Kārikā (70, 72) refers to him as the author of the Śastitantra containing great details, illustrative tales and discussions of others' views. It was called Śastitantra because it expounded sixty topics and it contained sixty thousand gāthās.²²⁴⁸ The Yogasūtrabhāṣya (IV. 13) quotes a verse which is ascribed to Śastitantra by Vācaspati on Yogasūtrabhāṣya IV. 13. The present writer cannot agree with Keith p. 69 that the reference to Śastitantra in S. Kārikā (verse 72) is not to a work but to a philosophy of sixty topics. The āryā 72 had a Sanskrit commentary which was translated into Chinese in 546 A. D. in which it was stated that the work contained six thousand *gāthās*,²²⁴⁹ but the Bhāmati (by Vācaspati) on V. S. II. 1. 3 ascribes it to Vārsaganya. It may be a slip on the part of Vācaspati or it is possible that he regarded Pañcasīkha and Vārsaganya as the names of the same person, the first being a nickname and the latter a gotra name. On Yogasūtra I. 4, 25, 36, II. 5, 6, 13, 17,

2248. अयं पञ्चदश पदिसद्वचनाधानकं विभुलं तन्त्रमुक्तवान्। p. 97 of Pandit Aiyaswami's ed.; पदिसद्वार्था यस्मिन् शास्त्रे तन्त्रयन्ते त्वत्पाद्यन्ते तत् पदितन्त्रम्। माठरपुरि

2249. 'Gāthā' here seems to mean 'a group of 32 syllables or a fixed number of mātrās as a unit.' The few quotations attributed to Pañcasīkha are almost all in prose, only one under Y. S. IV. 13 being in verse and later commentators like Bhāṇu-Gaṇeśa on Sāṅkhya-sūtra quote verses of Pañcasīkha

18, 20, III. 13 and 41, IV. 13 (tathā ca śāstrānuśāsanam 'Gupānām &c.), prose passages occur which Vācaspati ascribes to Pañcaśikha. On S. Kārikā 2 Vācaspati quotes in his com. the view of Pañcaśikhācārya. In Yogasūtrabhāṣya on I. 25 a sūtra is quoted which Vācaspati ascribes to Pañcaśikha in which Kapila is styled 'ādividyān' (the first master of Sāṅkhya) and 'paramarsi' and is said to have imparted to Āsuri the Tantra, the Sāṅkhya Siddhānta.

In the dialogue between Viśvāvasu Gandharva and Yājñavalkya (in Śāntiparva, chap. 306) there is a long list of sages from whom Viśvāvasu says he learnt a great deal (in verses 56-60) but prays to Yājñavalkya²²⁵⁰ that the latter should expound to him the knowledge of Sāṅkhya and Yoga (verses 65-66). Then Yājñavalkya states that *prakṛti* is also called *pradhāna*, that it does not know the 25th (viz. the puruṣa) and that there is a 26th (Highest Self) and so on. That list contains the following names: *Jaigīśavya*,²²⁵¹ *Asita*, *Devala*, *Vārsaganya* of the Parāśaragotra, *bhikṣu Pañcaśikha*, *Kapila*, *Śuka*, *Gautama*, *Ārṣṭisena*, *Gārgya*, *Nārada*, *Asuri*, *Pulastya*, *Sanatkumāra*, *Śukra*, father of *Kaśyapa*. The sages are not mentioned in chronological order. Five of them (that are in Italics) are important so far as Sāṅkhya and Yoga are concerned. We saw above that Pañcaśikha is said to be of Parāśara gotra and in the above list Vārsaganya also is said to be of the same gotra. Vācaspati on S. Kārikā 47 ascribes to Vārsaganya the view that *avidyā* has five facets or aspects.²²⁵² The Yogasūtrabhāṣya on III. 53 quotes a sūtra of Vārsaganya. It is shown above from

2250. तथा च शास्त्रादज्ञासनम् । शृणानां परमं रूपं न हृदिपथमुच्छति । यत्तु हृदिपथं प्राप्तं तन्मायेव सुतच्छब्दम् । इति । योगसूत्रभाष्य IV. 13 ; अत्रैव पठितत्त्वज्ञासत्यादुक्तिः । मायेव न तु माया । सुतच्छब्दं विनाशि । तत्त्वैश्वर्यदी ०० योगसूत्र, अत एव योगशास्त्रमुत्पादयिष्या ह स्म भगवान् धार्यमाणः । शृणानां ... सुतच्छब्दम् । भासती ०० चे. सू. II. 1. 3,

2251. यथाह स्म भगवान् पञ्चशिखाचार्यः - स्वल्पसङ्ख्यैः सपरिश्रितैः प्रत्ययमयैः - इति । ०० अविद्युद्धि १० सा. कारिका 2 ; तथा चोक्तम् । अविद्युद्धिर्मात्राणि चित्तमधिष्ठाय कारणान्मगवान् परमविरासुरये जिज्ञासमानाय तत्र मोयाचेति । योगसूत्रभाष्य I. 25, तथा चोक्तं पञ्चशिखाचार्येण । अविद्युद्धिर्मात्रं कपिल इति । वाचस्पतिः टीका.

2252. पञ्च विपर्ययभेदा भगवत्प्रशक्तिश्च करणवैकल्यात् । सां. कारिका 47 ; 'अविद्या-अस्मिता-राग-द्वेष-अभिनिवेशाः ... पञ्च विपर्ययविशेषाः । ... पञ्चपर्या अविद्येत्याह भगवान् धार्यमाणः । सां. तत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति ; सुद्धिचरित (of अश्वघोष) XII. 33 is: दूरयविद्या हि विद्वान्सः पञ्चपर्या समीहते । तमो मोहं महानोहं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च ॥ The श्वेताम्बर उप. I. 5 has the words 'पञ्चाङ्गदेवां पञ्चपर्यामधीत.' In the Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 11. 129) Kapila is said to have given instruction to both Jaigīśavya and Pañcaśikha. It is difficult to say whether that Purāṇa had before it any ancient tradition to this effect.

the reconstruction of the Sanskrit Com. from Chinese that Vārsagana was one of the teachers after Pañcasikha and before Īśvarakṛṣṇa. So it is extremely doubtful if Pañcasikha and Vārsaganya are identical. Vide JRAS for 1905 pp. 33-53 (by Takakusu who shows on p 47 that Vrsagana was a teacher of Vindhyavāsa and that Vasubandhu wrote a work called Paramārthasaptati in opposition to Vindhyavāsa and that Paramārtha was in China from 546 to 569 A. D.

In the Introduction to the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (a Jain work) Charpentier refers to two different lists one older and shorter which speaks of the four Vedas, Itihāsas (as 5th), Nighantu as the sixth and of the Vedic angas and upāngas and then of Sastitantra. This last may be a reference to Pañcasikha's work or simply to the 60 topics dwelt upon in the Sāṅkhya system.

In Śāntiparva (chap. 222) Yudhisthira asks Bhīṣma: by what character, conduct, lores and by being intent on what does a person reach the abode of Brahmā which is higher (or beyond) *pralāḥ* and Bhīṣma mentions the dialogue of Jaigisavya and Asita Devala in which it is stated that he who is unperturbed by being reviled or praised, who keeps silent over his good deeds, does not harm even him who harms him, is always calm and does good to all beings, reaches the abode of Brahmā. The Buddhacarita (XII. 67) speaks of Jaigisavya, Janaka and Vṛddha-Parāśara as having secured mokṣa by the path described in that chapter. The Yogabhāṣya (on III. 18) gives a long story about Āvatya (called prince of Yogins) and Jaigisavya. Jaigisavya is quoted in Vyāsabhāṣya on Y. S. II. 55 for *indriya-jaya* (control over senses). He appears to be a Vedāntic writer on Yoga.

Not only does the Śāntiparva dilate upon some of the peculiar doctrines associated with the later official doctrines of the S. Kārikā, but the Bhagavadgītā also does so. A few striking passages are cited here. Gītā XIII. 5 (Mahābhūtanāyānānkāro buddhiravyaktam eva ca; Indriyāṇi dasaikam ca pañca cendriyagocarāḥ) enumerates the twenty-four tattvas omitting puruṣa and mentioning the five elements in place of the five tanmātrās; XIII. 19-20 (prakṛtiṃ puruṣam caiva vidhya-nādi ubhāvapi; vikārāmsca guṇāmscaiva viddhi prakṛti-sambhavan « Karyakāraṇa-kartṛtve hetuḥ prakṛti-ucyate; Puruṣaḥ sukḥduḥkhānām bhoktṛtve heturucyate »); XIV. 5-9 (satṭvam rajas tama iti guṇāḥ prakṛtisambhavaḥ &c.); VII. 4

(bhūmirāposnalo vāyuh kham mano buddhireva ca : ahankāra itiyam me bhinnā prakṛtir-aṣṭadhā"), VII. 13, II. 28. The Gīta in VII. 6 and 8 emphatically states that God is the source of the whole world, which ultimately is merged in Him. Herein the Gīta differs materially from the standard Sāṅkhya. The Gīta expressly mentions "Sāṅkhya-kṛtānta"²²⁵³ (i. e. siddhānta) in XVIII. 13; what that means is that by that time Sāṅkhya tenets had assumed the form of a system but there is no express or definite reference to a work such as in the case of Veda or Vedānta (in XV. 15) or Brahmasūtra (in XIII. 4).

Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin (dweller on Vindhya mountain) is identified with Īśvarakṛṣṇa by Takakusu in B. E. F. E. O. for 1904 p. 48 and by Koith on pp. 73-79 in 'Sāṅkhya System.' His view about the non-existence of the *ūṇāśhīla* body after a man's death is mentioned by Kumārila.²²⁵⁴ Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in J. I. H. vol. VI. pp. 36-49) goes into the question of the identity of Vindhyavāsa with Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The present writer agrees with him but he does not agree with his further conclusion (p. 49) that Vindhyavāsa lived earlier than Īśvarakṛṣṇa whom he assigns to the period 330-390 A. D. The evidence is too meagre to prove this. In JRAS for 1905 pp. 47 ff. Vindhyavāsa is said by Takakusu to be a pupil of Vrsagapa and that according to Paramārtha Vrsagana and Vindhyavāsa lived in the 10th century after Buddha's nirvāṇa. From Kamalaśīla (p. 22 of Tattva-saṅgraha) it appears that Rudrila was also a name of Vindhyavāsa.

The Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta distinguishes between the two;²²⁵⁵ so it is possible that Vindhyavāsa only revised the

2253. Vide p. 954 note 1545 above where the five Siddhāntas (Kṛtānta-pāñcaka) are Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Śaiva and Pāśupata.

2254. अन्तरामवदेदस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना । तदस्तित्वे प्रमाणं हि न किञ्चिद्व्यगम्यते ॥ श्लोकवार्तिक, आत्मवाद verse 62 p. 704 on which the com. Nyāyaraṇatāṇkāra explains: 'यदपि आतिराहित्यं नाम शरीरं पूर्वोत्तरदेहयोरेन्तराले ज्ञानसन्तानसन्धारणार्थं कल्प्यते तदपि विन्ध्यवासिना निराकृतमित्यादि'. While criticizing the Sāṅkhya and its 'Sāṅkhyavāda' कमलशील makes fun of the epithet Vindhyavāsin (which may also suggest 'a man who belongs to a wild tribe on the Vindhya mountain) applied to Rudrila 'यदेव दधि तत् शरीरं यत्कीरं तदधीति च । यदवा कदिलेनैव रूपापि ता विन्ध्यवासिता ॥'.

2255. On नाट्यशास्त्र (22. 88-89, G. O. S. vol. III. p. 184 मनसालिविधो भावः) it is said by Abhinavagupta 'कापिलदत्तास्तु विन्ध्यवासिनो मनस एव ईश्वरकृष्णादिमते मनःशब्देनात्र दृष्टिः ।'. मेधातिथि on मनु I. 55 remarks "कैश्चिद्विषयते अत्यन्यदन्तरामवं शरीरं यस्येयमुत्क्रान्तिः । ... सांख्या अपि केचिन्नान्तरामवसिच्छन्ति विन्ध्यवासं प्रचूयतः ।". Vide also Ka. 39-41 for the intermediate subtle body.

Sāṅkhya system after Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Bhojadeva in his *Rāja-mārtanda* 2256 on Yogasūtra IV. 22 (23 of most editions) 'drsti-drśyoparaktaṃ cittam sarvārtham' quotes a prose passage from Vindhyavāsin. As there is no evidence to show that Īśvarakṛṣṇa composed some work other than the Sāṅkhyakārikā, Vindhyavāsin must be treated as different from Īśvarakṛṣṇa according to Bhojadeva. The *Yuktidīpikā* several times mentions the views of Vindhyavāsin and indicates that he is different from the author of the S. Kārikā. Vide pp. 4, 108, 141, 148. This work says that the ācārya (author of S. Kārikā) did not enumerate *jīḡā-ā* 2257 and other constituents of the Śāstra but other ācāryas like Vindhyavāsa did mention them in other treatises. On pp 144-145 this com. shows that Vindhyavāsin held that *indriyas* were *vibhu* (all-pervading), denied the existence of a subtle body (*sūksma śarīra*), while in S. Kārikā (40-41) Īśvarakṛṣṇa held that the *indriyas* were not *vibhu* and that there was a *lūga* or *sūksma* body and *Yuktidīpikā* p. 144 says that Patañjali postulated a subtle body.

How the name Sāṅkhya came to be applied to a system of philosophy has to be considered. 'Sankhyā' means 'number', hence enumeration. As the Sāṅkhya system enumerated twenty-five tattvas and as the Śastitantra of Pañcāśikha dealt with sixty topics, it is likely that the philosophy came to be called Sāṅkhya. The Śv. Up. I. 4 is full of numbers. 2258 Verse I 5 of Śv. Up. employs the word *pañca* (five) seven times and also has the word 'pañcāśadbhedam', similar to 'śatārdhāram' in I. 4); vide VI. 3 also. In this sense Sāṅkhya means the

2256 स एव भोगोऽत्यन्तसन्निधानेन विवेकाद्यद्वयणादभोक्तुरपि पुरुषस्य भोग इति व्यपदिश्यते। अनेनेवाभियायेण विन्ध्यवासिनोक्त 'सच्चतत्पत्यमेव पुरुषतत्पत्यम्'। भोजदेव ०० ओ. सू. IV. 22.

2257. एवं चेन्मनस्ये सन्ति जिज्ञासादयोऽवयवा इत्येते तेषामनुपदेशे प्रयोजनं वक्तव्यम्। अयुष्माद्धेतोराचार्येण नोपदिश्यन्ते सन्ति च त इति। उच्यते प्रमाणान्तर्भावात्। ... तद्विज्ञानेऽपि विन्ध्यवासिनश्चैतन्मित्राचार्यैरुपदिष्टाः ममानं नन्ते आचार्या इत्यतश्चाद्युपदेशो जिज्ञासादीनामिति। उक्तिर्दायिका p. 4, विन्ध्यवासिनस्तु विमुखादिन्द्रियाणां बीजदेशे ब्रूया जन्म तत्प्राप्ति मरणम्। तस्मादासितं चक्षुःशरीरम्। तस्माद्विशेष संसार इति पक्षः। ... तस्मात् कारणानां भिन्नत्वमुपपत्तेः। तस्मात्-चित्तं यथाश्रयमुते स्थानादिभ्यो विना यथा छाया। तद्वद्दिना विशेषेण विद्वन् निराश्रय इन्द्रियम्॥ (कारिका ४१) pp 144-145.

2258. तन्मेनेमि त्रिपुनं पोटशान्तं शताधरं विंशतिमत्यराभिः। अथैतैः पद्मभिर्विश्व-रूपपाशं त्रिमासमेव हिमिनिर्वृत्तमोहम्॥ श्वेता उप. I. 4 शताधरं means 'having fifty circles' The saṃ kṛ (46-47) refers to 50 *bhedas* of Buddhisarga. There are eight basic elements viz. Prāṇa, mahat, āhāṅkāra and five *tanmātrās*. 'संज्ञां सङ्गमनकान्धश्च दक्षिणादिभिर्दृश्यते'। मन्व. III. 29. Vide also शान्तिः 294. 41.

philosophic system which postulates twentyfive tattvas, Prakṛti, Puruṣa and others. This is the sense in which the word is used once even in the Gītā (18. 13, Sāṅkhya kṛtānte proktāni &c.). The Matsyapurāṇa also emphasizes this aspect of the Sāṅkhya system.

The word 'Sāṅkhya' has another sense as the Amarakośa states ('carcā eāṅkhyā vicāranā) viz. 'rational examination' or 'discernment'; and the word Sāṅkhya may be derived from it in the sense of 'system of rational examination' and in the sense of 'philosopher' (masculine) according to 'tadadhita tadveda' (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 59) meaning 'Sāṅkhyam veda'.^{2:59} The Bhāmati explains the word in the second sense. Sāṅkhya in a general sense means tattvajñāna (knowledge of ultimate reality, including Vedānta) or a 'person who knows the ultimate reality.' The word Sāṅkhya is frequently used in the Bhagavadgītā in the sense of *tattvajñāna* (as in II. 39, V. 5, XIII. 24) and in the sense of a person knowing ultimate reality (in III. 3, V. 5).

Some comparatively early Sanskrit works that disclose tenets similar to the standard Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā may be briefly noticed here. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa (in chap. XIII. 17ff) mentions a dialogus between Arāda and Gautama (the future Buddha) in which occur *prakṛti*, five elements, *ahankāra*, buddhi, the indriyas, objects of sense, mind, kṣestrajñā as Ātman and states that Kapila with his pupil was enlightened as to these, that necessity, actions and desires are the causes of saṃsāra; that *avidyā* has five aspects (verses 33-37) which are defined, speaks of *brahmacarya*, and *mukti*. Though the tattvas are mentioned here the rest of the doctrines bear very little resemblance to the official Sāṅkhya.

The Carakasamhitā^{2:60} (Jamnagar ed. 1949), Śārīrasthāna chap. I (particularly verses 17, 36, 63-66) contains some doctrine similar to the Sāṅkhyakārikā scheme and verses 151

2259. 'संख्या सम्यग्बुद्धिर्वैदिकी तया वर्तन्ते इति साख्या.' भासनी on वे. सू. भाष्य II. 1. 3.

2260. पुनश्च धातुभेदेन व्यातुर्विशलिक. स्मृत । मनो दशेन्द्रियाण्यर्था प्रकृतिव्याध्यातुकी ॥ ... रजस्तमोग्ना शुक्तस्य संयोगोऽयमनन्तवान् । ताभ्या निराकृताभ्या तु सत्त्वबुद्ध्या निवर्तते ॥ खादीनि बुद्धिरव्यक्तमहङ्कारस्तथात्मनः । भूतप्रकृतिरुद्दिष्टा विकाराश्चैव षोडश । बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणि च । समनस्काश्च पञ्चार्या विकारा इति संज्ञिता ॥ जायते बुद्धिरव्यक्ता बुद्ध्याहमिति मन्यते । पर खादीन्यहङ्कारादुत्पद्यन्ते यथाक्रमम् ॥ अत परं ब्रह्मभूतो भूतारमा नोपलभ्यते । नि सुतस्सर्वभावस्यधिष्ठानं यस्य न विद्यते । ज्ञानं ब्रह्मविदा चात्र ज्ञातव्यं ज्ञातुमर्हति । चरक (शारीरस्थान chap 1, verses 17, 36 63-64, 66, 155.

refers to Yogins and Sāṅkhyas and ultimately the liberated soul is said to become *brahma*. Therefore, it is more like the philosophy of Katha and Śv. Upanisads.

The Suśrutasaṃhitā also (in Śārirasthāna, chap. I paragraphs 3, 4-6, 8-9) sets out the Sāṅkhya,²²⁶¹ is much closer to the standard system of the Kārikā than either the Buddhacarita or the Carakasamhitā as the quotations in the notes will show.

From p 1352 and note 2208 above it would be seen that the tenet of *pradhāna* being the cause of the world was mentioned in their works by Manu and others. This will be briefly illustrated. Manu I. 15 in speaking of creation mentions mahān, the three gunas, objects of sense, five senses. Manu I. 27 refers to the five *tanmātrās* of the five elements. In Manusmṛti XII. 24 *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* occur as the three gunas, verses 26-29 define and illustrate these three and XII. 30-38 dilate upon the different effects of the three gunas and the indications about these gunas; XII. 40 provides that those who rest in *sattva-guna* become gods, those who are *rājasa* become men and those that abide in *tamas* become lower animals.²²⁶² Manu XII. 50 speaks of mahān and avyakta. Yāj. smṛti (III. 91-92) speaks of the five objects of sense, five jñānendriyas, five karmendriyas and mind (16 in all); these sixteen together with ahankāra, buddhi and five elements, ksetrajñā and Īśvara are mentioned in Yāj. III. 177-178 and verses 179-180 set out the evolution of *buddhi* from *avyakta*, of ahankāra from buddhi, of tanmātrās from ahankāra, the five gunas (śabda, sparśa &c) of the five elements and verse 182 speaks of the three gunas.

2261. सर्वभूतानां कारणमकारणं सत्त्वरजस्तमोऽक्षणमदरूपमखिलरूप जगतः सम्भवहेतु-
रप्यक्तं नाम । तदेकं यद्वत् सर्वज्ञानमधिष्ठानं समुद्र द्वयोदकानां भावानाम् । सुश्रुतं I 3 ;
तस्मादप्यक्षानमदावप्यते सङ्क्षिप्तं एव तद्विज्ञानं मदतस्मलक्षण एवादङ्गार उत्पद्यते स त्रिविधो
दैकारिकस्तेजसो भूतादिरिति । सुश्रुत I 4 , तत्र बुद्धीन्द्रियाणां शब्दादयो विपया. कर्मेन्द्रियाणां
पञ्चनादानामन्वद्विसर्गमिदृशानि । सुश्रुत I. 5. अत्यक्तं नदानदङ्गार. पञ्च तन्मात्राणि चैवष्टौ
महत्तमः, शेषा षोडश विकाराः I. 6, तत्र सर्व एवाचेतन एव वर्णं, पुरुषः पञ्चविंशतितमः
कार्यकारणसंतुल्यधेनोयिता भवति । सत्यप्यर्चतेत्ये मयानरूप पुरुषः केवलमर्थं भृशसमुपदिशन्ति
क्षीरार्दींश्चात्र हेतुवदादिति । I. 8. compare with this last सर्. कारिका 57 'वत्सविष्टुद्धि-
विमिश्रं क्षीररूपं यथा भृशतिज्ञरूपः पुरुषविमोक्षविमिश्रं तथा भृशतिः मयानरूप ॥ 1.

2262 बुद्धेरत्यातिरूपकात्मनोदङ्गारसम्भवः । तन्मात्रादीन्पदङ्गारादेकोऽसंख्यानं च ॥
पाञ्च. III. 177: compare सर्वं ज्ञानं तमोऽज्ञानं रागद्वेषी रजः स्मृतम् । मनु XII 26 with
सो का. 13 सर्वं लघु q. above p. 1357 and गीता 14. 6-8, या. III. 137-140

On p. 1352 and in note 2208 above occurs the statement of Śāṅkarācārya that Devala, a Sūtrakāra on Dharma, accepted Sāṅkhya doctrines. This will be briefly indicated here. Aparārka on Yāj. III. 109 quotes a very long passage²²⁶³ from Devala, which after stating that there are two goals of human life (purusārtha) viz *abhyudaya* and *māhāreya* and that the latter comprises Sāṅkhya and Yoga, defines Sāṅkhya as the knowledge of twenty-five tattvas, and yoga as the fixing of the mind on the desired goal after turning it away from objects of sense, and

2263. On the word योगशास्त्र in याज्ञ III 109 अपरार्क quotes a long passage (all in prose except one verse) from Devala, almost the whole of which is set out here देवमाह्वयोद्विधिविधः पुरुषार्थः, अभ्युदयो नि श्रेयसमिति । तयोरभ्युदयः पूर्वोक्तः । द्विविधं नि श्रेयस साख्ययोगविति । पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञानं साख्यम् । विषयेभ्यो निवर्त्यभिप्रेतेऽर्थमनसोऽवस्थापनं योगः । उभयत्रापवर्गः फलम् । जन्ममरणदुःखयोरत्यन्ताभावोऽपवर्गः । एतौ साख्ययोगौ चाधिष्ठयैर्युक्तं समयतश्च पूर्वमणीतानि विशालानि गम्भीराणि तन्त्राणीह सक्षिप्योद्देशतो वक्ष्यन्ते । तत्र साख्यानानामेका मूलप्रकृतिः । सप्त प्रकृतिविकृतयः । पञ्च तन्मात्राणि षोडश विकाराः पञ्च पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि । अर्थाच्च (अर्थाश्च?) पञ्चभूतविशेषाः । त्रयोदश करणानि त्रीण्यन्तकरणानि । चतस्रश्चतस्रो मातृजाः पितृजाश्च कोशाः । पञ्च वायुविशेषाः । त्रयो गुणाः । त्रिविधो बन्धः । त्रयो बन्धनहेतवः । द्वौ बन्धरागौ । त्रीणि प्रमाणानि । त्रिविधं दुःखम् । चतुर्विधः प्रत्यपवर्गः । तथा द्विविधः सर्गः । तथा विपर्ययः पञ्चविधः । अशक्तिरष्टाविंशतिधा तुष्टिर्नवविधा । सिद्धिरष्टविधेति प्रत्ययभेदाः पञ्चाशत् ।

अस्तित्वमेकत्वमर्थवत्त्वं परार्थमन्यत्वमथो निवृत्तिः ।

योभो वियोगो बहवः पुमासः स्थितिः शरीरस्य च शेषवृत्तिः ॥

इति दशमूलिकाः । अथ मूलप्रकृतिरूपका (क्त?) महानदङ्कारः पञ्च तन्मात्राणीति प्रकृतिविकृतयः । शब्दतन्मात्रं स्पर्शः, रसः, रूपः, गन्धतन्मात्रमिति तन्मात्राणि । द्विविधानीन्द्रियाणि । भूतविशेषाश्च विकाराः । चक्षुःश्रोत्रघ्राणजिह्वात्वचो बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि । रूपशब्दगन्धरसस्पर्शस्पर्शपामर्थाः । वाक्पाणिपादपादपृष्ठकर्मेन्द्रियाणि भाषण क्रिया गमनहस्तर्ग आनन्द एषा कर्माणि । वाय्वग्निवायुकाकाशपृथिव्यो भूतविशेषाः । दशेन्द्रियाणि बुद्धयष्टाकरमनासि च करणानि । तेषु मनोबुद्धयष्टाङ्काराश्चान्तकरणानि । दश बहिःकरणानीन्द्रियाणि च । गुणसाम्यलक्षणमन्यक्तप्रधानं प्रकृतिविधानमित्यनर्थान्तरम् । अध्यवसायलक्षणो महान् बुद्धिर्मतिरुपलब्धिरित्यनर्थान्तरम् । अभिमानलक्षणोऽदङ्कारो वैकारिकोऽभिमान इत्यनर्थान्तरम् । न पूर्वपूर्विका प्रकृतिः । प्रकृतेर्महाछपद्यते ततोऽदङ्कारः । अदङ्कारात्तन्मात्राणीन्द्रियाणि च । तन्मात्रेभ्यो विशेषा इत्युत्पत्तिक्रमः । यो यस्मादुत्पद्यते स तस्मिन्लोयत इति वाच्यं क्रमः (चाप्ययक्रमः) । अपरार्क pp. 986-988 on या III. 109 For अभ्युदय and नि श्रेयस vide p. 1037 n 1671 above Compare pp 1358-59 note 2218 (verse प्रधानास्तित्वमेकत्व etc) with the verse अस्तित्वमेकत्व... शेषवृत्तिः of this passage. On p 100 of Pandit Aiyaswami's edition the verse अस्तित्व .. शरीरस्य विशेषवृत्तिः is restored from Chinese The तत्त्वसमास-सूत्रवृत्ति p 135 (Chow S S) reads 'न्यत्वमकर्तुता च' On p. 165 of कुर्यकल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड) the portion देवमाह्वयोः द्विविधः पुरुषार्थः ... वर्गः फलम् is again quoted from देवल on p. 124 of the same work देवल in prose is again quoted for three *bandhas* (Prakṛtibandha, Vaikārikabandha and Dakṣiṇābandha) and for three *bandhanahetvas*. On the same page three verses and a half are quoted from Brahmandapurāṇa for the three *bandhas* (Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Venk Edition IV. 3 37-40).

states that the fruit of both is *apavarga* which means the total disappearance of the sufferings of birth and death. The quotation then proceeds to say that there are extensive and profound tantras concerning both Sāṅkhya and Yoga composed by former (sages) relying on ratiocination and tradition and these will be summarized and their subjects set out. As to the Sāṅkhyas there are these: *mūlaprakṛti*, seven categories that are both *prakṛtis* and *vikṛtis*, five *tanmātrās*, sixteen *vikāras* (products); *indriyas* are five (*jñānedriyas*) and five (*karmendriyas*), five objects of sense, five elements; thirteen *karanas*, three being *antahkaranas*; *viparyaya* of five kinds, *aśakti* of 28 kinds; *tust* of nine kinds, *siddhis* of eight kinds; in this way there are 50 *pratyayabhedas*, there are ten basic matters, viz. *astitva* (existence of *prakṛti* &c). After this there is again an enumeration of *prakṛti*, *avyakta*, *mahān*, *ahankāra*, five *tanmātrās* &c.

It would be noticed that the quotation from Devala in *Aparārka* contains two parts, the first stopping at the words 'iti daśa mūlikārthāḥ' and the 2nd containing the rest. It appears that the two parts cover mostly the same ground and it is probable that the two parts are summaries of two different works on Sāṅkhya.

Another important digest of the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. namely the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara in its *Moksakāṇḍa* pp 100-101 also quotes from Devala's *Dharmasūtra* a prose passage which agrees word for word with a portion of the passage quoted above from *Aparārka* viz. from the words 'tatra sāṅkhyānām ekā mūlaprakṛtiḥ' up to 'trinyantah-karanāni'. Then the portion from 'catasraś-cataso' to 'iti daśa mūlikārthāḥ' is dropped by the *Kalpataru* and then it has the whole of the passage from 'atha mūlaprakṛtiravyaktam' up to 'abhimāna ityanarthāntaram',²²⁶⁴ after which it adds a short passage not found in *Aparārka* (which is quoted below). It has the passage 'prakṛter mahānūtpadyate' up to 'ityutpattikramah'.

Both *Aparārka* and *Kṛtyakalpataru* (*Moksakāṇḍa*) quote verses from Yama on the Sāṅkhya system, which are cited in

2264 After अभिमान इत्यनर्थान्तरम् occurring in note 2263 the कृत्यकल्पतरु reads सत्त्वात्रयलक्षणानि तन्मात्राणि स्वातन्त्र्यबलक्षणा नीन्द्रियाण्यक्षाणीन्द्रियाण्युत्पद्यन्ते । सङ्गत्पलक्षणं मनः । इन्द्रियार्थलक्षणा विषयविशेषा भूतानीत्यनर्थान्तरम् । सर्ववृत्तिका प्रकृतिः । In some cases the editor of the *Moksakāṇḍa* has not correctly separated the clauses. On p. 100 he should have printed 'गन्धतन्मात्रमिति तन्मात्राणि । द्विविधानीन्द्रियाणि । मनो भूतविशेषाश्च विकाराः । ... दश बहिःकरणानीन्द्रियाणि च ।'

the note below. It will be noticed that after enumerating the twenty-five tattvas Yama adds Purusottama as the 26th tattva.²²⁶⁵

Purāṇas contain lengthy disquisitions on the Sāṅkhya doctrines. For example, the Visṇupurāṇa I. 2. 19-23, 25-62, VI. 4. 13-15, 17, 32-40 (in all about 66 verses) are full of Sāṅkhya doctrines and are all quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataṛu (Moksakāṇḍa pp. 102-108). But that Purāṇa emphasizes that Paramātman (called Visṇu) is the support of all tattvas. In Visṇupurāṇa I. 2. 22-23 it is asserted²²⁶⁶ that *brahmanvādins* who are proficient in Vedic doctrines recite (a verse) that expounds pradhāna, (and state) 'there was then (before creation) neither day nor night, no sky nor earth, neither darkness nor light, there was only *one* male brahma that was evolved as pradhāna and that could not be apprehended by the ear (and other indriyas) or by *buddhi*. Verses 39-40 (of Visṇupurāṇa VI. 4) assert that both²²⁶⁷ prakṛti and purusa become dissolved in the Highest Self who is called Visṇu in Vedas and Vedāntas (Upanisads).

Many other Purāṇas devote a great deal of space to the elucidation of Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology. Considerations of space preclude any statement beyond references to

2265. मनो बुद्धिरद्वैतः खानिलादिजलानि भूः । एताः प्रकृतयस्त्वष्टी विकाराः षोडशपरैः ॥ श्रोत्राक्षिरसनघ्राणत्वचः सङ्कल्प एव च । शब्दरूपरसस्पर्शगन्धवाक्पाणिपादः । पादाङ्गुल्यश्च इति ते विकाराः षोडश स्मृताः ॥ चतुर्विंशकमित्येतज्ज्ञानमाहुर्ननीयिणः । पञ्चविंशकमस्यैकं पञ्चविंशः सुखोत्तमः । एतज्ज्ञात्वा तु सुखयन्ते यतयः शान्तबुद्धयः । पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो यत्र तत्राश्रमे रतः । प्रकृतज्ञो विकारज्ञो याति विष्णोः पर पदम् ॥ यम q. by अपरार्क p. 988 and कृत्यकल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड) pp. 101-102, which combines the first and 4th quarters of the last verse and reads पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो याति विष्णोः पर पदम्. In the commentary reconstructed from the Chinese translation by Paramārtha (edited by Pandit Alyaswami) occurs the verse पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो यत्र तत्राश्रमे वसेत् । जगौ मुण्डो सिद्धी वापि सुखयन्ते नाम सहायः ॥ (on p. 5 and again on p. 55 on Kārikā 37) This verse occurs in गौडपाद's भाष्य on कारिका one. भावगणेश (1550-1600 A. D.) in तत्त्ववाधार्तवैदीपन (Chow. S. S.) ascribes this last verse to पञ्चशिख

2266. वेदवाद्यविदो विद्वल्लियता ब्रह्मादिनः । पठन्ति चैवमेवार्थं प्रधानपतिपादकम् ॥ नाहो न रात्रिर्न मनो न भूमिर्नासीत्तमो ज्योतिरद्वय नाम्यत् । श्रोत्रादिबुद्धबाह्यपलम्बकैः प्राधानिकं ब्रह्म युमस्तदासीत् ॥ ... ततस्तु तत्परं ब्रह्म परमात्मा जगन्मयः । प्रधानसुखो चापि प्रविश्य स्वेच्छया हरिः । क्षोभयामास संभावे सर्गाकाले व्ययाव्ययी ॥ विष्णुपुराण I. 2. 22-23, 28-29 quoted by कृत्यकल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड, p. 103) The first two verses have in view the famous R̥gveda hymn X. 129 (verses 1-2).

2267. प्रकृतिर्यो मया खयाता व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपिणी । सुखपद्मायुभाभेती लीयेते परमात्मनि । परमात्मा च सर्वदेवमाधारः परमेश्वरः । विष्णुनाम्ना स वेदेषु वेदान्तेषु च गीयेते ॥ विष्णुपुराण VI. 4. 39-40, q. by कृत्यकल्प (on मोक्ष p. 108),

chapters and verses of some Purāṇas and the citation of a few striking or informative verses. Matsya (3. 14-29) begins with prakṛti, guṇas and all the twenty-five tattvas, remarks that the three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, though one, arose from the guṇas being put into activity and winds up by saying that Sāṅkhya is full of enumerations and was proclaimed by Kapila and others.²²⁶⁸ The Brahma-purāṇa (1. 33-35, 33. 3-4, 242, 67-70, 76-85) recounts the tattvas from prakṛti to kṣetrajña and remarks at the end that the soul becomes *kevala* (free from all contacts and liberated) when he realizes the truth about himself. The Padma-purāṇa in several places dilates upon the tattvas of the Sāṅkhya such as in Pātālahanda 85. 11-18, Śrīstikhanda, chap. 2. 88-103, chap. 15 177-187, which closely follow the S. Kārikā verses. The Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 4. 13-35) states that Maheśvara enters prakṛti and puruṣa, activates them and sets out Sāṅkhya ideas and in II. 7. 21-26 it refers to the twenty-four tattvas and the state of equilibrium (sāmyāvasthā). The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa in chap. 42. 32-62 treats of creation with Sāṅkhya terminology. Three verses of the Brahmāṇḍa IV. 3. 37-46 referring to the threefold bondage (bandha) are quoted by the Kṛtyakalpataṛu (mokṣa) p. 124. Similarly, Brahmāṇḍa (II. 32. 71-76) employ the Sāṅkhya terminology of mahat, ahankāra &c. Prof. Das Gupta in 'Indian Philosophy' vol. IV. pp. 24-48 deals at some length with Kapila's philosophy in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and Śrī Siddheśvara Bhattacharya contributes a paper 'a critique of the Bhāgavata' in JBRS for 1950 pp. 9-50 in which he severely criticizes Prof. Das Gupta.

2268. सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चैव गुणत्रयमुदाहृतम् । साम्यावस्थितिरितेतेषां प्रकृतिः परिकीर्तिता ॥
केचित्प्रधानमित्याहुस्तस्यैकमपरे जनाः । एतदेव प्रजासृष्टिं करोति विकरोति च ॥ गुणेभ्यः क्षोभ्य-
माणेभ्यश्चो देवा विजिज्ञिरे । एका मूर्तिस्तस्यो भागा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरा । ... सारूपं कपिलादिभि-
रुच्यते । मत्स्य 3.14-15, 29. Vide वैकारिकस्तौजसश्च भूतादिश्चैव तानसः । त्रिविधोयमहङ्कारो
नष्टत्वाद्जायत । भूतेन्द्रियाणां पञ्चानां तथा कर्मेन्द्रियैः सह ॥ पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड chap. 2.
89-90; compare स. का 24-25 आकाशवायुतेजासि सलिलं पृथिवी तथा । शब्दादि-
भिर्गुणैर्वीर्यं सुकान्तीत्युत्तरोत्तरैः । ज्ञान्ता घोरश्च मूढश्च विशेषास्तेन ते रसुता । *ibid* chap 2.
99-100, the half verse ज्ञान्ता - रसुता. occurs in मार्कण्डेयसु. (Veāk. ed.) 42 57 and
कूर्मे I. 4. 33, compare सां का. 38 तन्मात्राण्यविशेषास्तेभ्यो भूतानि पञ्च पञ्चम्यः । एते
रसुता विशेषा. ज्ञान्ता घोरश्च मूढश्च ॥. vide पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 15. 177-179 चतुर्विंशतितत्त्वानि
प्रधानादीनि संख्यया । अचेतनानि भोग्यानि पुरुष पञ्चविंशक । चेतनं पुरुषो भोक्ता न कर्ता
तस्य कर्मण । आत्मा नित्योऽप्ययश्चैव अधिष्ठाता प्रयोजकः । । पातालखण्ड 85. 11-12 are the
same with slight variation; compare सां का 17 and 19 'पुरुषोऽस्ति भोक्तृभावान्कै-
वल्यायै प्रवृत्तेश्च ॥ तस्माच्च विपर्ययात् सिद्धं साक्षित्वमस्य पुरुषस्य । कैवल्यं मायस्थं
द्रष्टृत्वमकर्तृभावश्च ॥.

Vide Bhāgavatapurāṇa III. 26. The Varāhapurāṇa (B. I. ed. of 1893) narrates the story of king Aśvaśiras to whom Kapila and Jaigīśavya (the prince of Yogins) came after he had performed the avabhṛtha bath and was surrounded by brāhmanas and who asked them how the highest Nārāyaṇa was to be worshipped, when the two told him that they were themselves Nārāyaṇa. On his doubting these words of theirs Kapila assumed the form of Viṣṇu and Jaigīśavya of Garuda and after other similar wonders, the king requested that his doubt whether Mokṣa is attained by him who follows karmamārga or jñānamārga be resolved. The same Purāṇa in chap. 25 (verses 1-5) declares that *avyakta*, the first tattva, made up of three (*gunas*) arose from the highest Puruṣa, from the union of the two *ahankāra* was produced also called *mahat*, that Puruṣa is named Viṣṇu or Śiva while *avyakta* is called *Umā*, *Devī* or *Śrī* and *Gūha* (*Kārtikeya*) is *ahankāra*. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (I. 3. 10) mentions Kapila as the fifth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (vide above p. 1373) and (in X. 8. 37-38) states that when Yaśodā asked the child Kṛṣṇa to open his mouth she saw inside the mouth the whole world, the five elements, the *indriyas*, mind, *mātrās* and the three *gunas*. Even great poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa are fond of utilising Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology. For example, vide Kumārasambhava II. 4 (*Gunatrayavibhāgāya &c.*), Raghuvamśa X. 38 (*anginām tamasevobhau gunau prathamamadhyamau*), Raghuvamśa VIII. 21 (*Raghurapyajayad-guna-trayam prakṛtiṣṭham &c.*); Kādambarī, very first verse (*rajojuse janmani...trigunātmānamamah*).

Even the Tantras were influenced by the Sāṅkhya system as the Śāradātīlaka shows (vide above p. 1061).

It is not a vain boast when the Śāntiparva²²⁶⁹ asserts that whatever knowledge is found in the Vedas, in Sāṅkhya and Yoga, in the various Purāṇas, in the extensive *itihāsas*, in the *arthaśāstra* and whatever knowledge exists in the world, all that is derived from the Sāṅkhya. For a dispassionate appraisal of the Sāṅkhya theory of evolution and its stages, vide Dr. Behanan's work on 'Yoga' chap. IV. pp. 63-91.

2269 ज्ञानं महद्यज्ञि महत्सु राजन् वेदेषु सांख्येषु तथैव योगे । यन्नापि हृद निविष्टं पुराणं (जे') सांख्यगतं तज्जिज्ञीर्षं नरेन्द्र ॥ यच्चैतिहासेषु महत्सु हृदं यच्चार्थशास्त्रे उपनिषद्-छन्दे ज्ञानं च लोके यदिहास्ति किञ्चित्सांख्यगतं तच्च महम्महात्मन् ॥ शान्ति 290. 103-104 (= 301 108-109 of Chitrashala edition).

CHAPTER XXXII

Yoga and Dharmasāstra

Sāṅkhya and Yoga often go together in the Upanisads as well as in the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavadgītā and the Purāṇas and their relationship to one another is the same in all these. In Śv. Up. VI. 13, Vanaparva 2 15, Śāntiparva²²⁷⁰ 228, 28, 289. 1, 306. 65, 308. 25, 326. 100, 336. 69, Anuśāsana 14. 323, Bhagavadgītā V. 4-5, Padma purāṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa, 85. 11 ff), the two are mentioned together.

Though Sāṅkhya greatly influenced all works dealing with the evolution of the world in its various aspects, it did not enjoy that great esteem among all sorts of people in India that the Yoga system enjoyed and still enjoys. The word *yoga* is derived from the root 'yuj' to join or to unite (of *rudhādi* class). The germs of yoga can be traced back to the Rgveda. Rgveda V. 81. 1 (a verse in praise of Savitr) reads 'wise men, priests and sacrificers concentrate their minds and join their prayers to the wise, the great (Savitr), who knows all (prayers)'. Another Vedic²²⁷¹ verse also speaks of concentrating the mind. The word 'yoga' occurs frequently in the Rgveda in several shades of meaning. Sāyana in many passages takes 'yoga' to mean 'acquiring what is not already possessed' (as in Rg. I 5. 3). In Rg. I. 18. 7 God Sadasaspati (Agni) is said to pervade the prayers (or thoughts) of sacrificers. In Rg. I. 34 9 it means 'yoking' (kadā yogo vājino rāsabhasya yena yajñam nāsatyopayāthah'. The word 'yoga' is often used with the word *kṣema* (separately as in Rg. VII. 54. 3, VII. 86. 8) or as a compound

2270 पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानि हृदयान्मुभयतः समम् । योगे साख्येपि च तथा विशेषास्तत्र मे शृणु ॥ ज्ञानि 228 28 (=236 29 Ch ed.)

2271 युञ्जते मन उत युञ्जते धियो विम विप्रस्य बृहत्तो विपश्चित् । वि होत्रा दधे वयुना-
विवेक इन्मही देवस्य सवितु परिण्डुति ॥ ऋ V 81 1 = तै. सं. I 2 13 1, काठकसंहिता
II 51 and XV 36, बाज सं 11 4, श्वे. उप II. 4 Rg I. 18. 7 is यस्मादृते न
सिध्यति यज्ञो विपश्चितश्चन । स धीर्ना योगमिन्वति ॥, सुखानः प्रथम मनस्तत्त्वाय सविता धियः ।
अग्नेज्योतिर्निचात्प हृदिष्या अष्टाभरत् । तै सं IV. 1 1. 1, बाज सं, XI 1 and श्वे. उप.
II 1

(as in Rg. X. 166. 5 'Yogaksemam va ādayāham bhūyāsam-uttamam'). There is a great distance or gap between the meaning of the word *yoga* in the Rgveda (even in the verses about concentrating the mind) and its meaning in some of the Upanisads and in classical Sanskrit. In Rg. X. 136. 2-3 there is mention²²⁷² of *munis*, sons of Vātarasana, who wore dirty and tawny garments and who say in verse 3 'we being in ecstasy (or wild bliss) owing to our way of life as munis resort to winds; mortals! you look on our bodiss only'. This shows that even in those ancient times, some people practised *tapas*, did not care what clothes they wore and thought they (i. e. their souls) would be merged in the wind (that is, the souls are formless and could not be seen). In Rg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be a friend of munis and muni is also a friend of every god in Rg. X. 136. 4. But as to *yatis* the position was rather different. The word *yati* occurs several times in the Rgveda but in most cases that word has no certain connection with the meaning of 'ascetic'. In Rg. VIII. 3. 9 'by which (says brahmā priest) wealth was given to Bhrgu from the *yatis* and by which you helped (or protected) Praskanva'; here Indra seems to be opposed to *yatis*. In Rg. VIII. 6. 18 the poet says 'O valiant Indra! listen to my prayer alone from among the *yatis* and Bhrgus that praised thee'. Here Śāyana explains '*yatayah*' as '*Angirasah*'. In any case '*yatis*' are here shown to be devotees of Indra. But in other Samhitās it is said that Indra threw '*yatis*' to the wolves or hyenas.²²⁷³ Later on, however, the meaning of *yati* seems to have changed. In these Samhitā passages '*yatis*' appear to be persons hostile or alien to the Vedic rites, but what they did to deserve

2272. मुनयो वातरसनाः पिशाङ्गं वसते मला । घातस्याह्म भाजि बन्ति यदेवसो अविक्षतः
उन्मद्विता मीनेवेव वारो आ तस्थिमा वयम् । इरीदेवस्माकं यूपं मनोसो अग्निं पश्य ॥ स.
X 136. 2-3 According to the सर्वाङ्गक्रमणी the sages of seven verses of the hymn are जूतिर्वातजूतिर्विमजूतिर्वृषाणकः । करिष्कत एतसं कश्यपश्चैकचित् । मीनेय is derived from मुनि and means मुनेर्भावाः. The word 'Keshin' (having hair, hairy, by metaphor 'possessing rays' applied to the Sun or Fire) occurs five times in the first verse of this hymn and two times more in the other verses. 'Muni' appears thrice in this hymn and once more in 'mauneya'. Dr. Hauser in 'Der yoga als Hailweg' (1932) remarks (on p. 13) that the word 'muni' is probably related to Greek 'mantis' (prophet).

2273. इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् ताव दक्षिणत उत्तरवेद्या आवत् । ते सं
VI 2. 7. 5, vide also ते सं II. 4. 9 2 'यतीनामद्यमानानां इति यतीणि परापत्तु ते सर्व्यं
अभयम् ॥'. Vide also काठकसंहिता VIII. 5 and XI. 10 and ते. ब्रा. 35. 2. In कौषीतकिब्राह्मणे,
III, 1 (Indra says) 'विक्षिपामि त्वाष्ट्रमहन् ॥ अरुणस्यान् यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् ॥'

slaughter by Indra is not clear. In Atharvaveda II. 5. 3 Indra is said to have killed Vrtra as he did in the case of yatis. Some of the Upanisads, however, show that 'yati' was a person who had given up worldly affairs, practised yoga and endeavoured after the knowledge of Ātman and realized Brahma; vide Mundaka Up. III. 1. 5 (yam paśyanti yatayah kṣinadosāḥ) and III. 2. 6 (sannyāsayogād-yatayah śuddhasattvāḥ). Some like Haier in 'Die Anfrange der Yoga-praxis', 1922 pp. 11 ff) hold that the Vrātyas of Atharvaveda XV were ecstasies of the ksatriya class and forerunners of Yogins.

The word 'yoga' occurs in some of the Upanisads in the same sense in which it is employed in the Yogasūtra. In Katha Up. II. 12, it is said²²⁷⁴ 'the wise man reflecting on God by means of yoga, by concentrating the mind on the inner spirit becomes free from joy and grief' (adhyātmayogādhighamena). The same Upanisad says that the state described in VI. 11 is regarded as Yoga because therein the organs (and the mind and buddhi) are firmly held under control. In Katha Up. VI. 18 it is said that Naciketas having understood the *vidyā* and the whole procedure of Yoga propounded by Yama attained (the realization of) *brahma*. The word 'Yoga' occurs in the Tai. Up. II. 4 (in speaking about vijñānamaya ātman, yoga is said to be its *ātman*, the exact sense being doubtful), and in the Śv. Up. II. 11 and VI. 13. Praśna (5. 5-6) speaks of the three mātṛās (a, u, m) of Om. In Śv. Up. 1. 3 occurs the word 'dhyānayoga'. The Śv. Up. (II. 8-13) refers to *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma* and sets out the first signs of the successful practice of Yoga. The Chān. Up. VIII. 15 appears to refer to *pratyāhāra* (though the technical word is not used) in 'ātmani sarvendriyāni pratisthāpya' (having brought all organs of sense to rest in the ātman). The Br. Up. (I. 5. 23) appears to refer to *prāṇāyāma* in 'he should observe the one vow, viz. inhalation and exhalation (tasmād-ekameva vratam caret prāṇyāc-caiva apāṇyācca).

2274. तां योगमिति मन्वन्ते स्थितामिन्द्रियधारणाम् । कठ० VI. 11 ; मृत्युभीक्तां नचिकेतोऽथ लब्ध्वा विद्यामेतां योगविधिं च कृत्स्नम् । ब्रह्ममाप्तो विरजोऽसृक्षिमृत्युरन्योऽप्येवं यो विद्वेषात्ममेव ॥ कठ. VI. 18, The important words in this last are कृत्स्नं योगविधिम्. The idea appears to be that yoga had been fully developed at the time of the Katha Up. but that Upanisad did not set it out in detail. It may be further noted that the words एतां विद्यां refer to Brahmadvidyā and that yoga-vidhi is separately mentioned (probably as a means to brahma-realization)

The Vedāntasūtra (II. 1. 3 'etena yogah pratyuktah) states that Yoga is refuted by the reasoning adopted for the refutation of the Sāṅkhya system. The position of Śaṅkarācārya as to both Sāṅkhya and Yoga has been stated above (pp. 1352 and 1361 n. 2208 and 2221). He points out in the pūrvapakṣa that Veda²²⁷⁵ prescribes Yoga as a means of achieving correct knowledge and refers to Br. Up. II. 4. 5. He further points out that in the Śv. Up. Yoga is expounded in great detail after first mentioning the proper posture (for the practice of Yoga) in the words 'having held the body straight but raised high in three places viz. chest, neck and head' (Śv. Up. II, 8). From the words of Śaṅkarācārya that in Yogasāstra also Yoga is held to be a means of the realisation of right knowledge, it follows that he had a yogasāstra before him in which occurred the words 'atha...yogah,' but as he does not employ the word Yogasūtra he probably does not refer to a sūtra work. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it is possible that the Yogasāstra meant by Śaṅkara is a work like the Yogasāstra ascribed to Yājñavalkya in Yāj. Smṛti III. 110 (Yogasāstram ca mat-prokṣam &c.). Śaṅkarācārya admits on V. S. II. 1. 3 that a part of the yoga is acceptable to him but other parts conflict with the Veda. Mundaka Up. (II 2. 6) enjoins *śamādhi* in the words 'om-iti dhyāyatha ātmānam' as Śaṅkarācārya states on V. S. II. 3. 39 (*śamādhyabhāvāc-ca*). In the Upaniṣade 'Muni' and 'Yati' have come to denote²²⁷⁶ the same meaning, e g. Br. Up. IV. 4. 22 states 'one becomes muni by realizing this very self,'

2275 सम्प्रदर्शनः शुपायो हि योगो वेदे विहितः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः-
इति । 'शुद्धतं स्थाप्य समं शरीरम्' इत्यादिना चासनादिकल्पनादुरःसरं बहुप्रपञ्चं योगविधानं
श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि दृश्यते । ... योगशास्त्रेऽपि 'अथ तत्प्रदर्शनोपायो योगः' इति सम्प्रदर्शनशुपा-
यत्वेनैव योगोऽङ्गीक्रियते । साङ्ख्यभाष्ये on वे सू II. 1. 3, The words अथ...योग' imply
that it is a quotation. Compare 'समं कायशितोऽग्रिवं धारयन्नचल स्थिरः' गीता
VI. 13.

2276. एतमेव विदित्वा मुनिर्भवति । एतमेव प्रजाजिनो लोकमिच्छन्तः प्रव्रजन्ति । इदं
उप. IV. 4. 22; vide कठ. IV. 15 'यथोदकं...एवं मुनेर्विज्ञानत आत्मा भवति गौतम ।'
The कौषीतकि-उप II. 15 has परि वा व्रजेत्. The word परित्राजक, however,
does not occur in the other Upaniṣads. In पाणिनि's day परित्राजक was
well-known as the sūtra 'मस्कर-मस्करिणीं वेषुपरित्राजकयोः' VI. 1. 154 shows
which states that मस्कर means bamboo (staff) and मस्करिन् means परित्राजक.
The महाभाष्य comments that मस्करिन् is not so called because he carries
a bamboo staff but because he advises people not to do actions for
securing desired objects and that for people quiescence is better 'मा कुत
कर्माणि मा कुत कर्माणि ज्ञान्तिर्वः श्रेयसीत्यादातो मरकसी परित्राजकः'

while the Mundaka (III. 1. 5)²²⁷⁷ states 'this self is to be attained by Truth, by *tapas*, by right knowledge and by sexual purity at all times: that self resides inside the body (like a light), is pure, whom spotless ascetics realize.' The Kathopanisd (III. 13) provides that the wise man should restrain speech in mind (speech and mind, as the text stands), he should keep it within the self which is knowledge, he should keep down knowledge within the self that is the great, and he, should keep that (the great) within the self which is quiet. The Upanisads thus not only employ the word 'Yoga' but provide some of the stages of yoga and its technique for realizing the Supreme Spirit. About twenty Yoga Upanisads are published at Adyar, edited by A. Mahadev Sastri (1920), but as their chronology is most uncertain and as most of them appear to the present writer to be later than the Mahābhārata, Manu and probably the Yogasūtra, they are passed over here and are referred to in this work sparingly²²⁷⁸

Pāṇini provides for the formation of the words *yama* and *niyama* (two *aṅgas*) of Yoga and the word 'Yogin' appears to have been derived by him from the root 'yuj' with the affix 'ghinun' (i. e. *in*) in the sense of *tācchīlya* (being habituated to) according to Pān. III. 2. 142 (which is a very long sūtra).²²⁷⁹

2277. कामक्रोधविषयज्ञानं यतीनां यतचेतसाम् । अभितो ब्रह्मनिर्वाणं वर्तते विदित्तात्म-
नाम् ॥ गीता 5 26. यच्छेद्वाङ्मनसी प्राज्ञस्तथच्छेज्ज्ञान आत्मनि । ज्ञानमात्मनि महति
नियच्छेत्तथच्छेच्छान्त आत्मनि ॥ कठोप. III 13. इह्मराचार्य ०० वे. सू I 4. 1 explains
this at length 'यच्च मनसि संयच्छेत् वागादिबाह्येन्द्रियव्यापारस्तुल्य मनोमात्रेणावतिष्ठेत्'
He takes मनसी as an *ārsaprayoga* equal to मनसि.

2278 That the yoga Upanisads are late productions may be briefly indicated here Verses 10-14 of the गोरक्षशतक (dealog with the *ādhāra* and *svādhisthāna* cakras) are found in the ध्यानविन्दु (verses 43-47) and in the योगचूडामणि (verses 4-9) with slight variations Vide pp. 1060-1062 and ootes 1715-1717 above for the six cakras and the oadis In the description of *prāṇāyāma* the Śāṇḍilya Upanisad quotes certain verses with the words तदेते श्लोका भवन्ति, some of which occur in the गोरक्षशतक One cannot say definitely that the Śāṇḍilya borrows from G S., but this is possible. All the ancient and medieval works on the several branches of yoga are not yet available, and therefore one cannot preclude the possibility that Śāṇḍilya and other yoga upanisads and गोरक्षशतक borrow from earlier sources not yet discovered

2279. यमः समुपनिविषु च । पा. III. 3. 63. एषु अक्षयसर्गे च यमेरू वा ।... नियमः
नियमः । यमः यमः । सि की यम means प्रहर (watch, 1/8 part of the whole
day), while यम means 'restraint' 'यस्यते चित्तं अनेन'. On पा. III 2. 142
the काशिका remarks 'युज समापौ विवादि. । युजिर योगे रुपादि. । द्वयोरपि ब्रह्मणम्'.

The *Āpastambadharmasūtra* (I. 8 23. 3-6) quotes a verse 'The total destruction of *dosas* (taints) is due to Yoga in this life; a wise man after having expelled all *dosas* that cause harm to all beings reaches peace (*moksa*)' and then it sets out fifteen *dosas* such as anger, ecstatic joy, greed, hypocrisy, the destruction of which is due to Yoga and enumerates the qualities that are opposites of the *dosas*. This shows that long before the 4th or 5th century B. C. Yoga as a discipline of the mind had been well developed.

The V. S. II. 1. 3 indicates that the *Sūtrakāra* had before him a body of Yoga doctrines, some of which were the same as those of the *Sāṅkhya* and he also knew *Samādhi* (V. S. II. 3. 39). Again, the V. S. mentions (in IV. 2. 21) Yogins and distinguishes *Sāṅkhya* and Yoga as *smārta* (and not *śrauta*). Śāṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3. 33 quotes the extant *Yogasūtra* II 44 (*svādhyāyādi-ista-devatā-samprayogah*) and on²²⁸⁰ V. S. II. 4. 12 he appears to be willing to admit that the *Yoga-sūtra* preceded V. S. and quotes *Yogasūtra* I. 6 in the 2nd interpretation of that *sūtra*.

The important question is whether the author of the V. S. refers to the extant *Yogasūtra*. The present author holds for various reasons that the V. S. does not refer to the present *Yoga-sūtra*, but to the Yoga doctrines that had been developed even before the *Katha Mundaka*, *Śvetāśvatara* and other *Upanisads*.

In the *Śāntiparva* it is stated that the propounder²²⁸¹ of *Sāṅkhya* was *paramarṣi* (highest sage) Kapila, *Hiranyagarbha*

2280. पञ्चवृत्तिर्मनोवक्ष्यपदिश्यते । वे स II 4 12, शांकरभाष्य 'इतश्चास्ति मुख्यस्य प्रणस्य वैशेषिकं कार्यं यत्कारणं पञ्चवृत्तिरयं व्यपदिश्यते श्रुतिषु प्राणोऽपानो ध्यान उदान. समान-इति (बुद्ध उप. I 5. 3) । ...एवं तर्हि परमतमप्रतिबिम्बमनुमत भवतीति न्यायादिहापि योगशास्त्रमसिद्धा मनसः पञ्च वृत्तयः परिशुद्धान्ते-प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रा-स्मृतयो नाम । It would be noticed that Śāṅkarācārya first gave one explanation of the word 'manovāt' in the V. S. and then he gave another by way of concession.

2281. सांख्यं योगं...नाना मतानि वै ॥ सांख्यस्य वक्ता कपिलः परमर्षिः स उच्यते । द्विषण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता (v. I. वक्ता) नान्य. पुरातन ॥ अयान्तरतमाश्वे वेदाचार्यः स उच्यते । प्राचीनगर्भं तमुषिं प्रवदन्तीह केचन ॥ शान्ति 337. 59-61 = चित्र ed. 349 64-66. For the first verse, vide above p 954 n 1544 and also 'सांख्य योग पञ्चरात्रं वेदारण्यकमेव च । ज्ञानान्येतानि ब्रह्मर्षे लोकेषु मन्त्ररहिते हि ॥ शान्ति 337. 1 : एवमेकं सांख्ययोगं वेदारण्यकमेव च । परस्परान्तराज्ञान्येतानि पञ्चरात्रं च कथ्यते । एष एकस्मिन् धर्मो नारायणपरात्मकः ॥ शान्ति 336 76 (= 348 81-82 Ch. ed). वेदारण्यक probably refers to *upanisads* like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya*, which contain passages about 'mādhyaśa' and the non-difference of *jīva* and *brahma* such as 'tat-tvam-asi'. A *paramarṣi* is defined in the *वायुपुराण* as 'निवृत्तिसमकालं तु बुद्ध्याऽप्यक्तवृत्तिः स्वयम् । परं हि कथ्यते यस्मात्परमर्षिततः स्मृतः । 59. 80 (vide same verse in *Brahmānda* III 32. 86

was the ancient knower of Yoga, no one else (knew it); Apāntaratamas was Vedācārya whom some called the sage Prācinagarbha. In the previous chapter it is stated that Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vedāraṇyaka and Pañcarātra are one and are angas of each other. In Śānti. 326. 65 Hiranyagarbha is again connected with Yogasāstra. Vide p 1371 above. In the Anuśāsanaparva²²⁸² Sanatkumāra appears to be connected with Yoga as the founder, just as Kapila was the founder of Sāṅkhya. In the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā (XII 32-33) it is stated that Hiranyagarbha first propounded two Yogasamhitās, one was called 'Nirodhayoga' and the other was called 'Karmayoga', the first of which was again divided twelve-fold. The Bhāmati²²⁸³ on V S II 1.3 states that that sūtra does not totally negative the authoritativeness of the Yogasāstra of Hiranyagarbha and Patañjali. The Visṇu-purāṇa²²⁸⁴ appears to quote two verses from Hiranyagarbha (vide note below). Vācaspati in his commentary on Yogasūtra I, 1 states that Yogi-Yājñavalkya mentions that Hiranyagarbha was the propounder of Yoga. Vācaspati regards the Yogasūtra of Patañjali as later than Yoga-Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Therefore, it is almost certain that the V. S. refutes the doctrines of that Yoga system that was known to the Śāntiparva.

In Śālyaparva (chap. 50) a story is told about *bhikṣu* Jaigīśavya who was a great Yogin and of 'Asita Devala', a householder staying on the holy Śārasvatā-tīrtha.

In the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. chap. 222 = Ch. ed. chap. 229) there is a long dialogue between Jaigīśavya and Asita about Yoga, one verse (14)²²⁸⁵ from which may be cited

2282. सनत्कुमारो योगना साधनानां कपिलो हसि । अनुशासन 14. 323 (addressed by उपमन्यु to महादेव).

2283. नानेन योगशास्त्रस्य हिरण्यगर्भपातञ्जलादेः सर्वथा ग्रामाण्यं निराक्रियते किं तु जगदुपादानस्वतन्त्रप्रधान-तद्विकारमहद्वद्भारपञ्चतन्मात्रागोचरं ग्रामाण्य नास्तीत्युच्यते ।... न चैतानि प्रधानादिसद्भावपराणि किंतु योगस्वरूपतत्साधन-तद्वान्तरफलविधुति-तत्परमफल-कैवल्यसुखादनपराणि । भामती on शाङ्करभाष्य II 1. 3.

2284. ननु हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता नाप्यः पुरातन-इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृते. कथं पतञ्जले योगशास्त्रकर्तृत्वमित्याशङ्क्य सूत्रकारेणानुशासनमित्युक्तम् । शिष्टस्यानुशासनं न तु शासनमित्यर्थः । वाचस्पति on यो I. 2. The half verse हिरण्य-पुरातनः is बृह-योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII 5 (Lonavla); संभावना परां हानिं योगर्द्धेः कुरुते यतः । जनेना-वमतो योगी योगसिद्धिं च विन्दति । तस्माच्चरेत् यो योगी सतां धर्ममद्रूपयन् । जना यथावम-न्परेन् गच्छेत्तैव सङ्गतिम् ॥ हिरण्यगर्भवचनं विचिन्त्याय मधानति. । आत्मानं दर्शयामास जनोन्मत्ताकृतिं जने ॥ विष्णु II. 13. 42-44.

2285. निन्दामशंसं चात्यर्थं न वदन्ति परस्परं ये । न च निन्दामशंसाभ्यां विक्रियन्ते कदाचन ॥ ज्ञान्ति 229. 14 (Ch. ed.)

here 'Yogins do not talk much by way of censure and praise of others and their minds are never affected by the praise and censure of them indulged in by others.' In that chap. Jaigisavya is described as one who was never angry nor joyful. In the Varāhapurāṇa (4. 14) it is stated that Kapila and Yogirat Jaigisavya came to king Aśvaśiras that had taken the *arabhritha* bath after Aśvamedha and assumed the forms of Visnu and Garuda respectively. It may be noted that on Y. S. II, 55 the bhāṣya quotes several views, but prefers that of Jaigisavya. On Y. S. III, 18, ²²⁸⁶ the bhāṣya mentions the dialogue between Āvatya and Jaigisavya, where the latter's opinion is stated to be that from the point of view of *karalya*, the happiness of contentment is also misery, though as compared to pleasures of sense contentment is supposed to be and may be called happiness.

In the Buddhacarita (XII) when Gautama (the future Buddha) approached a philosopher Arāda, the latter described to Gautama his idea of the path to mokṣa and mentioned Jaigisavya, Janaka and Vṛddha-Parāśara as persons that had become liberated by following that path.²²⁸⁷

From these references it follows that Jaigisavya was a great teacher of Yoga long before the Christian era and probably had composed a work on Yoga not now available.

There are numerous English translations of the Yogasūtra (wholly or partly) and of the Bhāṣya and Vācaspati's Commentary, such as that by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra with text of Y. S., bhāṣya and com. Rājamārtanda and an appendix (p. 218-227) noting 150 mss. on Yoga (B. I. ed. 1883); Swami Vivekananda's 'Rājayoga' (Vol. I. of collected works, ed. of 1946) pp. 200-304, which translates and explains all the sūtras; Dr. Ganganath Jha's translation (Bombay 1907); translation by Rama Prasad (pub. by Panini office, Allahabad 1910); translation by Prof. J. H. Woods (in the Harvard Oriental Series, 1914) who read with the present author in Bombay for some months in 1909, Geraldine Coster in 'Yoga and Western Psychology' (London, 1934) translates and explains many of

2286. भगवाजैगीवस्य उवाच । त्रिष्वसुखपेक्षयैवेदमव्यक्तं सन्तोषसुखदुःखम् । कैवल्यं
सुखपेक्षया दुःखमेव । भाष्य on यो सू III 18 सन्तोष is one of the five *niyamas*
(यो सू II. 32) and यो सू II. 42 is सन्तोषादव्यक्तमः सुखलाभः.

2287. जैगीवस्योपि जनको ब्रह्मज्ञैः पराशरः । इमं पण्थानमासाद्य सुक्ता हन्ते च
॥ ६७ ॥

Patañjali's sūtras (pp. 100-131); 'Aphorisms of Yoga' done into English by Shree Purohita Swami and Intro. by W. B. Yeats (Faber & Faber, London, 1937) with figures of Siddhāsana, Baddhapadmasana, Paścimottānāsana, Bhujangāsana, Viparīṭ-akaraṇi and Matsyendrāsana; 'Bhāratīya Mānasa-śāstra' or 'Patañjala-yoga-darśana' (Sanskrit text, with a table of contents, errata, Introduction of 232 pages, and meaning and explanation pp. 787 in Marathi) in all 1051 pages, edited by Krishnaji Keshav Kolhatkar and published by K. B. Dhavale, Bombay, 1951—a very exhaustive and useful work, though rather diffuse and marred by a few uncritical statements.

The number of works and papers on Yoga in general written by Indian and Western authors is very large. The present author has not read many of them. He may mention the following among those that he read or consulted; 'Rājayoga' (complete works of Vivekananda, ed. of 1946, Mayavati, vol. I, pp. 119-313), 'Yoga technique in the Great Epic' by W. Hopkins in JAOS vol. 22 for 1901 pp. 333-379; 'Yoga as a philosophy and religion' by Prof. S. N. Das Gupta (London, 1924), and 'Yoga philosophy' (Uni. of Calcutta, 1930), Dr J. W. Hauser's 'Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis im Alten Indien' (Stuttgart, 1922) and 'Der Yoga Als Heilweg nach den Indischen quellen Dargestellt, Stuttgart, 1932, this is a careful and systematic study of Yoga; this work (pp. 101-127) gives the transliterated text of the Yoga-sūtra with translation in German not in serial order but by subjects (such as yogāngas, kriyāyoga, Īśvarapranidhāna); Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'Indian Philosophy' vol. II, pp. 336-373 (London, 1931); 'The mysterious Kundalini' by Dr. J. G. Rele (Taraporevala and sons, Bombay, 1927); 'Yoga, the science of health' by Felix Guyot (in French), translated by J. Carling, London, 1937 (3rd ed.), expounding the practical principles of Hatha-yoga; 'Yoga, a scientific²²⁸⁸ evaluation' by Dr. K. T. Behanan pub. by Macmillan & Co., New York, 1937 (the author studied at Kaivalya-dhāma for a year); 'Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrine' by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni. Press, 1935) and 'Tibetan Book of the Dead' by the same author (Oxford, 1927); 'A search in secret India' by Paul Brunton (London, 1947); Paul Tuxen's 'the religions of India' (Copenhagen, 1949),

2288. This is one of the best modern books on Yoga. The present author is much impressed by Dr Behanan's sincerity, detailed and scientific treatment of Yoga and the very frank appraisal of some Yoga practices (pp. 225-249) at the end

'Tibetan Yoga' by Bernard Bromage (2nd ed. of 1939) pp. 108-111; 'Yoga the method of re-integration' by Allain Danielou (London, 1949); the author states that the exposition is based on yoga works and also on the teachings of living exponents; it is a useful book with six illustrations and 352 Sanskrit texts; 'The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation' ed. by W. G. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni. Press, 1954), pp. XXIX-LXIV contain C. G. Jung's Psychological commentary and pp. 63-69 on astrology; 'Source-book of Indian Philosophy' by Dr. Radhakrishnan and C. A. Moore; gives translation of the whole *yogasūtra* with extracts from the *bhāṣya*, Mercea Eliade's 'Yoga, immortality and freedom' translated from French into English by Willard R. Trask (London, 1958), 'Hathayoga, an advanced method of physical education and concentration' by Prof. S. S. Goswami (L. N. Fowler, London, 1959); this is a very valuable book; it deals scientifically with yoga in all its aspects, but particularly with *āsana*s of which 108 photographs are given; 'Concentration' by Mouni Sadhu (London, 1959); 'The Lotus and the Robot' by A. Koestler (London, 1960).

Many editions of the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali with the *bhāṣya* of Vyāsa and the commentary (called *Tattvavaiśārādī*) of Vācaspati have been printed in India. I shall mention only two or three editions of the text of the *Sūtra* and the two commentaries viz. the edition by the late Pandit Rajaram Shastri Bodas, printed in beautiful type at the Nirayāsāgara Press in 1892 and the other, the Ānandāśrama edition of 1932 which contains the *sūtra*, *bhāṣya*, Vācaspati's commentary and also the commentary called *Rājamārtanda* of king Bhoja. In the Kaśhi Sanskrit series the *Yogasūtra* was printed (in 1930) with six commentaries viz. the *Rājamārtanda* of Bhojarāja, the *Pradīpikā* of Bhāvā Ganeśa, *vṛtti* by Nāgoji-bhatta, the *Mani-prabhā* by Rāmānandayati, the *Candrikā* by Anantadeva and the *Yoga-sūdhākara* by Sadāśivendra Sarasvatī.^{2228a}

The *Yogasūtra*, as compared with the *sūtras* of some other darśanas, is a brief one. It is divided into four *pādas*, viz.

2228a. It should be noted that Bhojadeva omits *Yogasūtra* IV. 16 (न चैकचित्तत्वं चेद्वस्तु तत्प्रमाणं तदा किं स्यात्) which is commented upon in the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* and by Vācaspati. On the other hand, *Yogasūtra* III. 20 (na ca tat-sālambanam tasyāviśayibhūtatvāt) does not occur in the edition of Pandit Bodas Shastri and is not commented upon by Bhāvā Ganeśa and Nāgoji. The form of the *sūtra* in Y. S. IV. 16 makes one feel some doubt about its genuineness, but as it is explained by the *bhāṣya* and Vācaspati, one has to accept it as genuine,

Samādhi (concentration), Sādhana (means of attainment), Vibhūti (super-normal powers) and Kaivalya (aloofness, liberation). There are only 195 sūtras in all the pādas together (51+55+55+34).

Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Indian Philosophy' (vol. II, of the ed. of 1931 pp. 341-42) holds that the author of the Yogasūtra is not later than 300 A. D. Prof. S. N. Das Gupta in 'History of Indian Philosophy' (vol I, pp 226-238) is in favour of the identity of the two Patañjalis and therefore holds that the author of the Yogasūtra flourished in the 2nd century B. C.²²⁸⁹ The Sanskrit paper of Pandit R. Ramamūrtisarmā in J. of Venkatesvara Institute of Tirupati (vol. II, pp. 289-294) and Mr. Govind Das's brief note in I. A. vol. 44 (for 1915 p. 24) may also be read in this connection. Jacobi and (following him) Keith hold that the Yogasūtra (I. 40), meaning at the most 'the mastery of the Yogin extends from the minutest particle to the greatest magnitude imaginable',²²⁹⁰ refers to the atomic theory of the world. This is a good sample of the way in which even great Western writers read in simple words later theories and try to give late dates to early works. The Upanisads speak of the self as more minute than what is *anu* and as greater than the great and the Mahābhārata also uses the same phraseology. There is no convincing reason to suppose that the Yogasūtra refers only to a theory of atoms propounded in the Vaiśeṣika system and is not paraphrasing the words of the Upanisad and the Mahābhārata.

We have also to consider the early tradition embodied in an introductory verse in Bhojadeva's commentary (not later than 1055 A. D.) and mentioned by Cakrapāṇi (commentator

2289 Most scholars accept 2nd century B. C. as the date of the Mahābhāṣya, Dr D. C. Sircar in I. H. Q. vol. 15 (pp 633-638) tries to show that the Mahābhāṣya cannot be placed earlier than the 2nd century A. D. His arguments cannot be discussed here. The present author does not agree with Dr. Sircar and holds that the arguments for placing the Mahābhāṣya in the 2nd century B. C. are far more weighty than those put forward by Dr Sircar.

2290. अणोरणीयान् महतो महायानात्मास्य जन्तोर्निहितो गृहायाम् । कठोप. II, 20, श्वेतो. उ. III, 20, 'अणोरणीयो महतो महत्तरं तदात्मना पश्यति शुक्त आत्मवान् । शान्तिपर्व 232 33 (cr ed), the योगसूत्र I, 40 is 'परमाणुपरममद्वैतान्तोऽस्य ब्रह्मीकारः'. शब्दानामनुशासनं विद्यता पातयते कुर्वता इति राजशृणुः सर्वज्ञकामपि व्यातन्वता वैद्यके । शक्यतेतवयुदा मलः फणिभृता भर्त्रे येनोद्धतस्तस्य श्रीरणरङ्गमल्लदुपतेर्वाचो जयन्शुज्ज्वलाः॥ 5th Intro verse of Bhoja's vṛtti called राजनार्त on योगसूत्र.

of the *Carakasamhitā*²²⁹¹ (about 1060 A. D.) that Patañjali (deemed to be an *avatāra* of Śeṣa) composed works on Grammar, Yoga and Medicine.

The present author cannot deal at length in this volume with the two questions of identity and of the dates of the two works, as he is mainly concerned with the influence of Yoga on Dharmasāstra works. He thinks that hardly any cogent arguments have been advanced to positively disprove the identity of the authors of the *Mahābhāṣya* and of the *Yogasūtra*. Whether the revision of Caraka's work was done by the same Patañjali is very doubtful. In the *Śāntiparva* the founder of *Cikitsā* (medicine) is said to have been Kṛsnātreya and not Caraka nor Patañjali. The *Caraka-samhitā* uses the expression 'iti ha smāha bhagavān-Ātreyaḥ' in the beginning of its chapters. Caraka (in I. 1. 23 ff) states that the sage Bharadvāja learnt Āyurveda from Indra. His pupil was Punarvasu Ātreya, who had six disciples viz. Agniveśa, Bheḍa, Jatūkarna, Parāśara, Hārīta and Kṣārapāni. First, Agniveśa composed a treatise on Āyurveda and read it to Ātreya and then Bheḍa and others did so. In the chapter called 'Tisraisaṇīya' in *Caraka-samhitā* (I. 11. 75) Kṛsnātreya's view is specially mentioned. Therefore, it appears that Kṛsnātreya²²⁹² is different from Ātreya who is reverently mentioned at the beginning of Caraka's chapters. Even the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa mentions Ātreya as the first propounder of medical science.

It is possible to argue that the tradition that Patañjali dealt with Yoga and Grammar is older than the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. That work states in its first section²²⁹³ (called *Brahmakāṇḍa*) that the taints that affect the body, speech and

2291. पातञ्जल-महाभाष्य-चरकप्रतिसंस्कृतेः । मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हर्षोऽदिपत्ये नतः ॥ Intro. verse to com on चरक. Another verse to the same effect is योगिन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मल क्षीरस्य च वैद्यकेन । योऽपाकरोचं प्रवरं सुनीनां पतञ्जलं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥ cited in योगवार्तिक of विज्ञानभिक्षु.

2292. वेदाविहेदं भगवान् वेदाङ्गानि बृहस्पतिः । भार्गवो नीतिशास्त्रं च जगद् जगतो हितम् ॥ गान्धर्वे नारदो वेदं भरद्वाजो धनुर्ग्रहम् । देवर्षिचरितं गार्ग्यं कृष्णात्रेयश्चिकित्सितम् । न्यायतन्त्राण्यनेकानि तैत्तिरीयानि वादिभिः । ज्ञानि 203. 18-20 (cr ed. = 210. 20-22 of Ch. ed) ; चिकित्सितं यच्च चकार नात्रिः पश्चाच्छात्रेय ऋषिर्जगद् ॥ बृहस्पति I. 50. Aśvaghoṣa is held to have flourished in the first or 2nd century A. D.

2293. कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मलाः समवस्थिताः । चिकित्सा-रक्षणायामशस्त्रैस्तेषां विशुद्धयः ॥ वाक्यपदीय I. 148 ; अलव्यगाधे गान्धीर्योदुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात् । वाक्यपदीय II. 485 ; तदेवं बद्धकाष्ठे कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मलाः—इत्यादि श्लोकेन भाष्यकारप्रशंसा उक्ता, इह चैव भाष्यप्रसंगेति शास्त्रस्य शास्त्रकर्तृश्च टीकाकृता महत्प्रशंसिता । हेलाकराजः टीका.

intellect are purified (respectively) by the sciences of medicine, grammar and metaphysics. Then in the eulogy of the Mahābhāṣya it remarks 'alabdhagādhe gambhīryād-uttāna iva sausthavāt', on which the commentator explains that in the verse from the Brahmakānda the author of the Mahābhāṣya is praised and in the other verse there is praise of the bhāṣya itself. From this it appears to follow that according to the commentator the Vākyapadiya attributes the three śāstras on medicine, grammar and metaphysics (i. e. Yoga) to Patañjali himself.

Even if it be held that the authors of the Yogasūtra and of the Mahābhāṣya are different persons, there are hardly any reasons for definitely assigning the author of the Yogasūtra to a date later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. The date of the Yogabhāṣya of Vyāsa is of considerable importance in arriving at the probable date of the Yogasūtra. But the question of the date of the Yogabhāṣya is also debatable. The Vyāsa who composed the Yogabhāṣya would have to be held as different from Vedavyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata.

The author of the Yogasūtra is, according to the tradition embodied in such comparatively early commentaries as that of Vācaspatimīśra, said to be Patañjali. Important questions arise as to his age and his identity with Patañjali, the author of the famous Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar and the Vārtikas thereon. The grammarian Patañjali is generally held to have flourished about 150 B. C. Therefore, the question of identity becomes important for the date of the Yogasūtra. Some scholars like Prof. B. Liebich, Dr. Haüer (p. 98 of the work of 1932) and Prof. Das Gupta favour the identity of the two, but several others such as Jacobi, Keith, Woods, Renou are against it. Prof. Renou (in I. H. Q. vol. XVI. pp. 586-591) examines the question from the grammatical point of view, points out that certain words like Pratyāhāra, Upasarga, Pratyaya are used in the Yogasūtra in senses entirely different from the senses of these words in the Mahābhāṣya. But as the subjects of the two works are entirely different, the same words may have acquired different senses. Similarly, Prof. Renou relies on breaches of grammatical rules (in the Yogasūtra I. 34), while he says that Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya is very strict in following Pāṇini's rules though Pāṇini himself is rarely not strict in observing his own rules as in 'tat-prayojako hetuśca' (I. 4. 55) which is against his own sūtra 'trjakābhyām kartari' (II. 2. 15); but

Patañjali also employs such an expressions as 'aviravikanyāya'²²⁹ (which should be avyavikanyāyena) for which Patañjali is criticized in the long Pūrvapakṣa on Vyākaraṇa contained in the Tantravārtika and which is not explained away in the reply to the Pūrvapakṣa. It cannot be supposed that the Yogasūtra for the first time settled the technical terms of Yoga. Yoga terms had been evolving from Upaniṣad times and Patañjali only used them in the sense which they had acquired in the course of centuries. Prof. Renou arrives at the conclusion that the Yogasūtra is later by several centuries than the Mahābhāṣya. Jacobi in his paper on 'the dates of the philosophical sūtras of the Brāhmanas' (in JAOS, vol. 31 pp. 1-29) holds (p. 29) that the Yogasūtra must be later than the 5th century A. D. and, following Garbe, thinks that it is not improbable that the Vyāsabhāṣya was composed in the 7th century A. D. The views of Jacobi are strongly criticized by Jwala Prasad in J. R. A. S. for 1930 pp. 365-375. The present author disagrees with Jacobi and Prof. Renou.

The date of the Yogabhāṣya will have considerable bearing on the date of the Yogasūtra. The Yogabhāṣya presupposes much literary activity on Yoga. It mentions by name on Y. S. II, 55 and on III, 18 Jaigīśavya who is a prominent figure in the Mahābhārata as shown above (pp. 1367 and 1374). Vide also the story of Asita Devala with whom Jaigīśavya stayed for many years as a bhikṣu and adept in Yoga (Śalyaparva, chap. 50). It has to be remembered that several interpretations of the same Yogasūtra are noted in the bhāṣya (as on II, 55). The Yogabhāṣya quotes several *Kāṇkās* and verses dealing with the matters treated of in the Y. S. as on Y. S. I, 28, 48, II, 5, 28 (on nine causes that lead to Vivekakhyāti), II, 32, III, 6, III, 15 (on seven Citta-dharmas of the *apāṇḍrsta* type). Besides these, several quotations in prose are cited in the bhāṣya, many of which are attributed to Pāṇcasīkha by Vācaspati (vide pp. 1373-74 above), and some (as on II, 22, 30, 52) to āgamins (those who know the tradition or Veda). Therefore, it follows that some centuries intervene between the Yogasūtra and its bhāṣya.

The Bhāṣya on Y. S. II, 42 quotes a verse with the words 'tathā cōktam' (it has also been said), which is identical with

229. In the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. IV 1. 88 and on पा. V. 1. 7 the words अविरविकन्यायेन occur. In the पूर्वपक्ष in the तन्त्रवार्तिक against grammar (vyākaraṇa) it is urged 'भाष्येऽप्यविरविकन्यायेनेति द्वन्द्वगर्भे तत्पुरुषे पूर्वतमात्पूर्वपदस्थायाः सुपः—सुपो धातुप्रतिपदिकयोः (पा. II. 4. 71) इति पर्यशेषविहीनोऽपि छद् न छुतः' (p. 260. Anan. ed.)

a verse from the Śāntiparva.²²⁹⁵ It is most unlikely that an author will rely on his own work for supporting a proposition propounded in another work of his own. Besides, the Yogabhāṣya quotes on Y. S. I. 28 a verse, which is Visnupurāṇa²²⁹⁶ VI. 6. 2. The Visnupurāṇa is one of the earliest among extant Purāṇas (vide above pp. 907-909) and cannot be assigned to a date later than the 3rd century A. D. Therefore, the Yogabhāṣya which quotes the Mahābhārata and the Visnupurāṇa may be assigned to about 4th century A. D. As argued above, the Y. S. would therefore have to be assigned to a date not later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Though the present writer holds that the Yoga that is said to be refuted in V. S. II. 1. 3 is not that of the Yogasūtra but the Yoga found in the Śāntiparva, yet he is not prepared to place the present Yogasūtra earlier than the 2nd century B. C. Mr. K. K. Kolhatkar in his very exhaustive and learned Introduction (in Marathi) asserts (on p. 126) that the Yogasūtra is later by 3000 years than the Brahmasūtra and that the Bhagavadgītā was composed about 5000 years before the present day (p. 224). But he adduces no evidence for such an ancient date for that work. He probably relies on the traditions that Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata (including the Gītā), flourished towards the end of the Dvāpara age and that Kaliyuga started in 3179 B. C. Modern critical scholarship does not accept these traditional datings.

Not only do some of the Upanisads contain references to Yoga technique and practices, but the Mahābhārata also dilates upon matters that pertain to the domain of Yoga. A few examples may be referred to here (the cr. ed. of the Mahābhārata is relied upon). In the Śāntiparva, chap. 232 (241 of Ch. ed.)

2295. सन्तोषादुत्तमसुखलाभः । योगसूत्र II. 42. The only भाष्य on this is तथा चोक्तम् । यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत्सुखम् । तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैतं नार्हतः पोढर्ज्ञो कलाम् ॥ इति. This Verse is शान्तिपर्व 171. 51 (cr. ed., =177 51 of Ch. ed.) and वायु 93 101, see p. 939 n. 1510 for this verse. On I 47 'निर्विचारवैज्ञान्येऽध्यात्ममत्ताद्,' the भाष्य is : तथा चोक्तम् । प्रज्ञाप्रसादादभासह्य अज्ञोऽप्य. शोचतो जनान् । धूमिष्ठानिव शैलस्यः सर्वान्भाज्ञोऽनुपश्यति ॥. On this वाचस्पति remarks 'अत्रैव पारमार्थी गणायुदाहरति । 1.

2296. तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम् । यो सू I 28 : तदस्य योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाग्रं सम्यजते । तथा चोक्तम् । स्वाध्यायाद्योगमासीत योगात्स्वाध्यायमामनेत् । स्वाध्याययोगसम्पत्त्या परमात्मा प्रकाशते इति The printed विष्णु reads 'आचरेत्' for आमनेत्, which latter is probably the older reading

Dhāraṇā and Prāṇāyāma. The Āśvamedhikaparva 19. 17 (Ch. ed.) appears to refer to *pratyāhāra*.²³⁰⁰

There is also striking similarity between the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Yogasūtra*.²³⁰¹ For example, the definition of Yoga in the *Yogasūtra* as the 'mastery over (or elimination of) the functions (or fluctuations) of the mind' has a close parallel in the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* insists on the yogin being 'aparigraha' (VI. 10); 'aparigraha' is one of the five *yamas* (Y. S. II. 30). Similarly, the seat and posture (*āsana*) in which a yogin is to practise must be stable (this refers to the seat) and comfortable (says *Yogasūtra*); the *Gītā* says the same thing in greater detail. In VIII. 12 the *Gītā* speaks of *Yogadhāraṇā*. The *Gītā* says (in VI. 35) that the mind is certainly restless and difficult to control, but it can be controlled by practice and passionlessness and the Y. S. (I. 12) speaks of the same two means. The *Gītā* (in V. 4-5) emphasizes that it is the ignorant that regard *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* as different, that he who applies himself or stands committed to one of these secures the fruit held out by both and that he who sees both ways as identical sees truly. Here *Sāṅkhya* means (*sannyāsa*) 'renunciation' and *Yoga* means 'Karma-yoga'.

The *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali nowhere expressly sets out its scheme of the evolution of the world. But it contains enough material to enable us to hold that it presupposes and accepts some of the *Sāṅkhya* doctrines such as the theory of *Pradhāna*, the three *gunas* and their characteristics, the real nature of the individual self and *kaivalya* (the state of the soul in final liberation). This may be established by a few references to Y. S. Y. S. III. 48 describes the results that ensue to the yogin from subjugation or mastery of the organs (*indriyas*), one of which is

2300. Compare 'स्वविषयास्तं प्रयोगे चित्तस्वरूपाद्भकार इवेन्द्रियाणां प्रत्याहारः।' योगसूत्र II 54. Vide also शान्ति 232. 13 मनसश्चेन्द्रियाणां च कृतैकाग्र्यं समाहितः। प्रायश्चित्तापरवेषु धारयेन्न आत्मना ॥

2301 योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः। योगसूत्र I. 2, compare गीता VI. 20 यत्रोपरमते चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया, स्थिरसुखमात्मनम्। योगसूत्र II 46, compare गीता VI. 11-13 शुचीं देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्थिरमासनमात्मनः। नात्युच्छ्रितं नातिनीचं चैलाजिनकुशोत्तरम् ॥ .. समं कायशिरोग्रीवं धारयन्नचलं स्थिर । असंशयं मदायाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम्। अग्रासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते ॥ गीता VI 35, compare 'अग्र्यामवैराग्यगम्या तस्मिन्निरोधः।' योगसूत्र I. 12.

'*pradhānaja*'²³⁰² (subjugation of Pradhāna the primary cause of the world according to the Sāṅkhya). The Y. S. nowhere describes what Pradhāna is and what its evolutes are. Therefore, it follows that it takes over from the Sāṅkhya all that is said about Pradhāna. About the individual soul the Y. S. states 'the seer (Puruṣa) exists²³⁰³ as merely pure capacity of awareness (or as the mere power of seeing) and although pure (changeless or undefiled or free from any taints) appears as if he sees all experiences (that really pertain to Buddhi)' The characteristics of the three *gunas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) are clearly and succinctly²³⁰⁴ stated in Y. S. as in S. Kārikā 13, when it says 'the seen (phenomenal universe) is characterized by light (*sattva*), activity (*rajas*) and inertia or dullness (*tamas*), it is the essence of the elements and organs and it exists for the purpose of giving experience and liberation (to the soul)'. The *gunas* are frequently referred to in Y. S. I. 16, IV. 13, 32, 34 and *sattva-guṇa* in Y. S. II, 41, III 35, 49 and 55. The Y. S. postulates three *pramāṇas* (in I. 7), but does not define them; the S Kārikā (4-6) mentions the same three *pramāṇas* and briefly defines them. They both agree about the plurality of souls. It may further be noted that Vyāsabhāṣya on Y. S. is full of Sāṅkhya doctrines and quotes, according to Vācaspati, Pāñcasikha twelve times and Sastitantra once (vide above p. 1374 and n. 2250).

In spite of the fact that the Yogasūtra accepts some of the fundamental doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, there are certain points of difference between the two. The standard Sāṅkhya finds no place for God (Īśvara) i. e. it is frankly atheistic (if theism means belief in God who is the creator of the universe and regulator of rewards and punishments), while Yoga finds a place for God in Y. S. I. 23-29, though not a basic one, but only secondary, probably as a concession to popular feelings and belief. The

2302. ततो मनोजित्वं विकारभावं प्रधानजयश्च । यो सू III 48. These are three perfections. On प्रधानजय, the व्यासभाष्य remarks 'सर्वप्रकृतिविकारवशित्वं प्रधानजयः । इति एतावतिज्ञः सिद्धयो नष्टुप्रतीका उच्यन्ते ।'.

2303. दृष्ट्वा हृदिमात्रं शुद्धोऽपि प्रत्ययानुपश्य । यो. सू II 20, व्यासभाष्य explains 'प्रत्ययानुपश्यो यतः प्रत्ययं बोद्धुमनुपश्यति । तमनुपश्यन्तदात्मापि तदात्मक इव प्रत्ययवभासते । Compare सां कारिका 19 तस्माच्च विपर्ययात्सिद्धं साक्षित्वमस्य पुरुषस्य । कैवल्यं माधवस्यं दृष्टृत्वमकर्तृभावश्च ॥

2304 प्रकाश-क्षिपा-स्थितिशीलं भूतेन्द्रियमनसं भोगापवर्गार्थं दृश्यम् । यो सू II, 18: प्रकाशशीलं सत्त्वं क्षिपाशीलं रजः स्थितिशीलं तम इति । एते गुणा. ... प्रधानशब्दवाच्या भवन्ति । एतद् दृश्यमित्युच्यते । व्यासभाष्य, compare सां कारिका 13 मच्च लघुः quoted in note 2215 p 1357.

Y. S. nowhere expressly says that Īśvara is the creator of the world and all that it says about Him is that in him omniscience is at its highest, that He was the teacher of primal sages and that by repetition of the mystic syllable 'om' and reflection on it the yogin attains correct knowledge of the real nature of the self. In the next place, though the *summum bonum* in both systems is called *kaivalya* (S Kārika 64, 68 and Y. S III. 50, 55, IV. 34), yet the Sāṅkhya does not set out any elaborate discipline for attaining it except correct knowledge, that is, it is metaphysical and rational, while the Y. S. gives an elaborate treatment on mind discipline, insists on effort rather than mere jñāna, attaches great importance to prāṇāyāma and meditation (dhyāna) and is psychological.

The Sāṅkhya postulated that an intellectual understanding of the nature of *puruṣa* and of *prakṛti* (or *guṇas*) and of the difference between the two was sufficient for the emancipation of the individual self from the liability to rebirth, while yoga, on the other hand, was not content with this philosophic easy-going mental frame and emphasized systematic training of the will and emotions. In both Sāṅkhya and Yoga each individual soul is eternal and his destiny is to become free from the influence of Prakṛti and its evolutes and to remain for ever the same (viz. pure intelligence). Herein they differ from the Advaita Vedānta, according to which the final destiny of the self is to become absorbed in and one with *brahma*.

There is another matter for consideration. In the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, Yājñavalkya is put forward as saying that the soul shining like a lamp in the heart should be realized, that on such realization the soul is not born again and as adding that for the purpose of attaining to Yoga one should understand the Āraṇyaka²³⁰⁵ which 'I received from the Sun and also the

2305. ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादिष्ट्यादवाप्तवान् । योगशास्त्रं च मत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सत ॥ या III 110, याज्ञवल्क्यो महायोगी दृष्ट्वात्र तपसा हरम् । चकार तन्निर्वाणेन कायशास्त्रमब्रुवन् ॥ कुर्म I 25.44 (=B I ed. p. 269) एह्यस्तस्व व्याख्यात्यानि ते व्याचक्षाणस्य तु मे निदिध्यासस्वेति । ... आत्मा वा अरे दृष्टव्य ओतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः । बृह उप II. 4 4-5 Compare बृह उप IV 5 5-6 for the same words and वे. सू IV 1.1 for this Br Up passage as the basis along with छा. उप VIII 7.1 य आत्मापहतपाप्मा ... सोऽन्वेष्टव्य. स विजिज्ञासितव्यः of that topic in V S It is not unlikely that Yāj III 110 is an early interpolation, but since all commentators from Viśvarūpa downwards treat it as authentic, one has to accept it as a genuine part of Yāj smṛiti until some explicit evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

Yogaśāstra propounded by me.' In the *Kūmapurāṇa* it is said that Yājñavalkya composed Yogaśāstra at the order of Hara and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (IV. 4 107) states that Hiranyanābha attained the knowledge of Yoga from the great Yogīśvara Yājñavalkya who was a pupil of Jaimini. In the *Brhadāranyaka Up.* (II. 4) Yājñavalkya tells his wife Maitreyi (who hankered after immortality and cared naught for worldly goods) that he would expound to her the path to immortality and the very first sentence calls upon her to cultivate 'nididhyāsa' (i.e. dhyāna) and the first part of his discourse ends with the memorable words (ātmā vā are drastavyah śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyah, *Br. Up.* II. 4. 5). What work is meant by the Yogaśāstra composed by Yāj is a debatable point. There are three works (other than the Yāj. *smṛti*) connected with the name of Yājñavalkya viz. .. *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya*, *Yoga-Yājñavalkya* and *Brhad-yogī-yājñavalkya* (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 188-190). The last has been published by Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla (1951), the *Yoga-Yāj.* was published in T. S. S. (1938) based on a single ms., then in the *JBBRAS* (vol. 28 and 29) by Shri P. C. Diwanji and now available in book form (1954). This last is in the form of a dialogue between the great yogin Yājñavalkya and Gārgi (who is identified with Maitreyi by Shri Diwanji on pp. 27-28 of his ed. of 1954) and sages and learned brāhmanas Yājñavalkya narrates what he learnt from Brahmā. On Yāj. III. 110 the *Dīpakalikā* of Śūlapāni remarks that the Yogaśāstra referred to is called 'Yogiyājñavalkya'. But this again leads to uncertainty as both the works viz that published by Kaivalyadhama and the one by Mr. Diwanji are so referred to as *Yogi* (or *Yoga*) *Yājñavalkya* in several digests Mr Diwanji²³⁰⁶ tries hard to establish that the work published by him 'has a better claim to be adjudged the specific work on Yoga referred to in Yāj. III. 113.' I think that the claim is not at all justified. The work edited by Mr Diwanji no doubt contains a good deal of Yoga knowledge; while the work published by Kaivalyadhama also contains a good deal of Yoga material, though not as much as the work edited by Mr. Diwanji contains. It would be irrelevant to discuss here all the points made by Mr. Diwanji. The present author is convinced that the work sponsored by Mr. Diwanji is not the work referred to by Yājñavalkya (in his *smṛti* III. 110). It is a compilation of a later period. Some striking

2306. Vide Shri P. C. Diwanji's lengthy paper on 'Brhad-Yogī Yājñavalkya and Yoga-Yājñavalkya' in *ABORI* vol. 34 pp. 1-29.

matters alone may be pointed out to show that the *Yoga-Yājñavalkya* could not have been the work of the author of the *Bṛhadāranyaka* and the *Yogaśāstra* (as stated in *Yāj* III. 110) and of *Yāj. smṛti*. In the *Br. Up.* II. 4. 1 and IV. 5. 1 (*Yājñavalkyasya dve bhārye bābhūvatur-Maitreyī ca Kātyāyanī ca*) it is expressly stated that *Yājñavalkya* had two wives, (philosophy-minded) *Maitreyī* and *Kātyāyanī* (worldly-minded). *Maitreyī* desired such knowledge as would lead to immortality and she asks questions, in all of which she addresses *Yājñavalkya* as 'bhagavān' (in *Br. Up.* II. 4. 3 and 13 and IV. 5. 4, 14) and never as mere *Yājñavalkya*. On the other hand, *Gārgī* in the *Br. Up.* is called *Vācaknavī* (in III. 6. 1, III. 8. 1 and 12), is not *Yājñavalkya*'s wife but a pert and rationalistic woman inquirer like *Aśvala*, *Āṛtabhāga*, *Bhujyu* *Lāhyāyanī*, *Usasta Cākṛāyana*, *Kahola* (all present in the court of *Janaka*), who including *Gārgī* questioned the claim of *Yājñavalkya* to be regarded as 'brahmistha'. In *Br. Up.* III. 6. 1 when *Gārgī* pursues her ratiocination too far (in matters depending upon āgama and being beyond reasoning) *Yājñavalkya* reprimands her and says that she would die (lit. her head would fall away) if she pursued the subject in a pure logistic way. All those inquirers address *Yājñavalkya* as mere *Yājñavalkya* without any honorific epithet like 'bhagavān' and *Gārgī* does the same (in *Br. Up.* III. 6. 1, III. 8. 2-6). Acc. to *Yāj Smṛti* III. 110 the *Br. Up.*, a *Yogaśāstra* and the *smṛti* are the works of one man (whose two wives were *Maitreyī* and *Kātyāyanī*) and who had a philosophical skirmish with *Gārgī Vācaknavī* (according to the *Br. Up.*). The present *Yogayājñavalkya* (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) makes *Gārgī* wife of *Yājñavalkya*²³⁰⁷ (*vadhūh*). One would like to know whether *Yāj.* had three wives, as *Br. Up.* says he had only two. Mr. Diwanji (pp. 27-28 of the ed. of 1954) tries to make light of this discrepancy and regards *Maitreyī* as another name of *Gārgī*. We are here concerned not with pure *Yoga* doctrines but with the question

2307 The *योगशास्त्रे* I. 6-7 are तत्त्वैर्गुणसंपर्कं नारीणाद्युत्तमा वधूः। मैत्रेयी च महाभारता गार्गी च ब्रह्मविद्विषा ॥ समासव्यपगतौ चैवमुपरीणाद्युत्तमसाम्। यन्मन्य दण्डवत्कृतौ गार्ग्येतद् वाक्यमनन्वरीत् ॥. The two चs may be puted; that would ordinarily show that मैत्रेयी and गार्गी were different. It might be argued that having already learnt from *Yāj.* (in *Br. Up.*) *Maitreyī* was present but took no part in the discussion and *Gārgī* alone asked questions. Verse 6 of chap. I could be considered as using the words उत्तमा वधू for मैत्रेयी and the words महाभारता and ब्रह्मविद्विषा as applicable to गार्गी, but this is made impossible by the text which in I. 43 and IV. 5 refers to *Gārgī* as the wife (bhāryā) of *Yāj.* and she is addressed as 'priye' (IV. 7), 'vātārohe' etc.

whether a work attributed to Yaj which makes Gārgī the wife of the ancient Yājñavalkya (when the Upanisad makes her only a more or less insolent woman) can be regarded as the work of the same Yāj. who propounded *brahmandyū* in the Br. Up. and is supposed to have composed the Yāj smṛti. This one circumstance alone is enough to brand the Yoga-Yājñavalkya (of Mr. Diwanji) as a fabrication sought to be passed off as an ancient work. If identity was really meant the verse could easily have been read as 'Maitreyyākhyā mahābhāgā' without any metrical fault. Therefore, it is not possible to hold that Yogayājñavalkya is the Yogasāstra composed by Yājñavalkya before the Smṛti going under his name was composed. A few other decisive grounds may also be urged. The work edited by Mr. Diwanji mentions Tantras (in V. 10) and Tāntrikas (in VIII. 4 and 25). The Yāj. smṛti nowhere mentions these two and is free from the peculiar Tāntrik words or technique. Therefore, the present Yogayājñavalkya edited by Mr. Diwanji was composed long after the Yāj. smṛti and probably in the 8th century or after when Tāntrik rites and works had become common. One more important matter may be adverted to. The Yāj. smṛti and the Yoga-Yājñavalkya (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) both enumerate ten *yamas* and ten *niyamas*. But the two diverge materially in the ten names as the note below will show²³⁰⁸. The number of *yamas* and *niyamas* differs in different works, but if the Yāj. smṛti and Yoga-Yājñavalkya were the works of the same author, the differences in the ten names would not have occurred at all. Therefore, the author of the Yāj. smṛti is quite different from the author of the Y. Y. There is no evidence for holding that the latter flourished before the 8th or 9th century A. D.

A good deal has been said by Mr Diwanji in his paper on 'Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavalkya and Yoga-Yājñavalkya' in ABORI, vol XXXIV (1953) pp. 1-39, in his preface to Yoga-Yājñavalkya in JBBRAS, volumes XXXVIII and XXXIX pp 103-106 and by Swami Kuvalayanand in his reply in ABORI, vol. XXXVII for

2308. ब्रह्मचर्यं दया क्षान्तिर्दानं सत्यमकल्मषता । अहिंसास्तेयमाधुर्यं दमश्चेति यमाः स्मृताः ॥ स्नानं मौनीपवासं जया स्वाध्यायोपस्थनिग्रहा । नियमा एतद्गुणश्च शौचाक्रोधममादता ॥ या III 312-313, compare अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यं दयाजैवम् । क्षमा धृतिमिताहारः शौचं खेति यमा दश ॥ तपः सन्तोष आस्तिक्यं दानमस्वस्त्वृज्जनम् । सिद्धान्तश्रवणं चैव ह्रीर्मतिश्च जपो व्रतम् ॥ एते ह्य नियमाः प्रोक्तास्ताश्च सर्गान् पृथक् पृथक् । योगयाज्ञ. I. 50-51. The striking dissimilarities between the two are. शौचं is a नियम acc. to या स्मृ but a यम acc. to योगया and there are other notable additions and omissions which any reader will find.

smṛti himself. Therefore, the Br. Y.Y. is an early work and cannot be assigned to a date later than the 7th century A. D.; while Y.Y. is a much later compilation composed in the 8th or 9th century or even later. The present author is not, however, prepared to hold that Br. Y. Y. is the Yogaśāstra of Yāj. mentioned in Yāj smṛti III. 110, since the Yoga material contained in it is meagre as compared with the Smṛti material. The present author is glad to find that on pp 7-8 of the Sanskrit Preface to the edition of the Brhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti the editors express grave doubts about the identity of the author of the Yāj. smṛti with the author of the work edited by them.

The Yogavāsistha is an extensive work in 32000 Ślokas (one śloka meaning 32 syllables) printed in two volumes with a commentary by Ānandabodha by the Nirn. Press. It is really an eclectic work embodying²³¹¹ the tenets of the Gītā on *anāsakti*, the tenets of the Trika system of Kashmir, of Advaita Vedānta &c Its text appears to have been added to from time to time. Controversies have raged about its date and its contribution to Indian philosophy. The present writer holds on reading the contributions²³¹² that the extant Yogavāsistha is a late work and was composed some time between the 11th and 13th century A. D.

It is now necessary to furnish a brief outline of the main teachings of Y. S. Though the work is comparatively small, its rendering in English requires to be amplified in order that it may be understandable. Only the most important and instructive matters are set out here.

Yoga is defined (2nd sūtra) as the elimination of or mastery over the functions (activities) or fluctuations of the mind. This is provisionally explained by Vyāsa (on 1.1.) as

2311. Though there is not much compact teaching on pure Yoga, the योगशास्त्र here and there has remarks on योग. For example, the उपनिषत्संग्रह chap. 78 verse 8 states: 'द्वौ क्रमौ चित्तनाशश्च योगो ज्ञानं च राख । योगस्तद्वृत्तिरोयो हि ज्ञानं सन्मयवेक्षणम् ॥'

2312. Vide Dr. Atreya's thesis on the 'Philosophy of Yogavāsistha' published in 1936 at Adyar by the Theosophic Publishing House (he holds that it belongs to 6th century A. D.); I H. Q. vol. 24 pp. 201-212 (Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya), I. H. Q. vol. 25 pp. 132-134 (Dr D. C. Sarkar); Mr. Diwanji's papers in Pro. of 7th All India O Conf pp. 15-30, P. O. III 1 pp. 29-44, N. I. A vol I pp. 697-715 (on Laghn-yogavāsistha), JOR. Mad vol. XIII. pp. 71-82 and 118-128 (Dr. Raghavan), ABORI vol. 32 pp. 130-145.

Samādhi. The different stages viz (*bhūmis*) of the mind are five, being restless (*ksipta*), infatuated (*mugdha* or *mūḍha*), distracted (*vikṣipta*), one-pointed (*ekāgra*) and controlled (*niruddha*).

In this connection (i. e. on the topic of *bhūmis*) the present author has to bring to the notice of readers a paper by Shri Kuvalayananda contributed to the *Yogamīmāṃsā* vol. VI. No. 4 on 'Traditional reading of Pātañjala-yogasūtra III. 11; is it accurate.' The traditional reading accepted by the bhāṣya of Vyāsa and all other commentators is 'Sarvārthataikāgratayoh kṣayodayau cittasya samādhiparināmah'. The Svāmī²³¹⁴ argues that the correct reading should be '*sarvārthataikāgratayoh &c.*' He states that the *bhūmis* should be six, the sixth being 'ekārtha' and bases his arguments on the combined explanations of Yoga-sūtra I. 2-4, 18 and III. 9-12. All that the present writer can say is that his arguments deserve serious consideration. The fact that even Vyāsa, the bhāṣyakāra of Yogasūtra, would have to be held not to have seen the difficulties in the traditional reading of Y. S. III. 11 would have to be given due weight before any final conclusion can be arrived at. That sūtra states the goal of Yoga viz the soul that is seer abides in its own form then (i. e. when the functions of the mind have been mastered), while in ordinary life the soul appears to assume the forms of the fluctuations of the mind. The *Vṛttis*²³¹⁵ are five, some of which are

2314. योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः। तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम्। वृत्तिसारूप्यमितरत्र। यो
सू I. 2, 4, it would be interesting to note some definitions of yoga from other works विषयेभ्यो निवर्त्यभिप्रेतेऽयं मनसोऽवस्थापनं योग। देवल-धर्मसूत्र q. 10 note 2263, p. 1380 above, वृत्तिहीनं मन. कृत्वा क्षेत्रज्ञं (=ज्ञा v 1) परमात्मानि। एकीकृत्य विमुच्येत योगोऽयं मुख्य उच्यते ॥ दशसूति VII. 15, आत्मप्रपन्नतापेक्षा विशिष्टा या मनोयति। तस्या ब्रह्मणि संयोगो योग इत्यभिधीयते ॥ विष्णुसु. VI 7 31. All three are q by अपरार्क (on या III. 109) p. 986 and by कृत्यकल्पः (on मोक्ष) p 165 अपरार्क himself says 'जीवपरमात्मनोरभेदविज्ञानं विषयान्तरासम्भिनं योग'.

2315. वृत्तयः पञ्चतयः। क्लिष्टाक्लिष्टा। प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रासूतय। प्र-प्रक्षा-
लुमानागमा प्रमाणानि। . . अभावप्रत्ययालम्बना वृत्तिनिद्रा। अनुवृत्तविषयासंप्रयोगः सूति।
यो सू I, 5-7 and 10-11. The क्लेशा (hindrances or obstacles) are five, viz. अविद्या-अस्मिता-राग-द्वेष-अभिनिवेशा क्लेशा. (यो सू II. 3). The भाष्य on I. 8 is 'सैवं पञ्चपर्वं भवत्यविद्या अविद्यास्मिता... निवेशा' क्लेशा इति। एत एव स्वसंज्ञाभित्तमो मोक्षो महाभोगेऽस्मितामोक्षोऽन्यतामिष इति ॥ अविद्या has five aspects (lit joints) viz. अविद्या etc which are respectively called मोक्ष etc, वाचस्पति explains all these About अस्मिता he says योगिनामहस्त्वणिमादिकेऽनैर्ध्वयेऽन्यथेय सु श्रेयोवृद्धिरपविषो मोक्षः पूर्व-
स्माज्जगत्प। स चारिमतोच्यते ॥ The बुद्धचारित XII 33 has these technical ideas: इत्यविद्या हि विद्वत्त पञ्चपर्वं समीहते। तमो मोक्षं महामोक्षं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च ॥. They are so called because they afflict men plunged in *Samsāra* with several kinds of suffering 'अविद्यादयः-क्लेशा क्लिष्टान्ति गत्वर्त्मा पुरुषं सात्त्विकं निविष्टुःशुद्धपदोऽरुणति' वाचस्पति on यो. सू I 24).

afflicted by hindrances called *kleśas* and the others are not so hindered (those that are hindered are to be mastered or eliminated and the others are to be accepted). The five *vṛttis* are *pramāṇa* (means of valid knowledge), *viparyaya* (wrong conception), *vikalpa* (fancy), *nidrā* (sleep), ²³¹⁶ *smṛti* (memory). *Pramāṇas* are three, *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *āgama* (verbal testimony). The means for the suppression of the *vṛttis* are *abhyāsa* (practice) and *śanāyā* (passionlessness) (simultaneously carried on), the first being the effort to secure a calm flow of the mind free from *vṛttis*, continued for a long time uninterruptedly and earnestly and the latter (*vairāgya*) being the consciousness of mastery over (i. e. freedom from thirst for) seen objects (such as woman, food and drink, high position) and objects promised by Revelation (such as heaven, disembodied existence &c.), ²³¹⁷ 'Vairāgya is of two kinds *apara* (described in Y. S. I. 15 just above) and *para* (highest) described in Y. S. I. 16 and *bhāṣya* thereon. In the highest *vairāgya* the yogin (who has reached discrimination between the self and the *gunas*, *sattva* &c.) is free from thirst not only for objects of sense, but also free from the *gunas*, attains a stage of undisturbed consciousness only and leads the yogin to reflect 'I have attained what was to be attained, the *kleśas* (hindrances

2316. According to the *Yogabhāṣya* on Y. S. I. 10 sleep is a special positive idea or experience (*pratyaya*) and not a mere absence of any activities or fluctuations of the mind, since when a man rises from sleep he reflects 'I have slept well, my mind is happy and makes my intellect clear' and this reflection on waking would not be possible if there had been no experience (during sleep) of the cause of such a feeling. Just as in *śamādhī* one has to master other ideas (viz. misconception, fancy &c.), so the Yogin has to master sleep also as a hindrance to the attainment of *Samādhī*.

2317. अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः। तत्र स्थितौ यत्नोऽभ्यासः। स तु दीर्घकाल-
नैरन्तर्यसंस्कारोत्पत्तिरिति दृढश्रुतिः। दृष्टान्तप्रवृत्तिविषयवितृष्णस्य वशीकारसंज्ञा वैराग्यम्।
तत्परं प्रवृत्त्यन्तरेणैवैतद्वैतृष्ण्यम्। यो ह्य I 12-16. On sūtra I 15 the *bhāṣya* says
'स्त्रियोत्पन्नमैश्वर्यमिति दृष्टविषये विरक्तस्य स्वयंवेदेष्टव्यमकृतिलयत्वमाप्तावाप्तविकवितृ-
ष्णस्य दिव्यादिव्यविषयसंयोगेऽपि चित्तस्य विषयदोषदर्शिनः प्रसक्त्यात्मन्यलानाभोगात्मिका
हेतोषादेयस्यैव वशीकारसंज्ञा वैराग्यम्।', वाचस्पति explains 'अनुश्रवो वेदस्ततोऽपि-
गताः आनुश्रविकाः स्वर्गादयः। ... न वैतृष्ण्यमात्रं वैराग्यं, अपि तु दिव्यादिव्यविषय-
संयोगेऽपि चित्तस्यानाभोगात्मिका।' For the words दृष्ट and आनुश्रविक, compare
सां का 2 दृष्टवदानुश्रविकः स ह्यविच्छिन्नद्विषयातिशयशुक्लः। तद्विपरीतः श्रेयान् ध्वकायकज्ञा-
विज्ञानात्॥' The *भाष्य* on I. 16 remarks 'तद्वद्वयं वैराग्यम्। तत्र यदुत्तरं तज्ज्ञान-
प्रसादमात्रम्। ... ज्ञानस्यैव पराक्राष्टा वैराग्यम्। एतस्यैव हि नाश्वरीयकं कैवल्यमिति।' In
this 2nd kind of *vairāgya* there is nothing but an undisturbed and calm
consciousness or knowledge (unconnected with any object whatever) and
Karavāya (the goal of yoga) is inseparably connected with it.

avidyā &c) that have to be destroyed have been destroyed, the close-knit succession of births and deaths has been out off'. The Bhāṣya remarks 'the highest limit of consciousness (knowledge) is Vairāgya and Kaivalya is inseparably connected with it.' Vācaspati states that this last is called 'Dharmamegha-samādhi' (mentioned in Y. S. IV. 23). Sūtras 17 and 18 of first pāda deal respectively with samprajñāta-samādhi (conscious concentration) or śāmbanāsamādhi and asamprajñāta-samādhi (concentration in which there is no consciousness of objects, gross or subtle). The first is of four kinds (or of four stages) viz. *saṁtāpaka* (deliberation over or realization of a gross object like Śālagrāma or the image of a god with four arms and the like), *saṁcāra* (where there is reflection over a subtle object such as the *tan-mūlās*), *sānanda* where the reflection is on the mind which is full of sattva (that is a samādhi of joy) and *sāsmatānūpa* (i. e. where there is only a sense of personality in which the knower himself is the object of perception).²³¹⁸ These four kinds lead on to the asamprajñāta-samādhi, which results when all vṛttis have disappeared, when there is persistent exercise of this state and the mind consists of sub-liminal impressions only. Sūtras 19-51 (to the end of the first pāda) deal with the different kinds of samādhi, the different ways of attainment, the position of Īśvara in the Yoga system, the nine obstacles (*antarāya*) that cause distraction of the mind of the person who practises Yoga and the companions of these

2318 वितर्कविचारामन्दास्मिताहुगमात् संपज्ञातः। विरामप्रत्ययाग्यासपूर्वः संस्कार-
क्षेपोऽल्पः। यो. सू. I 17-18. These two are called *सजीज* and *निर्जीज* or *सालम्बन*
and *निरालम्बन* or *सविकल्प* and *निर्विकल्प* समाधिः. The भाष्य on I. 18 states तद्व्यास-
पूर्वकं हि चित्तं निरालम्बनमभावप्रतप्तमिव भवतीत्येव निर्जीजः समाधिः. The भाष्य on यो. सू.
I 2 states 'स निर्जीजः समाधिः। न तत्र किञ्चित्संज्ञायत इत्यसंज्ञातः। द्विविधः स
योगश्चिच्छुत्तिनिरोध इति।' अस्मिता is one of five *kleśas* (vide n 2315 above)
and *avidyā* is said to be the root of four out of five *kleśas* (II. 4), and II 6
defines 'asmitā as the identification of the seer (the self) and the instrument
of seeing i. e. *buddhi*'. It is somewhat surprising that one kind of samādhi
is characterized by 'asmitā'. Probably *asmitā* here means no more than
the consciousness 'I am' (i. e. of personality). It is remarkable that
Buddhist texts exhibit a close parallel to the four kinds of संपज्ञातसमाधि (vide
महिम्नमन्त्राय १० I pp. 21-22 Trenchner's ed. of 1888), 'सो खो अहं ब्राह्मण
विदिद्ये एव कामेहि विदिद्ये अकुसलेहि धम्मेहि सवित्तं सविचारे विवेकं पीतिसुखं पठमं हानं
उपसप्यज्ज विहासि' etc. पीति (पीति) is the same as आनन्द in the योगसूत्र
Dr. B. C. Law's paper on 'Prince Jeta's Grove in Ancient India' (J I H.
vol XXXVII, Part III, December 1959 p 353 note 94) brought to my
notice this close correspondence and he kindly furnished the reference to
the *Majjhimanikāya*.

obstacles, the means of preventing obstacles &c. such as practice of concentration on a single entity, the cultivation of friendliness, compassion, joy (towards holy men), indifference (towards unholy men) or by prāṇāyāma.

The Patañjalsūtra (in I. 19-23) divides yogins for asamprajñāta-samādhi into various categories (nine in all), which are passed over here. Patañjali says that asamprajñāta-samādhi in the case of yogins (who are not gods or not those whose bodies are resolved into primary matter) follows upon that practice which effects the cessation of all vṛttis and which comprises only subliminal consciousness and is preceded by faith, perfect repose or serenity, energy, mindfulness and discriminatory insight (into what is real) due to passionlessness. It would be noticed that so far Patañjali asks the aspirant for Yoga to rely on his own efforts, practice &c. He does not mention God or his grace anywhere so far. From this it follows that any man or woman and even one who is an agnostic may pursue yogic practices and attain to asamprajñāta-samādhi and liberation without devotion to God or without God's grace. But Patañjali as a keen psychologist knew the help that faith affords. Therefore, he provides that, if you believe in God, He will help you in the practice of Yoga and from that point of view he assigns to Īśvara a role of a limited scope.

In Y. S. I. 23-28 Patañjali provides that Samādhi and liberation (the result of Samādhi) may also be secured by 2319

2319. ईश्वरमणिधानाद्वा । क्लेशकर्तृविपाकाक्षयैरपराधैः शुद्धविशेष ईश्वर । तत्र निरतिशयं सर्वज्ञत्वधीजम् । स पूर्वेषामपि शुरुः कालानानवच्छेदात् । तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः । तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम् । ततः प्रत्यक्षचेतनाधिगमोऽप्यन्तरायाभावश्च । यो सू. I. 23-29. ईश्वरमणिधान is explained in two ways by the व्यासभाष्य (1) special devotion (भक्तिविशेष on I. 23) and (2) offering up of all actions to the Supreme Teacher (Īśvara) or the renunciation of the fruits of all actions (ईश्वर-मणिधान सर्वक्रियाणां परमशुद्धिर्वापणं तत्फलसंन्यासो वा । on II. 1) The भावगणेशवृत्ति on this quotes कूर्मपुराण for the meaning of ब्रह्मार्पणं 'नाहं कर्ता सर्वमेतद् ब्रह्म कुरुते तथा । एतद् ब्रह्मार्पणं श्रेष्ठकृदिभिरुक्तवद्विभिः' The यो. सू. (I 22-23 and II. 45) states that samādhi may be very near of attainment by devotion to God. It is remarkable that the Brhadhyogya. (published by the Kaivalya dhāma of Lonavla) appears to reproduce Y. S. I 24, 28-29 as Sūtra in the following verses 'क्लेशकर्मविपाकैश्च वासनाभिस्तथैव च । अपराधैरेवैव ईश्वरं धीमरुतः । वाच्यो यज्ञेश्वर (वाच्यः स ईश्वरः ?) योक्तो वाचकः प्रणवः स्मृतः । वाचकेन ह विज्ञातो वाच्य एव प्रसीदति ॥ तदर्थं प्रणवं जप्य ध्यातव्यं सततं शुचैः । ईश्वरं शुद्धात्पदं तेनोपास्तुः प्रसीदति ॥ बृहद्योगि II 43-45 On यो सू I 28 the Bhāṣya explains 'तदर्थं योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाग्रं सम्पद्यते ।' and वाच्य explains

(Continued on next page)

devotion to Īśvara (Īśvara-pranidhāna) who is a special *purusa*, who is untouched by hindrances, by *karma* (good or evil) or by the results of actions or by hankerings, in whom the omniscience, that is only a germ (in others), is infinite; He, being not limited by time, is the teacher of even the ancient teachers. The mystic syllable (Om) is expressive of (i. e. representative or symbol of) God and *japa* of that syllable and constant reflection upon the meaning of 'om' (i. e. on Īśvara) leads to one-pointedness (*ekāgratā*) of mind. Devotion to Īśvara secures for the practitioner attainment of right knowledge of the nature of the soul and the absence of hindrances (*antarāya*) that distract the mind (I. 29). These hindrances are nine such as illness, langour, doubt &c and they are also called *Yogamala* (taints or blemishes of Yoga), the enemies (*pratiṣakṣa*) of Yoga. These hindrances are accompanied by pain, mental distress, tremor of the limbs, irregular inhalation and exhalation (I. 31). These distractions and their accompaniments that are the foes of *samādhi* may be prevented or mastered in various ways such as practice of concentration on one entity (Īśvara or the like), by the practice of such attitudes of mind as friendliness, compassion, cheerfulness and indifference respectively towards the happy or the distressed, the good and the evil (I. 33) or by the expulsion and retention of breath (*bhāsyā* uses the word '*prāṇāyāma*'). When the mind is concentrated then arise the four kinds of *samprajñātasamādhi* (called *śavitarika* &c. in I. 17). The knowledge that is gained in the last kind of *samprajñātasamādhi* is of a higher order than what is obtained from scripture or inference and the subliminal impression made in this *samādhi* is hostile to all other impressions and when this last impression also is suppressed or removed, then results the seedless *samādhi* (i. e. *asamprajñātasamādhi*). In this last the mind itself ceases (from its task) and the yogin's soul abides in itself, shines forth in its

(Continued from last page)

भावन as 'सुप्त सुनिश्चिते निविशन्तः' For the etymology of 'Om' vide H. of Dh vol. II pp 301-302 and for *japa* (inaudibly done or mental) Mausu II. 85-87, Visnu Dh S. 55 19, Vasistha 26 9 and p 686 of H. of Dh II. The Māndūkyaopaniṣad, which, Śaṅkarācārya declares, contains the essence of the thought of Vedānta' (Vedāntārthasāraśāstragrahābhūta), has a disquisition on 'om'. Om was in the Upaniṣads (and before them) a symbol of the whole Universe, of the supra-sensible *brahma* and was of metaphysical use. Yoga took it over from the Upaniṣads and made it an instrument of psychology and of dhyāna' Compare Mundaka Up II. 2. 4 'प्रणवो धनुः शरीरो ह्यात्मनो ब्रह्म वेदः स ह्यहम्' अग्रमचेन वेदस्य शब्दसन्निधौ भवेत् ॥'

own light and is called pure, isolated and liberated.²³²⁰ Īśvara-pranidhāna does not lead to union with Īśvara, but it enables the soul that is still bound to become what Īśvara always is. In the Yogasūtra there is very little about *bhakti* for God.

Pāda II. The first pāda ends on the note of samādhi and liberation i. e. describes the Yoga for him who has succeeded in concentration. The 2nd pāda deals with the procedure for a person whose mind is not used to concentration but is restless, infatuated or distracted (*vyutthita*)²³²¹ and who is desirous of learning the technique. This pāda is the most important of all the four pādas for modern students, either Indian or Western, and has exerted great influence on Dharmasāstra works. The fundamental idea of Yoga is that the individual self is real, eternal and pure, but it is immersed in the objective world and, though eternal, pursues transient objects. Patañjali is a master psychologist. The goal being set (*viz* how to secure the isolation of the soul from *avidyā* and the *gunas* and its attainment of its own pure nature) Y. S. prescribes a rigorous discipline for the attainment of the goal. Patañjali differs from many modern Western psychologists (like Freud)²³²² in two very fundamental matters. The first is that Patañjali puts all emphasis at his command on the freedom and liberation of the soul from bondage, prescribes restraint of the activities of the mind as the

2320. तस्मिन् (चित्ते) निवृत्ते पुरुष इक्ष्वाक्यमतिष्ठोऽत एव केवली शुक्ल इत्युच्यते। भाष्य on यो. सू. I. 51 (तस्यापि निरोधे सर्वनिरोधाकिर्बीजः समाधिः)

2321. व्युत्थान is explained by भोजदेव as 'व्युत्थानं क्षिप्तमूढविक्षिप्तारव्य भूमित्रयम्' on यो. सू. III. 9 and on III. 37 (ते समाधावुपसर्गा व्युत्थाने सिद्ध्य) as व्यवहारवशा

2322. Freud gives the name 'libido' to the energy of the sexual instinct, while Jung, who was once a disciple of Freud, diverged from Freud, holds it as applicable to all forms of mental, psycho-physical or conative energy. The theory of the Oedipus complex is the central core of the Freudian system. It appears that Freud later in life modified his theory of the Oedipus complex and, though he assumed that the Oedipus complex is present in every infant, he came to hold that in the course of normal development the complex becomes eradicated in early childhood. 'An outline of abnormal psychology' by W. Macdougall (London, ed. of 1952) p. 418.

Prof J. B. Watson propounded the theory of 'Behaviourism' (vide the work so called, London, 1925), which denies the existence of mind or mental traits, dispositions or tendencies. On this view the subject matter of psychology is not mind but the behaviour or activities of the human being and the concept of instincts on which most psychologists dwell at length becomes meaningless.

means and several preliminary steps of the training of ordinary emotions and will, while several modern psychologists condemn repression of the mind. In the 2nd place Patañjali is a firm believer in the doctrine of *karma* and *rebirth* and (in II. 12-15) holds that even good actions that give rise to a future life of pleasure and happiness are a misery to the enlightened, while modern psychologists speak of several innate instincts and are not at all agreed on what these are, they do not tackle the problem of *karma* and *rebirth* and their relation to what they call instincts. If there is no pre-existence of the soul as Christians and many others believe, how do the human *instincts* arise? There is hardly any convincing or satisfactory explanation of this.

The first sūtra (of pāda II) says that the activities or practices that are preliminaries to the attainment of Yoga are *tapas*²³²³ (austerity), *śvādhyāya* and devotion to Īśvara; these,

2323. तपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि क्रियायोगः । समाधिभावनार्थः । क्लेशतदङ्कुरणार्थश्च ।
अविद्यास्मितारागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः । यो सू II. 1-3. Various definitions of *tapas* occur in the Dharmasāstra and other works. The word *tapas* occurs in the Rgveda over a dozen times. Vide Rg. VI. 5 4, VIII 59 6, VIII. 60 16, X. 16 4, X. 87 14 in all of which it is possible to take *tapas* in the sense of heat. But in Rg X 109 4, X. 154 2, 4 (*pitṛtapasvatah*), 5 (*reṣin tapasvatah*), X. 183 1, X. 190. 1 *tapas* means 'austerities, asceticism or bodily mortification'. तपसा येऽनाधृष्यास्तपसा ये स्वर्ग्युः । तपो ये चक्रिरे ब्रह्मस्तद्धि-
देवापि गच्छताम् ॥ सू X. 154 2 (this is addressed to the soul of the deceased person) 'join them that are unassailable owing to *tapas*, that went to heaven by *tapas* and that performed great *tapas*'. The emphasis on asceticism (or *tapas*) appeared among Indians earlier than among any other known people. In Rg X. 190 1 it is stated that right and truth and the sun and the moon and the universe are born of *tapas*. In Rg X 109. 4 the seven sages are said to have sat down for *tapas*. In Rg. X 136. 2 sages (*munis*) having long hair and wearing dirty yellowish clothes are said to roam over paths. In the Śat Br. VI 1 1. 13 and Ait. Br XI 6. 4 it is indicated that *tapas* like *Yajña* would give everything. The Upanisads (e g. Tai Up III 5 '*tapasā brahma vijyñāsasva*', Br. Up IV. 4. 22) emphasize that *tapas* is one of the means of realizing *brahma*. Chān, Up II. 23 postulates *tapas* as the 2nd of three *dharmaśāstras*. The Āp Dh. S. I. 2 5. 1 holds that the strict observances laid down for a Vedic student are called *tapas* (निपन्नेषु तपःशब्द.); Gautama Dh. S 19. 15 provides that sexual purity, truthfulness, bathing three times in the day, wearing a wet garment, sleeping on the sacrificial ground and fast are austerities. Manu X 70 provides that even three *prāṇāyāmas* are the highest *tapas* for all *brāhmanas* provided they are performed according to prescribed rules and are accompanied by the seven *vyāhrtis* and *pranava*. Manu (XI. 234-244) contains a grand eulogy of *tapas*, verse 238 states 'everything can be

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when resorted to, serve for the cultivation of samādhi and for minimising the *klesas*, which are avidyā (nescience which is the field that produces the other four), *asmitā* (the feeling of personality), *rāga* (attachment to pleasures), *dveṣa* (aversion, that dwells angrily on pain and its causes) and *abhiniveśa* (will to live or clinging to life). Tapas is explained by Vyāsabhāṣya (on Y. S. II. 32) as bearing or enduring the pairs (of opposites) such as hunger and thirst, cold and heat, standing and sitting, stillness of a stump (i. e. not indicating what is passing in one's mind even by gestures), stillness of the body (not speaking at all), and also such observances as Kṛcchra, Cāndrāyana and Sāntapana (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 120 and 132, 134-137, 151 respectively for kṛcchra &c.).

The Vyāsabhāṣya explains 'svādhyāya' as the *japa* (inaudible repetition) of *om* and other holy texts or study of the śāstras treating of liberation ²³²¹ The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 7 contains a eulogy of svādhyāya and the words 'svādhayosdhyetavyah' (one should study the Veda) occur frequently therein. *Om* is the most prominent among the symbols (*pratīkas*) under which the upāsana of the supra-sensible brahma was to be carried out. Vide Chān. Up. I. 1. 1 (*om-ityetad-aksaram-udgītham-upāśita*), Tai. Up. I. 8 (*om-iti brahma, om-itidam sarvam*), Mundaka Up. II. 2. 4 (*pranavo dhanuh śaro hyātmā brahma tal-lakṣyam-ucyate, 'om is the bow, the soul is the arrow, brahma is the*

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accomplished by tapas, since tapas has invincible power' Yāj. also (I. 198-202) emphasizes the great importance of tapas Jaimini (in PMS III. 8. 9) employs the word tapas for 'fast' Frequent eulogies of tapas are found in the Mahābhārata as in Vanaparva 259. 13. 17. Śānti, chap 5 and 12 'Gods and sages secured their position by tapas', Anuśāsana 122. 5-11) Śāntiparva 79. 18 explains अहिंसा सत्यवचनमादृशंस्य इमो वृणा। एतत्तपो विदुधीरा न क्षीरस्य क्षोषणम्॥ All passages of the Mahābhārata are taken from Chittrāṅgi Press edition in this note Yajñas are said to repeat the Ajapā japa i. e. while they breathe inwards there is सोह and when they breathe out there is हंस; and the combined words सोहं हंस; mean 'I am that *hamsa*' (the eternal Spirit)' Compare बृहद्योगिया. II. 115. 'हंसं सुर्वं परं ब्रह्म'

2324. स्वाध्यायः प्रणवादिपवित्राणां जपो मोक्षशास्त्राध्ययन वा। व्यासभाष्ये ननु यो. सू. II. 1 गी. ध. सू. 19. 12 (= यो. ध. सू. III. 10. 10, वसिष्ठ 22. 9) enumerates the Upanisads, Vedānta and some vedic texts as holy texts by repeating which a man expiates sins वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 28. 10-15 (= विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 56 in prnse = ब्रह्म-सूत्र 10. 12 and chap 11) enumerate holy texts (pavitrāṇi) from all Vedas The word 'pranava' occurs in the Tai. S. III. 2. 9. 5-6 'उद्गीय एवोद्गावृणाद्युच्चः प्रणव उक्थयंतिनाम्, which is quoted by शबर on पू. गी. सू. III. 7. 42.

target &c), Prasna Up. V. 5 (Yah punar-etam trimātreṇomīty-etenaiṣāksareṇa param puruṣam-abhidhyāyita). The Y. S. borrows this importance of Om from the Upanisads. The five *kleśas* are defined in Y. S. II. 5-9. Avidyā (ignorance)²³²⁵ consists in regarding the non-eternal as eternal, the impure as pure, pain as pleasure, the non-self as the self. Asmitā (sense of personality) consists in the seer (the self) being held as if identical with the instruments of seeing (such as mind and sense organs). Abhiniveśa (clinging to life) means the craving ('May I not cease to live, may I live') which sweeps on by its own force and is established in this form even among the learned. Īśvara-pranidhāna has been explained above (p. 1412 note 2319). The Y. S. (II. 11 and 12) says that the *kleśas* have subtle conditions (viz. avidyā and asmitā) and coarse effects in the form of vṛttis (the fluctuations of the mind, rāga, dveṣa and abhiniveśa); escape from the former is secured by resolving them by means of real knowledge while the coarse ones are controlled by contemplation (dhyāna). The accumulated deposits of Karma arise from the five *kleśas*, are fit to be experienced in the seen birth (that is in the present birth) and in an unseen (i. e. future) birth. So long as the root (viz. the *kleśas*) exists the accumulated karma leads to fruition in three forms viz. birth, life (long or short) and experience, which three result in giving joy or

2325. अनित्याद्युचिदुःखानात्मसु निरप्युचिदुःखात्मख्यातिरविद्या । इन्द्रोऽभि-
रेकात्मवेवास्मिता । सुखादुदयौ रागः । दुःखादुदयौ द्वेषः । सरसवाही विदुषोऽपि तथा खलोऽभि-
निवेशः । यो सू II. 5-9, the भाष्य explains the last 'सर्वस्य प्राणिन इयमात्माशीर्नित्या
भवति मा न ध्रुवं स्यासमिति । न चाननुभूतमरणधर्मकस्यैवा भवत्यात्माशीः । ... स
चायमभिनिवेशः क्लेशः .. कुमेरपि जातमात्रस्य ... मरणजास उच्छेददृष्ट्यात्मकः पूर्वजन्माद्यभूत-
मरणदुःखमनुमापयति ।' With the यो सू II. 5 compare ब्रह्माण्डपुराण 'अनित्ये निरप्य-
सज्ञा च दुःखे च सुखदर्शनम् । अस्ते स्वमिति च ज्ञानमद्युचौ युचिनिश्चयः ॥ रागद्वेषविद्विश्च
नदज्ञानमुदाहृतम् । IV 3 39-40 q by कृत्यकल्पम् (nn नोक्ष p 124). In Venk. ed.
the last half is different. Compare also विष्णुपुराण IV. 7. 11 अनात्मन्यात्मद्विर्था
&c. क्लेशमूलः कर्मज्ञायो दृष्टादृष्टजन्मवेदनीयः । सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्यादुभयौगः ।
ते ह्यादपरितापफलाः पुण्यापुण्यहेतुत्वात् । परिणाम-ताप-संस्कार-दुःखैर्युगपद्विनिरोधाच्च दुःखमेव
सर्वं निवेकिन । यो सू II. 12-15. वाचस्पति explains आशय as 'आशेतेयं सत्सारिकाः
पुरुषाः अस्मिन्नित्याशयः । कर्मणासाशयो धर्मो धर्मो' . On योगसूत्र II. 13 the भाष्य puts
forward four possible alternatives about karma and punarjāna, rejects the
first three and accepts the 4th It may be quoted here 'तत्रेदं विचार्यते किमेकं
कर्मकस्य जन्मनः कारणम्, अथैकं कर्मिकं जन्म आक्षिपति-इति । द्वितीयं विचारणा-
किमेकं कर्मिकं जन्म निर्वर्तयति, अथमेकं कर्मिकं जन्म निर्वर्तयति इति On II 14 ते...
हेतुत्वात् one may note the following Upanisad passages on which the sūtra is
based, viz दृ. उप III 2 13, छा उप. V. 10 7. The last two passages
illustrate the meaning of जाति in यो सू II 13. The above passages will
have to be quoted later under karma and punarjāna.

anguish according as the accumulation is due to meritorious or evil acts. The Yogasūtra says that the Yoga system has, just like the system of medicine,²³²⁵ four divisions or aspects, viz. *samsāra* (the round of births or transmigration), the cause of *samsāra*, the release from *samsāra*, the means of release (viz. *śamyak-darśana*, insight into reality or discriminating discernment between the *purusa* and *sattva*, unassailed by false knowledge); sūtras 16-27 of the 2nd pāda set out these four and explain some of the terms used in defining them. Sūtra 28 provides that when impurities are washed away by practising the *angas* of Yoga, the knowledge shines forth (more and more) till discriminatory discernment becomes perfect. Then sūtra²³²⁶ 29 enumerates the eight *āngas* (aids, or auxiliaries) of Yoga, viz. *yama* (abstinences), *niyama* (observances), *āsana* (bodily posture), *prāṇāyāma* (control or regulation of breath), *pratyāhāra* (withdrawal or suppression of the organs of sense), *dhāraṇā* (fixed attention), *dhyāna* (meditation or contemplation), *samādhi* (concentration or absorption into the object of meditation). The *Vaikhāṇasasmārtasūtra* enumerates the same eight

2325 a यथा चिकित्साशास्त्रं चतुर्विधम् ... एवमिदमपि ज्ञानं चतुर्विधमेव ... तथा । योगभाष्य on II 15, vide p. 939 note 1510a for the whole passage. हेयं दुःख-मनागतम् । मृदुद्वययोः संयोगो हेयहेतुः । ... तस्य हेतुरविद्या । तदभावात्संयोगाभावो हानं तद्वद्दोः कैवल्यम् । विवेकख्यातिरविद्वेषा हानोपायः । यो. सू. II. 16, 17, 24-26 Compare these four aspects with the four Noble Truths of Buddhism cited in note 1510a above. विद्वेष means मिदयाज्ञान acc. to वाचस्पति.

2326. योगाङ्गान्छानाद्बुद्धिर्ज्ञानं ज्ञानदीप्तिराविवेकख्यातेः । यमनियमासन-प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधयोदावहानि ॥ यो. सू. II. 28-29. The भाष्य on II. 29 is . 'तेषां (योगाङ्गानां) अष्टाङ्गानां पञ्चपर्वणो विपर्ययस्याष्टद्विधस्य क्षयो नाङ्गः । ... यथा यथा च साधनाभ्यस्यन्तीयन्ते तथा तथा तत्तत्त्वमष्टाङ्गिरापद्यते यथा यथा च क्षीयते तथा तथा क्षयक्रमाद्य-रोधिनी ज्ञानस्यापि दीप्तिर्वर्धते । सा खल्वेवा विद्वद्धिः प्रकर्षमनुभवत्याविवेकख्याते , आरुण-युक्तेष्वस्वरूपविज्ञानादित्यर्थः ।' The five *kleśas* mentioned in यो. सू. II 3 are called विपर्ययः. It is somewhat surprising that the eight *angas* 'यम...समाधयोदावहानि' (In prose) are quoted as from महाभारत in the कृत्यकल्प (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 167) and by अपरार्क p 1022. The वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र (B. I ed) VIII. 10 divides *yogas* into three classes owing to the differences in their practices and abstinences, viz. *sārāṅga*, *ekāṅga* and *visāraṅga*, and each of these is again subdivided into further sub-classes. It further states that some of these called *Anurodhakāṇ* do not practise *prāṇāyāma*, others called *Mārgagāṇ* practise only *prāṇāyāma* and the rest and those called *vimārgagāṇ* practise all the eight *angas*, but they regard even God that is proper for contemplation as not so. The original words are 'ये विमार्गागस्तेषां यमनियम...त्यष्टाङ्ग कल्पयन्तो ध्येयमन्यथा कुर्वन्ति' It is difficult to say what the last clause exactly means. It is probable that in this sentence reference is made to some class of yogins that do not contemplate on God, but hold that without contemplation on God they can secure liberation (*kaivalya*, *mukti*)

angas of Yoga. The remaining sūtras of *pāda* two (from 30 to 55) deal with the enumeration and definitions of yamas and niyamas, their explanations and the treatment of āsana, prāṇāyāma and pratyāhāra. The Śāntiparva (304.7 = 316.7 of Ch. ed.) speaks of Yoga as 'astagunita' or astaguniṇi. Out of the eight angas the first five are indirectly useful for samādhi, because they eradicate what are opposed to samādhi (such as himsā, asatya &c), and are therefore called *bahiraṅga* (external, indirect) sādhanas (means) of Yoga, while dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi are said to be *antaraṅga* to Yoga (Y. S. III. 7, 'trayam-antarangam pūrvebhyah'. The last three are dealt with in the 3rd *pāda*. It is these sūtras in the 2nd *pāda* that are emphasized and elaborated in Dharmaśāstra works. Therefore some detailed treatment of these matters is needed here.

In some works, such as the Goraksasamhitā the angas of yoga are said to be only six (omitting yama and niyama or omitting some others). The Maitrāyaṇi Up. (VI. 18), the Dhyānabindu Up. the Atri-smṛti XI. 6, Dakṣa VII. 34, Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhaṇḍa, 41. 59 and Buddhists say the same. Manu²³¹⁷ provides (IV. 204) 'a wise man should always practise yamas but not the niyamas always, one who only practises niyamas and does not practise yamas incurs sin (or falls into hell)'. This does not mean that niyamas are forbidden but it means only this that yamas are far more important than niyamas. The words 'yama' and 'niyama' both occur in the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 326. 15 and 339 16 of Ch. ed.). Some Smṛtis omit them from the angas of yoga probably because they are prescribed for all persons in general by Manu, Yāj. and others. Manu does not enumerate yamas and niyamas, but Yāj (quoted on p 1406, n. 2303 above) enumerates ten yamas and ten niyamas. The five yamas²³²⁸ of the Y. S. are

2327 तथा तत्प्रयोगकल्प । प्राणायामः प्रत्याहारो ध्यानं धारणा तर्कः समाधिः षडङ्ग इत्युच्यते योगः । मैत्रा उप. II 18, अत्रिस्मृति IX. 6 and दक्षस्मृति VII. 3 mention the same six angas (including tarka) as in मैत्रा उप. 'आसनं प्राणसंरोधः प्रत्याहारश्च धारणा । ध्यानं समाधिरितानि योगाङ्गानि भवन्ति पद ॥' ध्यानविन्दु उप. verse 41 (Adyar ed p 196), गोरक्षज्ञतक 1. 4, and स्कन्दपुराण (काशीखण्ड 41. 59). अपरार्क on या III. 110 p 990 quotes a smṛti text enumerating six aṅgas of yoga (omitting yam, niyam, āsana and adding tarka) The बृहद्योगियाज्ञ IX 35 and लिङ्ग-पुराण (I. 8. 8-9) mentions eight angas. अपरार्क (p. 990) explains 'ततो मनो-हृद्विपरिवारेणालम्बि विमर्शतर्कः'. वायुपुराण XI 76 mentions only five, प्राणायाम, ध्यान, प्रत्याहार, धारणा and स्मरण in that order.

2328. अहिंसा-सत्यास्तेय-ब्रह्मचर्य-परिग्रहः यमाः । जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमाः महाव्रतम् । यो सू II. 30-31; some words of the saṅg may be quoted ;
(Continued on next page)

ahimsā (non-injury to all creatures and at all times), *satya* (truthfulness), *asteya* (non-stealing i. e. not appropriating others' things in a way not sanctioned by the Śāstra), *brahmacharya* (i. e. control of the organ of generation while guarding the other organs of sense also), *aparigraha* (non-acceptance of anything from another beyond what is necessary for preserving the body). These five constitute for a yogin a great *vrata* when practised without reference to species, place, time and occasions (or exigencies). As provided by Manu, *yamas* have to be observed by all but there are exceptions. The observance of *yamas* would be called *vrata*, but the rigorous observance of *yamas* without allowing exceptions is called by the Y. S. *mahāmata* which has to be observed by yogins without exception at all stages. The observance of *yamas* and *niyamas* is a first step for the soul's ultimate success in winning Liberation or Isolation (*kaivalya*), since, unless the soul is purged of all sexual and egoistic desires, it cannot live the divine or spiritual life that the higher stages of yoga require. What is meant may be briefly exemplified as follows: *Smrtis* recognize some exceptions to all these in the case of ordinary people. For example, it is the *ksatriya*'s duty to fight and therefore it was provided by Manu (VII. 87, 89) that a *ksatriya* should not run away from battle and that *ksatriyas* fighting and dying in battle on both sides went to heaven. Vide Yāj. I. 324. So *himsā* was allowed to a *ksatriya* but if he wanted to follow the Yoga discipline he had to give up *himsā*. Similarly, *Smrtis* excused untruth on five occasions (vide Gautama 23. 29, Vasistha 16 36, Ādiparva 82 16, Śānti-parva 34. 25 and 165. 30, quoted in H of Dh vol III, p 353 and notes 536, 537) Manu in IV. 138 makes an exception for ordinary men viz one should not speak what though true is painful to another (*na brūyāt satyamapriyam*). But one who enters on the discipline of Yoga must always speak the truth except when speaking the truth would result in the ruin of

(Continued from last page)

तत्राहिंसा सर्वथा सर्वदा सर्वधृतानामनभिद्रोहः । उच्यते च यमनियमास्तन्मूलास्तत्सिद्धिपरतयैव तत्प्रतिपादनाय प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । ... ब्रह्मचर्यं युतेन्द्रियस्योपस्थस्य संयमः । विद्ययाणामर्जन-
रक्षण-क्षयसङ्घर्षादोषदशनादस्वीकारणमपरिग्रहः । सिद्धि in the भाष्य above means
ज्ञान and not उत्पत्ति, on युतेन्द्रियस्य, वाचस्पति explains 'संयतोपर्येष्टिर्हि क्षी-भेक्षण-
तदालोप-कन्दर्पोपवन-वदङ्गस्पर्शनसक्तो न ब्रह्मचर्यवानिति तस्मिन्सायौक्तं युतेन्द्रियस्येति ।
The भोजवृत्ति and योगसुधाकर respectively explain अपरिग्रह as 'अपरिग्रही भोग-
साधनानामनङ्गीकारः' and 'अपरिग्रहः इरीरस्वित्तिमात्रव्यतिरिक्तभोगसाधनारस्वीकारः' देवल
quoted by शुद्धयकाण्ड of कल्पसूत्र states that *himsā* is of ten kinds (p. 304).
The लिङ्गयु. I 8. 10-28 names these five *yamas* and defines them.

creatures²³²⁹ The *Mitāksarā* on *Yāj* III 312 remarks that telling a falsehood in the case of arranging a marriage though excused (by *smṛtis*) should be avoided and also the beating of a son or a pupil as punishment by one who observes a *vrata*. A householder who approaches his wife on certain specified days after her monthly illness and avoids the parvan days (vide H. of Dh. vol. III n 1425) is to be regarded as one observing brahmacharya, acc. to *Yāj* I. 79 and *Manu* IV. 128, but if he takes to the path of Yoga, he would have to give up this latitude (vide note 2308, ²³³⁰ above) and avoid all contact whatever with all women including his own wife as the *Lingapurāṇa* emphasizes. The *Yuktidīpikā*, one of the earliest commentaries on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, mentions (on p. 112) five yamas but puts 'akalkatā' (absence of crookedness) as the 5th instead of *aparigraha*. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (VI. 7. 36-37) enumerates five yamas and five niyamas as in Y. S. but substitutes 'mind bent on the highest brahma' (*kurvīta brahmaṇi tathā paramin pravanam manah*) for 'Īśvarapranidhāna'. The five niyamas according to Y. S. II. 32 ²³³¹ are *śauca* (cleanliness), *santosa* (contentment), *tapas* (austerity), *svādhyāya* (study of Veda), *īśānāpariṇidhāna* (devotion to God, or surrendering all actions to him). Three of the five niyamas, viz. *tapas*, *svādhyāya* and *Īśvarapranidhāna* constitute *kṛyāyoga* as already stated in Y. S. II. 1. It is most difficult to give an objective definition of duty, but duties can be defined on the subjective side. The object of emphasizing duties is to make men rise above lower desires and to make the higher self shine forth. These are

2329. यदि चैवमत्यभिधीयमाना (वाक्) श्रुतोपघातपरैव स्यात् न सत्य भवेत्पामेव भवेत्तेन पुण्याभासेन पुण्यप्रतिरूपकेण कष्टं तन. प्राप्नुयात् । तस्मात्परीक्ष्य सर्वश्रुतहितं सत्यं ब्रूयात् । भाष्य ०० यो च II. 30, यथा विवाहादिष्वन्यद्विज्ञातस्याप्यनृतवचनस्य निवृत्त्यर्थं सत्यत्वविधानम् । पुत्रशिक्षणादिकमपि न तादृशीयमेवमर्थमहिंसादिविधानमित्येवमादि । मित्ता ०० या. III 312-13. देवल (in कल्पतरु ग्रन्थकाण्ड) states 'अद्वयं द्विविधं, असत्यं विसर्वादश्च । प्रागभ्युपगतात्मसंकीर्तनं विसर्वाद इति ।' p. 309.'

2330. कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सर्वावस्थासु सर्वदा । सर्वत्र मैशुनत्यागं ब्रह्मचर्यं प्रचक्षते ॥ कूर्म II 11. 18, यो. या I. 55, अङ्गारसदृशी नारी वृत्तकुम्भसमः पुमान् । तस्माज्जारीपु ससर्ग इत पत्तिर्जयेत् । लिङ्गपु I 8 23

2331. शौच-सन्तोष-तप-स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः । यो च II. 32, भाष्य 'तत्र शौचशुक्लादिजनितं मेध्याभ्यवहरणादि बाह्यं, आभ्यन्तरं चित्तमलानामाक्षालनम्' ; for तप acc to यो च vide n. 2323 above. Vide कूर्मपु II 11. 20-29 for these five and their definitions. The *Yuktidīpikā* (p 112) enumerates the niyamas as अमोघो शुरुशुद्धा शौचमाहारलाघवनम्राद इति पञ्च नियमाः. The same five are quoted as Vyāsa's in a verse by कृत्यका (ग्रन्थकाण्ड p 302). वाचस्पति explains 'चित्तमलं मदमानासूयादपरतदपनयो मन.शौचम्'.

based more or less on the Upanisads; vide e. g. Chān. Up. III. 17. 4 where *tapas*, *ahimsā*, *truthfulness*, *dāna*, (charity) and *ājīva* (straightforwardness) are put forward as virtues to be cultivated by a sacrificer, Bṛ. Up. V. 2.3, where all men are asked to cultivate *damā* (self-restraint), *dāna* (charity), *dayā* (kindness). Therefore, the *yamas* prescribed by the *Yogasūtra* constitute what may be called extra-regarding duties and are mostly in the nature of prohibitions (such as 'don't injure anyone, don't tell a lie, don't rob a person, don't accept gifts'), while the *niyamas* are concerned with the individual himself (who has embarked on Yoga practice) and are of a positive character (viz. be clean, be contented, be austere, do study the Veda and be a devotee of Īśvara). The *Amarakośa*²³³² defines '*yama*' as actions that are obligatory (or to be always performed) and that depend upon the body as the means for being carried out, while *niyamas* are acts that are not obligatory (or not to be continuously engaged in) and that depend (for carrying them out) on means that are outside the body (such as water &c.). *Śauca* (cleanliness) is of two kinds, *bāhya* (of the body effected with water, loose earth, *pañcagavya*, pure food &c.) and *ābhyantara* (internal or mental). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 651-52 and vol. IV, pp. 310-311 for details of the *śauca* of both kinds. A verse of *Manu* (V. 106) deserves to be noted²³³³ in this connection viz 'of all kinds of *śauca* the highest is the one that relates to wealth (one must desire wealth without depriving another of his wealth by improper means), that man is *śuci* (pure) who is pure as to wealth and not he who is purified by loose earth and water.' *Sūtras* 33-34 of *pāda* II provide that when the practitioner of Yoga is assailed by the outbreak of the fever of perverse thoughts (such as 'I shall kill him who has harmed me', 'I shall tell a lie, I shall appropriate another's wealth, I shall commit adultery with another's wife'), he should revolve in his mind and cultivate the opposites of such thoughts and dwell on the consequences of such thoughts, viz. they cause endless suffering and lack of right knowledge. *Yama* and

2332 क्षीरसाधनापेक्ष निरपेक्षं यत्कर्म तथम् । नियमस्तु स यत्कर्मान्तरयमागन्तु-साधनम् ॥ अमरकोश (2nd कण्ठ, ब्रह्मवर्ग) क्षीरस्वामी quotes the *yogasūtra* definitions and explains 'आगन्तु बाह्यं मुञ्जलादि साधनं यत्रेति, अत एव कृत्रिमकर्म नियमः ।'

2333. सर्वेषामेव शौचानामर्थशौचं परं स्मृतम् । योऽर्थे शुचिर्हि स शुचिर्न सृष्टारिशुचि' शुचिः ॥ मनुस्मृति V. 106, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.89 has the same verse, but reads अन्नं for अर्थ in both places. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III, 275, 13 states: तस्माद्धि सर्वशौचानां मनःशौचं परं स्मृतम् । Compare आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिः in छा. उप VII, 26, 2 and आहार ... शुद्धिरित्याचार्याः as quoted from शरीरधर्मसूत्र by अपरार्क on या. I, 154,

niyama constitute the preliminary ethical code which an aspirant for yoga must observe and some part of it must be followed by all men as Manu and Yāj. prescribe.

In sūtras 35 to 45 (of pāda II.) the results of the continuous practice of the several yamas and niyamas are set out viz. when the aspirant has become established in ahimsā, all beings (men and animals) give up enmity²³³⁴ in his presence. When the aspirant for Yoga is well grounded in the practice of abstinence from falsehood his speech comes out to be effective unfailingly (that is, if he says to a person 'be you a righteous man' or 'may you attain heaven', the man becomes righteous or attains *svarga*). When he becomes rooted in abstinence from theft all jewels wait upon him from all quarters (that is, though he may not hanker after riches or means, the latter come to him of their own accord). When the Yogin is firmly fixed in brahmacarya,²³³⁵ he secures energy (whereby he treads the path to such super-normal powers as *animā*) and when he reaches perfection he is able to transfer knowledge about Yoga and its angas to his disciples. In Y. S I. 20 it is stated that *asampajñāta-samūdhi* follows when the yogin has faith, *viśva* (energy) and other qualities. The greatest emphasis is laid on chastity in thought, word and deed for the yogin or the seeker for *brahma* (vide *Mundaka* III. 1. 5, 'satyena labhyas-tapasā hyesa ātmā samyag-jñānena brahmacaryena nityam'). The idea is that the yogin makes very rapid progress towards the final goal of *samūdhi*; and *kanalya* if he is thoroughly chaste and that without it the practice of *rājayoga* is futile and dangerous. Those interested in the importance of 'brahmacarya' should read *Mahātma Gandhi's* 'self-restraint versus self-indulgence' (3rd ed. 1928), particularly the Appendix I, pp. 137-158 which reproduce W. L. Hare's article). When the yogin is firmly established in non-

2334 अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठाया तत्संनिधौ वैरत्यागः । यो सू. II. 35; वाचस्पति remarks 'शाश्वतिकविरोधा अप्यश्व-महिष-मूषक-भार्जारादिनकुलादयोऽपि भगवतः प्रतिष्ठितहिंसस्य संनिधानात्तद्विचाक्षुकारिणो वैरं त्यजन्ति' Sanskrit poets love to dwell on this aspect of the hermitages of sages e. g. vide कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग p. 45 (of Peterson's ed., description of Jābālī's hermitage') 'अस्य भगवतः प्रसादादेवोपशान्तवैरमपगत-मत्सरं तपोवनम् । अहो प्रभावो मदालनम् । अत्र हि शाश्वतिकमपहाय विरोधश्च शास्त्रात्मान्तिर्यङ्मोऽपि तपोवनसुखमनुभवन्ति । तथाहि एष . . . विहाति शिखिनः कटापमातपादहो नि शङ्कमहिः । अयमुत्कृष्टं मातरं . . . प्रशरत्कीरधारमापिबति कुरङ्गशावकः सिंहीरतनम् ।',

2335. Vide छा. उप VIII 2 10 यं यन्तमभिकामो भवति य कामं कामयते सोऽस्य सङ्कल्पदेव सङ्क्षिप्तति तेन सम्पत्तो महीयते ।; ब्रह्मचर्यप्रतिष्ठाया वीर्यलाभः । यो सू. II. 38, I. 20 is 'भद्रावीर्यमृतिसन्नायिवज्ञापूर्वकं उत्तरेषाम्' अपरिग्रहस्यैव जन्मकथंतासम्बोधः । यो सू. II. 39. कथंता means किमस्यैव

acceptance of gifts he has a desire to know his past, present and future lives (and receives illumination thereon).

As a result of having to clean ²³³⁶ one's body the Yogin becomes disgusted with his own body and avoids contact with the bodies of others. Other results of cleanliness (of the mind) that arise are the purity of *sattvaguna* (i. e. not being assailed by *rajas* and *tamas*), gentleness, one-pointedness (of the mind), mastery over the senses and fitness for the sight (realization) of the Self. From contentment results ²³³⁷ supreme happiness. *Tapas* gives rise ²³³⁸ to perfection in the body (i. e. acquisition of some occult powers like *animā*) and perfection as to the sense organs (such as being able to hear and to see what is distant) owing to the eradication of impurities (i. e. the *kleśas* and sin); (continuous) study of the Veda (and japa of *om* &c.) leads on to the union with (realization of) the deity he chooses. From devotion to *Īśvara* results perfection in *Samādhi*.

Āsana (bodily posture) ²³³⁹ is defined in Y. S. as one that is stable and easy (or comfortable). *Āsana* means a seat which is covered with *kūśa* grass, deer-skin and a garment in that order (this would be *bāhya āsana*) as laid down in *Gītā* (VI. 11),

²³³⁶ शौचाद् स्वाङ्गशुद्ध्या परैरसंसर्गः । सत्त्वशुद्धिसौमनस्यैकाग्रवेन्द्रियशान्तदर्शन-
योग्यता च । यो. सू. II 40-41. The first *sūtra* refers to बाह्यशौच and the 2nd to
आत्मशौच. मनु II 98 defines जितेन्द्रिय as 'श्रुत्वा स्पृष्ट्वा च दृष्ट्वा च श्रुत्वा घ्रात्वा च
यो नरः । न हृष्यति ग्लायति वा स विज्ञेयो जितेन्द्रियः ॥', vide कुल्लूक for illustrations.

²³³⁷ सन्तोषादुत्तमः सुखलाभः । यो. सू. II 42. The भाष्य on this only
quotes a Śāntiparva verse (vide p. 1399 n 2295 above). वाचस्पति explains न
विद्यते अस्मादुत्तमः इत्युत्तम

²³³⁸ कायेन्द्रियशुद्धिरशुद्धिक्षयाद् तपसः । स्वाध्यायादिष्टदेवतासमयोगः । समाधि-
सिद्धिरीश्वरप्रणिधानात् । यो. सू. II 43-45 भोज explains सम्प्रयोग as 'सा देवता प्रत्यक्षी-
भवति' and समाधिसिद्धि as 'स भगवानीश्वरः प्रसन्नः सन्नन्तरायरूपान् क्लेशान् परिहृत्य समाधिं
सम्प्रापयति'. Vide यो. सू. I. 23 for समाधिलाभ from ईश्वरप्रणिधान. The भाष्य on
II 44 explains 'देवा ऋषयः सिद्धाश्च स्वाध्यायशीलस्य दर्शनं गच्छन्ति, कार्ये चास्य वर्तन्ते'.

²³³⁹ स्थिरसुखमासनम् । प्रयत्नशैथिल्यानन्तसमापत्तिभ्याम् । ततो द्वन्द्वानभिघातः । यो.
सू. II. 46-48. Compare श्वेता उप 'त्रिरुक्तं स्थाप्य सनं शरीरं' and 'समे श्रुचौ शर्करा-
बद्धिबालुकाविवर्जिते ॥' (II 8 and 10). The word अनन्त is explained in different
ways. वाचस्पति explains अनन्ते वा नागनायके स्थिरतरफणासहस्रविधुतविश्वम्भरामण्डले समा-
पन्न चित्तमासनं निर्वर्तयतीति; This is rather far-fetched and unsatisfactory, as
hardly anywhere else is अनन्तचागसमापत्ति recommended भोज takes अनन्त to
mean आकाश 'यदा चाकाशादित्त आनश्ये चेतसः समापत्तिः क्रियतेऽन्यवधानेन तादात्म्य-
मापद्यते तदा देहाहंकाराभावात्तस्य दुःखजनकं भवति'. This is a little better
than Vācaspati's explanation. Brahma is described as सूर्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म
(तै. उप. II 1)

while the word āsana (in Yoga) means bodily posture. It should be noticed that the Yogasūtra does not expressly prescribe any of the numerous āsanas mentioned and defined in the Hatha-yogapradīpikā and other works on Hathayoga and indicates that those āsanas are not necessary in the practice of the Patañjala Yoga and that any posture which is easy, stable and comfortable would be enough for the yogin. The Y. S. here follows the Śv. Up. (II. 8 and 10) and not the works on Hatha-yoga, if any existed in its times. In order to secure the posture described above the yogin should relax the usual physical movements of the body (prayatnaśaithilya) and bring the mind to reflect on the Infinite (brahma). As a result of perfect mastery over posture, he is not overwhelmed (or overcome) by the pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, hunger and thirst).

A few words must be said about āsanas. The present author recommends to all those interested in āsanas a very useful and instructive handbook (in 188 pages) on 'āsanas' composed and published by Sri Kuvalayananda of the Kaivalyadhama at Lonavla near Poona (third impression in 1949) with 81 plates (78 on different āsanas and 3 on *naula*). The Daksasmṛti (VII. 5) mentions Padmāsana and Yāj. in III. 198 appears to allude to it. Dr. K. T. Behanan on 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation' inserts 16 figures (between pp. 186-187) of several āsanas. Though the Y. S. does not mention any āsana by name yet the Vyāsabhāṣya²³⁴⁰ names ten and indicates by the word 'ādī'

2340. तद्यथा पद्मासन वीरासनं भद्रासनं स्वस्तिकं वृण्हासनं सोपाश्रयं पर्यङ्कं कौञ्च-
निपदनं हस्तिनिपदनं सुपानिपदनं समसंस्थानं स्थिरसुखं यथाशुक्लं चेत्येवमादीनि । भाष्ये on
योगसूत्र II 46. About कौञ्च and the following two वाचस्पति says 'कौञ्चादीनां
निपदणानां संस्थानदर्शनात् प्रत्येतथानि' सोपाश्रयं 'with the support of a cushion'
'योगपट्टकयोगात् सोपाश्रयम्' (वाचस्पति). In E. I. vol. XXI p. 260, the Kolagallu
Ins. of the Rāstrakūṭa King Khottiga of Śāla 889 (exact date, 17th February
967 A. D.) mentions 'Dandāsana,' (p. 263) and 'Lohāsana' p. 264 l. 35. वृण्हासनं
is explained by वाचस्पति as 'उपविश्य श्लिष्टाङ्गुलिकौ श्लिष्टगुल्फौ भूमिश्लिष्टजङ्घोरपादौ
प्रसार्य वृण्हासनमप्यसेत्' Yoga had permeated society so much that in several
Inscriptions Yogaśāstra and Yoga techniques are mentioned, e. g. in
the Tewar Stone Inscription (C. I. I vol IV p. 306) of Gayākarna in the
Ceds year 902 (=1151 A. D.), Yogaśāstra (verse 6) and Pātañjalāgama
(verse 8) are referred to and in verse 11 the first quarter is प्राणायामसमाधि-
सिद्धिनियमध्यानासनैरन्यहम्. न च पद्मासनाद्योगो न नासायनिरीक्षणम् । दक्षस्मृति VII 5,
explained by विश्वरूप on या III 189 (T. S. S.) ऊचस्थोत्तानचरण. सत्ये व्यस्यो-
त्तरं करम् । उत्तानं किञ्चिदुन्नायं शुचं विदम्य चोरसा ॥ याज्ञ. III. 198.

that it know more. Virāsana²³⁴¹ is mentioned in Raghuvamśa 13. 52. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. IV. 1. 10 remarks that Padmāśana and other special āsanās are propounded in Yogasāstra. The V. S. (IV. 1 7-10) has in view, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya, the description of āsana in the Gītā (VI. 11), the relaxation of bodily activities and stableness of posture indicated by such words as 'dhyāyati prthivi' (Chān. Up. VII 6. 1). According to the H. P. (I. 17) āsana is the first *anga* of Haṭhayoga, that Śiva speaks of 84 āsanās, of which four āsanās called Siddha, Padma, Simha and Bhadra are the most essential (sārabhūta) and it recommends Siddhāśana as the best (I. 34) and describes it (I. 35). The Haṭhayogapradīpikā names and describes 15 āsanās in I. 19-55. The Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad states that there are innumerable āsanās but mentions the same four as the most prominent. Vide figures 16 (p. 55), 18 (p. 57), 62 (p. 97) in Śrī. Kuvalayananda's work for Siddha, Padma and Simha āsanās respectively and figures 105 (p. 186), 106 (p. 187), and 108 (p. 188), for the āsanās called Siddha, Padma and Baddha-padma respectively in Prof. S. S. Goswami's work on Haṭhayoga and p. 28-30 for Siddhāśana, Padmāśana and Baddha-padma-śana respectively in Alain Danielou's work (London, 1949). The Śīvasamhitā (III. 100) and Gherandasamhitā (II. 1) mention that there are 84 āsanās, while the Gorakṣasataka²³⁴² states that there are as many āsanās as there are living species, that all of them are known to Śiva, that out of 84 lakṣa of āsanās Śiva chose 84 and that out of these Siddhāśana and Padmāśana are the best and defines these two (I. 5-9).

The word Yoga is applied to many matters in an extended sense (i. e. the method or methods by which union with the

2341. वीरासन is explained by वाच as 'स्थितस्वैकतर-पादौ भूयस्त एकतर-श्राकुञ्चितजानोरपरि न्यस्त इत्येतद्वीरासनम्', while महिनाथ (on रघु) quotes वसिष्ठ's description एकपादमथैकमिदमन्यस्योरुणि संस्थितम् । इतरस्मिन्स्तथा चाप्य वीरासन-मुदाहृतम् ॥ This is almost the same as ह यो म I. 21. वाचस्पति explains all the āsanās named by the brāhṃya except the *padmāśana* (which he says is well known). पद्मासन is described in ह यो म II 58 and गोरक्षज्ञतक verse 9. The त्रिशिखिमाहाण्योपनिषद् (verses 39-40) describes पद्मासन and बद्धपद्मासन and so does Kāśikhaṇḍa 41. 62-63. भद्रासन is defined by वाच as 'पादतले ब्रह्मणसमीपे समुष्टीकृत्य तस्योपरि पाणिकच्छपिका कुर्वीत भद्रासनम्' (on यो सू II. 46). The योग-याज्ञ (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) defines it as 'पार्श्वपादौ च पाणिभ्या दृढ बद्ध्वा कुलिश्वलम् । भद्रासनं भवेदितत्सर्वव्याधिनिपापहम्' (III. 12).

2342. आसनानि च तावन्ति यावन्त्यो जीवजातयः । एतेषामनुलम्बेद्वा न विजानाति महेश्वरः ॥ सिद्ध भद्र तथा सिद्धयः चेति चतुष्टयम् । ध्यानविन्दू 42 p 196 (Adyar) The verse आसनानि ... महेश्वरः occurs in गोरक्षज्ञतक 5.

Supreme Self may be promoted) in the Bhagavadgītā, which itself is described as Yogasāstra and each chapter of which is also called Yoga. For example, we have in the Gītā 'abhyāsayoga' (8. 8, 12. 9), karmayoga (3. 3. and 7), jñānayoga (3. 3.), bhaktiyoga (14. 26). A few other works also do the same. Some Western writers speak of several kinds of Yoga such as Mantrayoga, Jñānayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Karmayoga, Rājayoga and Hathayoga (vide 'Bengal Lancer' by F. Yeats-Brown, London, 1930, p. 284), R. C. Oman's 'The Mystics, ascetics and saints of India' p. 172 (ed. of 1905), Geraldine Coster's 'Yoga and Western psychology' p. 10, Alain Danielou's work pp. 83 ff. (for descriptions of Mantrayoga, Layayoga, Kundaliniyoga &c.). Some late Sanskrit works like the Yogatattvopaniṣad²³⁴³ and Śivasambhitā (5. 9) speak of four Yogas viz Mantrayoga, Hathayoga, Laya-yoga and Rājayoga. All these have in view the system of Patañjali, but each emphasizes some particular aspect of yoga discipline. But there are really only two main systems of Yoga, viz. the one expounded in the Yogasūtra and its bhāṣya by Vyāsa and the other dealt with in such works as the Gorakṣasātaṭka, the Hathayogaprādīpikā of Svātmārāma-yogin²³⁴⁴ with the commentary called Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda. Briefly, the difference between the two is that the Yoga of Patañjali concentrates all effort on the discipline of the mind, while Hathayoga mainly concerns itself with the body, its health, its purity and freedom from diseases. This is illustrated by the facts that Patañjali defines āsana as any posture that is 'sthīrasukha', while works on Hathayoga describe many āsanās like Mayūr-āsana, Kukkuṭāsana, Siddhāsana, which are deemed to remove

2343. योगो हि बहुधा ब्रह्मन् निश्चयेत्यवधारतः। मन्त्रयोगो लयश्चैव द्वौसौ राज-
योगकः॥ मातृकादिभ्युतं मन्त्रं ह्यवधारतः तु योगयेत्। क्रमेण लभते ज्ञानमणिमादिशुणान्वितम्॥
अल्पशुद्धिर्निम योगं सेवते साधकायम्॥ लययोगश्चित्तलयः कोटिशः पतिकीर्तितः। गच्छन्तिस्तद्वत्
स्वप्नं भुञ्जन् ध्यानेति कलमनीश्वरम्। स एव लययोगः स्यात् &c। योगतत्त्वोप verses 19.
21-23.

2344 A translation of this work (which contains 388 verses) into English by Srinivasa Iyengar has been published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras (3rd ed 1949). The proper name of the work appears to be हठप्रदीपिका, as shown by I. 3 'हठप्रदीपिकां धत्ते स्वात्मरामः कृपाकरः', by the colophons at the end of each Upadeśa and the first verse of the commentary of Brahmānanda 'Hathapradīpikā Jyotsnā'. Acc to the com, ह and ठ mean सूर्य and चन्द्र and represent respectively right and left nostril-breath. The Śivasambhitā is translated by Rāi Bahadur Srischandra Vidyārnava, Pāṇini Office, 2nd ed 1923 and Gherandasambhitā was translated by Srischandra Vasu, Bombay, 1896

diseases (I. 31) and which are said to be 84 (for the names of the 84 āsanās vide pp. 146-149 of Danielou's work) and Hathayoga deals with such processes²³⁴⁵ as Dhauti (washing the stomach), Basti (yogic enema) and Nauli (shaking the abdomen) about which Patañjali is silent. Hathayoga, if practised with proper guidance and perseverance, will not only endow a man with a strong, healthy, pure and active body but also may develop inner strength and happiness. The technique of Hathayoga claims three kinds of results viz (1) cure of diseases and disorders of the mind also; (2) attainment of supernatural powers called *siddhis*; (3) leading to Rājayoga and *Kaivalya*. The Hathayogapradīpikā itself states that Hathayoga

2345 The six kriyās of ḍṛṇyōg are: धौतिश्चित्तस्तथा नेतिश्रावकं नीलिकं तथा । कपालभातिश्चैतानि पदं कर्मणि प्रचक्षते ॥ इ यो म. II. 22. धौति is described in the Journal योगमीमांसा vol. II. pp 170-177, बस्ति (yogic enema) in vol I. pp. 101-104, नैलि in vol I pp 25-26 and vol IV, pp. 320-24 and कपालभाति in the Handbook on 'Prāṇyāma' (by Śrī Kuvalayananda), part I. pp 79-100 There are various methods of Dhauti. The present author, who has been suffering from hyperacidity for over 60 years and from duodenal ulcer for at least 35 years, practised on the advice of an Indian doctor holding an English degree in medicine washing of the stomach by swallowing a large quantity of tepid water and then vomiting it. This was done for several years, generally once a week (or oftener). He can say from personal experience that it washed the stomach and reduced acute pain. But he found or thought that it was no cure and gave up the practice after some years. नेति is cleansing the nose and श्रावक is fixing the eyes without winking on a minute object till the tears fill the eyes (निरिदोस्तिश्चलदृशा सूक्ष्मलक्ष्य समाहितः । अश्रुसम्पातपर्यन्तमाचार्यश्रावकं स्मृतम् ॥ इ यो म. II. 31). श्रावक is of various types such as नक्षत्रश्रावक, सूर्यश्रावक, आदर्शश्रावक, सुमध्यत्रा, नासाग्रदृष्टिः. One with weak eyes must not attempt it except under the guidance of an expert. It is a preliminary to *ekāgratā* (one pointedness of mind) and *dhyāna*. Those interested in the Hathayoga may read 'Hathayoga, the report of a personal experience', by Theos Barnard, Columbia University Press, New York, 2nd impression, 1945. This author travelled over the whole of India, settled down at a guru's retreat in the hills near Ranchi, and went to Tibet also at his guru's bidding. The book contains 36 photographs, 28 of which represent various āsanās, VII, XXVI-VII of Mahāmudrā, Vajrolmudrā and Pāśānimudrā, XXXII and XXXIII represent the first and second stages of Uddiyāna-bandha and Nos XXXIV-VI represent Nauli-madhyamā, Nauli-vāmā and Nauli-dakṣinā. The H. Y. P. (III. 6-7) names ten mudrās. Another recent work is 'The Yoga of Health, Youth and Joy' (a treatise on Hathayoga adapted to the West) by Sir Paul Dukes (Cassell, London 1960). This is a very useful book, contains about seventy excellent photographs and is written with great moderation after long personal practice. The author was engaged for years in lecturing to the army on the usefulness of yoga practices.

is expounded only for leading on to Rājayoga²³⁴⁶ i. e. Rājayoga is the principal fruit of Hāthayoga and not siddhis and *Kavalīya* is due to Rājayoga. The Hāthayogapradīpikā enumerates the names of the same eight āngas as Patañjali does, but its *yamas* are ten of which taking a light meal is the principal and *ahimsā* is the first among *niyamas*. Besides the eight āngas, it deals specially with Mahāmudrā, Khēcārī, Jālandhara, Uddiyāna and Mūlabandha, Vajrolī, Amarolī and Sahajolī (I. 26-27). The Hāthayogapradīpikā (I. 5-8) mentions that Hāthayoga started from Ādinātha (i. e. Śiva) and then enumerates 35 great siddhas in all from Matsyendranātha, Goraksanātha onwards. The famous exposition of the Bhagavadgītā by Jñānadeva called Jñāneśvarī cites at the end the Guruparamparā as Ādinātha, Matsyendranātha, Goraksanātha, Gahinīnātha, Nivṛttinātha, Jñānadeva.

There are other differences between the works on Hāthayoga and the Patañjala Yoga. According to the Goraksasāṭaka and H. Y. P. the main aim of āsana and prāṇāyāma is to rouse the Kuṇḍalinī (the vital force in a person slumbering at the base of the spine coiled like a snake) and take it through the several cakras and the Susumnānāḍī to *brahmadvāra*, while the Y. S. hardly ever dilates upon cakras and nāḍīs²³⁴⁷. Several people after reading some modern works on Kuṇḍalinī are tempted to make efforts to rouse the Kuṇḍalinī. This is a dangerous experiment. Shri Purohit Swami in his 'Aphorisms of Yoga' states

2346. केवलं राजयोगाय इष्टविधोपदिश्यते । इष्ट- I, 2, on which the com. उद्योत्सना remarks राजविद्या एव मुख्यं फलं न सिद्ध्यति । राजयोगद्वारा केवलम् ; after mentioning several siddhas such as मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ, शिवरामन्द, भैरव, गोरक्ष, the इष्टयोगप्रदीपिका (V. 8) concludes इत्यादयो महसिद्धा इष्टयोगमभावतः ।

2347. Y. S. mentions Nābhicalāra, which means no more than the navel that is circular in shape, and Kūṛmanāḍī in III. 29 and III. 31 respectively. Vide Goraksasāṭaka verses 10-23, 54-67 for the cakras, nāḍīs, brahmadvāra &c and H. Y. P. III for the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī. The Goraksasāṭaka is set out (transliterated text and translation) in W. G. Briggs' work 'Gorakhnath and the Kanphātas' pp. 284-304 and was recently edited and published by Swami Kuvalayanand with translation and notes (1959). Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi has written a work called 'Nath Sampradaya' (1950) and Dr. Mohansingh also has a work on 'Gorakhnath and medieval Hindu mysticism'. If we take the Guruparamparā set out in the Jñāneśvarī, Gorakhnath should be taken to have flourished about 1100 A. D. or a little later. Vide 'the life of Goraksanāth and the succession of disciples' (in Marathi) by Mr. R. C. Dhare (1959), pp. 224.

that the awakening of the Kundalīni is a terrifying experience, that on the first day on which the Kundalīni was awakened, the whole body was as it were on fire and he thought that he was dying and that he drank in three months gallons of milk and clarified butter and ate all the leaves on two *nimba* trees (pp. 57-58 of the translation). The germ of the doctrine of *nāḍis* in Tantras is found in a verse occurring in Kathā Up. VI. 16 and Chān. Up. VIII. 6. 6 'there are hundred and one *nāḍis* (arteries) of the heart; one of them penetrates the (crown of) head; moving upwards by it, one attains immortality; the others (of the *nāḍis*) serve for departing in various directions.' The Praśna Up. (III. 6-7) states that each of 101 *nāḍis* has 72 sub-*nāḍis*, each of which again has 1000 more. Vide Mundaka Up. II. 2. 6. In Chān. Up. VIII. 6. 1 it is stated that the *nāḍis* of the heart consist of a subtle substance, brown, white, blue, yellow or red in colour. This is probably the germ of the statement of a *nāḍī* being called *pingalā*. The Maitrāyaṇi Up. VI. 21 speaks of the *nāḍī* going upwards as *Susumnā*.

The Visṇupurāṇa mentions Bhadrāsana²³⁴⁸ which passage is quoted by Vācaspati. The Purāṇas, Vāyu (II. 13), Mārkaṇḍeya (36. 28), Kūrma (II. 11. 43), Linga (I. 8. 86), Garuḍa (I. 238. 11) mention the same three āsanās, viz. Svastika, Padma and Ardhāsana. The Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa (III. 283. 6) prescribes for *dhyāna* the āsanās called Svastika, Sarvatobhadra, Kamala (Padma) and Paryanka. The Bhāgavata III. 28. 8 employs the same words as the Gītā VI. 11 about āsana (viz. 'śucau deśe pratisthāpya').

Āsanās are of two kinds, one type being helpful for prāṇāyāma, meditation and concentration, such as Padma, Siddha and Svastika (figure 20 p. 59 in Śrī Kuvalayananda's handbook on 'Āsanās'). The other kind of āsanās are helpful in eradicating diseases and for physical culture. But most of them require different physical movements and the final form assumed by these postures would make deep meditation difficult, if not impossible (vide Śrīsāsaṇa figures 24-27 between pp. 62-63 of Śrī Kuvalayananda's 'handbook on Āsanās'), Sarvāṅgāsana (figures 33-36) of the same work, Halāsana (fig. 42-47 of the same), Viparītakaraṇī (figures 77-78 pp. 121-123), Mayūrāsana

²³⁴⁸ आसनमप्युक्तं विष्णुपुराणे—एव भद्रासनादीनां समास्थाय शृण्वेयं तम् । इति । वाचं on चो सू. II. 48. The half verse is विष्णु VI. 7. 39.

(figure 72 p. 109). The Tejobindu Upanisad I 23 (Adyar ed.)²³⁴⁹ holds 'that alone is (proper) āsana which makes continuous meditation on brahma possible; other postures only lead to discomfort' It should not be supposed that one who seeks higher yogic disciplines must devote some time to āsanās and then pass on to the next stage. The āsanās are primarily meant for physical culture and eradication of diseases. If the individual yogin possesses a tolerably sound body he may proceed with prāṇāyāma and other āngas. Besides the postures, the practitioner of Yoga is asked to gaze steadily at the tip of his nose (Gītā VI. 13).

Some regulations are prescribed about the food to be taken or avoided by a seeker after Yoga and about the places where he is to practise. The Śāntiparva²³⁵⁰ of the Mahābhārata provides that the yogin should subsist on cooked small particles of grains, or oilcakes and should avoid oily substances and even when subsisting on yāvaka (i. e. kulmāsa or cooked barley grains) for long, he would still be strong; he should drink water and milk mixed together and should resort to caves. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (q by Kṛtyakalpataṛu on Mokṣa pp. 167-177) states 'The yogin should begin meditation in unoccupied spots, in forests, caves and should avoid practising Yoga in noisy places, near fire and water, in old cowsheds, where four roads meet, near a heap of dried leaves, on a river bank, in a cemetery or in a place where creeping creatures exist, in a dangerous place, near a well, near a caitya (funeral ground) or an anthill'. The same purāṇa says that he should not practise when his stomach is windy, or he is hungry or tired or when disturbed in mind, nor when it is very cold or hot or windy. The Devala Dharmasūtra²³⁵¹

2349. मुखेनैव भवेद्यस्मिन्नजस्रं ब्रह्मचिन्तनम् । आसनं तद्विज्ञानीयादन्यत्पुरुषविज्ञानम् ॥ तेजोविन्दु-उप. I 25.

2350. कथानां भक्षणे युक्तः पिण्याकर्य च भक्षणे । स्नेहानां वर्जने युक्तो योगी बलमवाप्नुयात् ॥ युञ्जन्ते यावत् स्वर्गं दीर्घकालमस्मिन् । एकारामो विशुद्धात्मा योगी बलमवाप्नुयात् । पक्षान् भासादृतृषेताम् सञ्चरन् शूरास्तथा । अप. पीत्वा पयोनिम्ना योगी बलमवाप्नुयात् ॥ शांति. 289. 43-45 (cr ed.) = 300. 43-45 चिन्न ed) q. by कृत्यकल्पः (on मोक्ष pp. 173-176). Vide मार्कण्डेय (36 48-50), ब्रह्मपुराण 234. 7-9, कुर्त्त II 11. 47-52, स्कन्द. काशीखण्ड 41 65-66, लिङ्गशु I. 8. 79-84 for places to be avoided for yoga practice.

2351. देवतायतनशून्यागारगिरिकन्दरनदीधुलिनशूराख्यानामन्यतमे शुचौ निराशये विभक्ते ... मनसा तच्चिन्तनं ध्यायम् । देवल q. by कृत्यकल्पः (मोक्ष p. 181). Compare श्वेता-उप. II 10

prescribes that a yogin should practise meditation in a shrine, empty house, mountain cave, on the sands of a river, in caves, or in a forest, in a pure spot free from danger. H. Y. P. I 61 and 64 prescribe what foods to avoid and what foods may be eaten. The Gorakṣaśataka²³⁵² prescribes that the yogin should give up pungent, sour and salted food and should subsist on milk diet. The Gītā (VI. 16-17) says 'one cannot succeed in Yoga who eats too much nor one who observes total fast and Yoga removes pain for him who takes proper food and exercise. The Chān. Up. (VII. 26. 2) where Sanatkumāra gives instruction to Nārada about the Reality remarks 'Purity of the mind follows on purity of food &c. (āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ' &c.). Aparārka on Yāj. I. 154 quotes a long prose passage (on p. 221) from Hārīta "one should be pure and should subsist on a limited quantity of food that would be enough or useful for his purpose as the ācāryas say 'purity of mind ...food". It is clear that Hārīta takes the words 'āhāraśuddhau &c.' literally, while Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Chān takes āhāra to mean 'experience of objects of sense such as Śabda'.

Prāṇāyāma—It is this anga of Yoga that figures most in the works on Dharmaśāstra from the earliest times. Literally the word means 'restraint or pause of prāṇa'. Other synonymous words are 'prāṇasamyama' (note 2310) and 'prāṇasamrodha'. The important point is: What does 'Prāṇa' mean here. The word is derived from the root 'an' (to breathe) with the prefix 'pra'. The verb and its forms occur in the R̥gveda as in I. 101. 5, X. 121. 3, X. 125. 4. In various passages of the R̥g. prāṇa means simply 'breath' (as in I. 66. 1, III. 53. 21, X. 69. 6). In R̥g X. 90. 13 (prāṇād-vāyur-ajāyata) it is stated that Vāyu (air, wind) arose from the prāṇa of the primeval *purusa*. The word 'asu' also is used in the R̥gveda in the sense of 'prāṇa' in I. 113. 16 (udhīrdhvam jīvo asur-na āgāt), I. 164. 4. We have both *prāṇana* (breath) and *jivana* (life) in R̥g. I. 48. 10 (addressed to Usas). Perhaps *apāna* is suggested in R̥g. X. 189. 2 (antaścarati rocanāsyā prāṇād-apānati). All the five

2352 कङ्कमलवणत्यागी क्षीरभोजनमाचरेत् । गोरक्षशतक 50. कङ्कमलतीक्ष्णलवणोष्ण-
हरीतशकसौदीरितैलतिलसर्पपद्मद्यमत्स्यान् । आजादिमांस-दधि-तककुलत्थकाल-पिण्याक
हिलम्बुलक्ष्मणाद्यमपश्यमाहुः ॥ गोधूमशालिपवपाटिकहोभनाजं क्षीराज्यखण्डचवनीतसिता-
मधूनि । झुठीपटोलकफलादिकपञ्चशक सुहादि दिव्यसुद्वकं च यमीन्द्रपश्यन् । सुष्टं सुमधुरं
स्निग्धं गन्धं धातुपयोषणम् । मनोभिलषितं योग्यं योगी भोजनमाचरेत् । इ यो प्र 61. 64-65.

names of prāṇas appear in pairs as in the note²³⁵³ below from Tai. S. In the Tai. S. I. 7. 9. 2 occur the three words 'prāṇa, apāṇa and vyāna'. The Atharvaveda (in VIII. 1. 1) mentions 'prāṇāḥ' and 'apāṇāḥ' in the plural and 'asu', 'prāṇa' and 'āyuh' in VIII. 1. 3, all probably meaning 'life'. In the Upanisads, prāṇa becomes the vital force or principle of all beings, the representative or symbol of *brahma*; vide Br. Up. I. 6. 3 (Prāṇo vā amṛtam, nāmarūpe satyām, tābhyām-ayam prāṇaschannah), Br. Up. I. 5. 23, which, after quoting a verse that the sun rises from Prāṇa and sets in Prāṇa, goes on to say (tasmādekam-eva vrātam caret, prāṇyāc-caiva-apānyāco, nen-mā pāpmā mṛtyur-āpnavaḥ-iti) 'therefore one must observe only one vow, he should inhale and exhale with the (fearful) thought that otherwise, the Evil one, Death, might seize me'. Here it appears that we have the germ of the theory of the importance of prāṇāyāma. In Chān. Up. V. 18-24 it is stated that the five āhutis are offered to prāṇa, vyāna, apāṇa, samāna and udāna (in the words 'Prāṇāya svāhā' &c) at the time of a meal and that one who knows the true meaning of Agnihotra and offerings offers it in all worlds, in all beings and in all selves. Even now these āhutis are taken before meals by brāhmanas, only the order of the five differs. Praśna II, 13 says:—'All this that is established in the three worlds is under the dominance of Prāṇa.' In Chān. Up. IV. 3. 3 Prāṇa is again given five names on account of its working in the different parts of the human body viz. prāṇa, apāṇa, vyāna, samāna and udāna (all five being named in the Tai. S.). It follows that some distinction among the operation of the five prāṇas must have been made at least a thousand years before the Christian era.

2353 प्राणापानौ मे पाहि समानव्यानौ मे पाह्युदानव्यानौ मे पाहि । तै सं I. 6. 3. 3. On this सायण has in the com. the clear and interesting note 'एक एव वायुः शरीरगतस्थानभेदात् कार्यभेदाच्च प्राणादिनामभिर्मिथ्यते । स्थानभेदः कैश्चिदुक्तः । इति प्राणो गृध्रेऽपानः समानो नामिसंस्थितः । उदानः कण्ठदेशस्थो व्यानः सर्वशरीरगतः ॥ इति । उच्छ्वासनिःश्वासी प्राणव्यापारः । मलमूत्रवोरधः पाननमपानव्यापारः । शुक्लस्फानरसरूप शरीरे साम्येन नयनं समानव्यापारः । उद्वारदिकृदिस्फुटनव्यापारः । कुत्सालु शरीरनाडीषु व्याप्य प्राणापानवृत्तयोः सन्धिकाले शरीरस्य बलप्रदानं व्यानव्यापारः ॥' Then सायण relies on छा उप. I. 3. 3 गृध्रे प्राणिते स प्राणः यदपानिते सोऽपानः । अथ यः प्राणापानयोः सन्धिः स व्यानः । यो व्यानः सा वायुः । In connection with the parts of the animal to be offered in a sacrifice as प्रायश्चित्त, the तै. सं. (III 4 1 3-4) states: पुरस्ताद् नार्ये प्राण उपरिदादपानो वायानेव पशुस्तस्माद्यतिः ; यथा स्रग्द्विवायिकृतान् विनिश्चुके । पतान् ग्रामानेतान् ग्रामानविनिश्चरन्ते । एतैरेव प्राण इतरान् प्राणान् पृथक् पृथगेव संनिधत्ते । प्राणपस्थेऽपानम् । चक्षुः । ओत्रे सुपनासिनाप्यं प्राणः स्वयं प्रातिष्ठते । मध्ये तु समानः । ग्य एतद्वृत्तमज्ञं समं नयति प्रश्न III 4-5.

In this work it is not necessary to enter upon an exhaustive discussion on *prāṇa* from the Upaniads. A controversy has gone on about the meaning of *prāṇa* and *apāṇa*. Caland, Koith, Dumont and a few others hold that '*prāṇa*' means in the ancient Vedic literature 'expiration' and '*apāṇa*' means 'inspiration', but that this meaning was revised in later days. On the other hand almost all Sanskrit commentators and writers and G. W. Brown, Edgerton and others hold the opposite view.²³⁵⁴ The present author agrees with the latter view viz. that '*prāṇa*' meant and means 'inhalation or thoracic breath', while '*apāṇa*' means 'abdominal breath.' All scholars are agreed that these are certainly the meanings of the words *prāṇa* and *apāṇa* in all classical Sanskrit literature, the opposite view being confined to the ancient period even by those who hold that *prāṇa* and *apāṇa* meant respectively 'expiration' and 'inspiration'. We should as far as possible construe all Upaniadic passages as to yield the same sense consistently. The *Prāṇa Up.* (certainly an early Upaniadic, though not among the earliest ones) contains the following interesting and rather decisive passage "just as the king appoints his officers saying '(each of) you should govern such and such villages', in the same way this *prāṇa* assigns to the other *prāṇas* separate spheres viz. *apāṇa* in the organs of excrement and generation, the *prāṇa* going in from the mouth and nose establishes himself (as king) in the eyes and ears, *Samāna* in the middle (of the spheres of *Prāṇa* and *Apāṇa*) i. e. in the navel, since it is he (*Samāna*) that carries the food offered (in the fire) i. e. in the stomach) equally (to all bodily parts)."

Caland, Dumont and others who hold that the word '*prāṇa*' in ancient Sanskrit literature means 'expiration', chiefly rely on Sankaracarya's explanation of Chāṇ²³⁵⁵ Up I. 3. 3 (yadvai

2354. Vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 55 pp. 261-265 and vol. 56 pp. 556-558, J. A. O. S. vol. 39 (1919) pp. 104-112 on '*Prāṇa* and *Apāṇa*' by G. W. Brown, J. A. O. S. vol. 77 (1957) pp. 46-47 by Prof. Dumont, J. A. O. S. vol. 78 (1958) pp. 51-57 (Prof. Dumont *versus* Prof. Edgerton).

2355. ईश्वरसूत्रार्थे on उ. I. 3. 3 explains 'यदे पुरुष प्राणिते सुप्तमासिकार्यं पार्थ बलिनि सारयति स प्राणायमो वायोर्गुत्तिविशेष, यदपानित्यपश्वासति ताम्बामेवान्तरा कर्षति वातु सोऽपानारम्भा घृत्तिः ॥', vide also शाङ्करभाष्ये on वे. सू. II 4. 42 (पञ्चगुत्तिर्मनो-यद्वयपदिश्यते) 'प्राण प्राणगुत्तिरुच्छ्वाससादिकर्म, अपानोऽपानगुत्तिर्निश्वासादिकर्म। स्थानस्तयो सन्धी यतमानो धीर्यवत्कर्तुहेतुः। उदान ऊर्ध्वगुत्तिरुच्छ्वाससादिकहेतुः। समान समं सर्वव्यञ्जु योजनसाम्ययतीति ॥' The *गीता* in IV 29 'अपाने शुद्धति प्राण प्राणेश्वान तथापरे। प्राणायामगती रुद्ध्या प्राणायामपरायणा ॥' appears to use the two words in a special sense.

prāṇīti sa prāṇo yad-apāṇīti soṣpāṇah &c). They hold that 'antarākarsati vāyūm' in Śāṅkarabhāṣya (on Chān Up I. 3. 3) only mean 'inhaling'; but that expression is capable of meaning 'it draws the air into the inside of the body (i.e. in the abdomen) and what is more important, one has to note that the interpretation put on Śāṅkara's words here by Caland, Dumont and others is directly opposed to Śāṅkarācārya's own explanations in several other passages of the Upanisads, such as Br. Up. I. 5. 3, III. 4. 1, Chān Up. III. 13. 1-6, Katha 5. 3; Praśna III. 4-5 (vide note 2353). The bhāṣya on Br. Up. I. 5. 3²³⁵⁶ remarks 'Prāṇa is an activity of the heart which moves about in the mouth and nose and is so called because it is led forth; Apāṇa is a downward movement starting from the navel and is so called because it casts out urine and excreta'. On Praśna Up. III. 4 (quoted in n. 2353) the Śāṅkarabhāṣya says the same thing about Prāṇa and Apāṇa. Not only Śāṅkarācārya but a much earlier authority viz the Dharmasūtra of Devala (mentioned by Śāṅkara, vide p. 1352 n. 2208 above) defines the working of Prāṇa and Apāṇa as done by Śāṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Br. Up. I. 5. 3.

In the Yoga system (which is based on the Upanisads) *prāṇa* implies more than mere breath. It means vital energy, powers such as speech, eye, ear, *manas* in the body as well as in different forms in the universe. Its most perceptible manifestation in the human body is the movement of the lungs. The Y. S. inculcates on the yogic student the doctrine that by scientific control (as laid down in it) of *prāṇa* in the body it is possible to obtain control over the deep-seated (and ordinarily imperceptible) forces in human consciousness as well as in the external world.

2356. On बृह उप 1. 5. 3 'जीर्ण्यात्मनेऽकुर्वतेति मनो वाचं प्राणम् । . . यः कश्च शब्दे वागेव सा । एषा ह्यन्तर्मायस्यैषा हि न प्राणोऽपानो ह्यन उदान् । समानोऽन इत्येतत्सर्वं प्राण एव ... ' the important भाष्य passage is अथ प्राण उच्यते । प्राणो मुखनासिकासंस्कार्या एदधवृत्तिः प्रणयनात्प्राणः । अपनयनात्सूत्रपुरीषादेरपानोऽधोवृत्तिः । आनाभिरुत्थानः ।, on यश्च III. 5 the relevant भाष्य on अपान is 'अपाननात्तमेदं, सूत्रपुरीषाद्यपनयनं कुर्वन्तिउति सन्निधत्ते ।', on करोष 5. 3 'ऊर्ध्वं प्राणमुखयत्यपानं प्रत्यगत्यति' the भाष्य is 'ऊर्ध्वं एदधात्प्राणं प्राणवृत्तिं वाउत्थयत्यूर्ध्वं गमयति तथा अपानं प्रत्यगधो अत्यति क्षिपति यः इति प्राणपक्षेण ।' This clearly shows that *prāṇa* is taken by the bhāṣya as meaning 'inhalation or thoracic breath' and *apāṇa* as 'abdominal breath' or 'exhalation' तत्र ऊर्ध्वं नभिर्गते रेचनोच्छ्वाससरणोद्धारकर्मा प्राण । अधो नभेरुत्तर्गान्दधर्मापानः । देवत q. by कृत्यकल्पः (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 170). वनपर्व 213. 7 (चित्रा ed.) says 'वस्तिमूलं शुद्धं चैव पावकं स्रष्टुपायितम् । वदन् मूत्रं पुरीषं वाप्यपानः परितर्तते॥'.

The word 'prāṇāyāma' does not occur in any of the principal Upanisads,²³⁵⁷ But it occurs frequently in the Sūtras. For example, the Āp. Dh. S. provides that if a householder²³⁵⁸ is still asleep when the sun rises he should fast and keep silent that day (till night) and observes that, according to some ācāryas, he should continue to perform prāṇāyāma till he feels exhausted (by way of penance). The Gaut. Dh. S. states that if animals other than dogs, snakes, frogs and cats pass between the teacher and the pupil when the latter has sat down before the former for study, he (pupil) should practise three prāṇāyāmas and should partake of some clarified butter (by way of prayaścitta). Similarly, it provides that if a person smells the odour from the mouth of one that has drunk liquor, he should perform (as penance) three prāṇāyāmas and should partake of clarified butter and that if a Vedic student chances to see an impure person like a Cāṇḍāla, he should, after performing one Prāṇāyāma, look at the sun. Similarly, Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 1. 4-11, prose) provides prāṇāyāmas as expiation for several lapses.

The above examples show that in the times of the Sūtras (i. e. several centuries before the Christian era) the conception of prāṇāyāma had been so developed as to hold that it was a sort of penance and religious rite for removing the taint attaching to acts and omissions that were condemned by the then society. At this stage prāṇāyāma appears merely to have been a religious act independent of any theory about its being one of the eight angas of yoga.

To the five prāṇas mentioned in Vedic literature, the Purāṇas and other mediæval works added five more prāṇas with different²³⁵⁹ names.

2357. In a श्लोक ten ancient and principal upanishads are enumerated 'ईश-केन-कठ-मश-सुष-माण्डूय-तित्तिरि । ऐतरेयं च छान्दोग्यं बृहदारण्यक तथा ॥'

2358. स्वपन्नयुदितोऽनाश्वान्वायतोऽस्तिष्ठेत् । आ तमितोः प्राणमायच्छेदित्येकं । आप. ध. सू. II 5 12 14-15, श्वनकुलसर्पमण्डूकमार्जाराणां त्रयद्वयप्राप्ते विप्रमसश्च । आप. प्राणायामा घृतप्राशनं चैतरेयम् । गौ. I. 61 ; गन्धार्वाणे सुरापस्य प्राणायामा घृतप्राशनं च । अश्विचि चण्डादित्यमीक्षेत प्राणायामं कृत्वा । गौ. 23. 6 and 22. Compare with गौ. 23. 6 मनु XI 149 and with गौ. 23. 22 मनु V 86

2359. प्राणोऽपान समानश्च उदानो ध्यान एव च । नागः कूर्मस्तु कृकालो देवदत्तो धनञ्जयः ॥. उद्धरे नाग आख्यातः कूर्म उन्मीलने तु सः । कृकालः श्रुतकार्यं देवदत्तो विबुधगणे । धनञ्जयो महावीर्यः सर्वेण स हृतेपि हि । इति यो दशप्रायुता प्राणायामेन सिध्यति । लिङ्गसु I. 8, 61, 65-66, compare योगशास्त्रवल्क्य (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) IV. 64-71 for the ten vāyus and their functions, वनपर्व 213. 16 (वदन्त्यस्मरसान् नाड्यो दशप्राणमचोदितः) mentions the function of ten prāṇas. Vide Dr. B. N. Seal's 'the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus' (Longmans, Green, 1915) pp 228-231 for explanation about these ten.

It is now proper to see how the Y. S. defines and explains prāṇāyāma. 'When the stability of posture has been assured (or secured) prāṇāyāma is the pause (lit. cutting off) in the movements of inhalation and exhalation'. The bhāṣya explains 'śvāsa' as 'drawing in of the air which is outside one's body' and 'praśvāsa' as the expelling of the air in the trunk (or chest)' and the absence of both these is prāṇāyāma. This shows that the chief element in prāṇāyāma is the absence of both inhalation and exhalation i. e. *kumbhaka* in the technical language of yoga works. The next sūtra states that prāṇāyāma (the pause in movement) is of three kinds, viz. external, internal and suppressed. The idea is that Kumbhaka (stopping or pause) may be done after one has taken in air from outside (first kind) or after one has expelled air from the trunk (2nd kind) or when one is in a normal condition (i. e. neither making an effort to fill his chest with air or emptying it of air) one may make a pause (3rd kind). Each of these may be regulated and considered from the point of the units of space, time (measurement by *kalās* or *mātrās*) and numbers. Prāṇāyāma is called *mṛdu* (mild) when pause is kept up for 36 mātrās, then moderate one when kept up for 72 mātrās and keen (*tīvra*) when kept up for 108 mātrās. When practised for days, fortnights and months, it is called protracted and when performed with great skill it is called *sūkṣma* (subtle).

In connection with prāṇāyāma we must look to Y. S. I. 34 also. That sūtra lays down that for securing the undisturbed calm of the mind one remedy is the expulsion and retention of the breath.²³⁶⁰ It appears from that sūtra and its bhāṣya that *vidhāna* (retention of breath, i. e. Kumbhaka) is prāṇāyāma.

Some explanation must be offered about *deśa* (space), *kāla* and *saṅkhyā* in relation to prāṇāyāma. Ordinarily a healthy grown-up man breathes in and out in about four seconds i. e. about 15 times a minute (21600 times in one day and night). In order to measure the force of the *veśika* a piece of cotton or a thin thread is held at some distance from the nostrils and the distance up to which the air driven from the nostrils makes the cotton or thread move or cease to move is measured by means of finger-breadths. As regards time several units of time are mentioned because in those ancient days there was no scientific

2360. प्रच्छेदन-विधारणार्था वा प्राणस्य। यो ह I 34; कौण्डिन्यस्य वायोर्नासिका-
दुदाग्या प्रत्यविविक्षाद्गमनं प्रच्छेदनं विधारणं प्राणायामस्ताम्बा वा मनसः स्थितिं सम्पादयेत्।
भाष्य.

apparatus. The time taken for winking (*nimesa*) is equal ²³⁶¹ to the time required for pronouncing a short vowel and this was called *mātrā*. The time taken for touching one's knees thrice with one's hand and snapping the thumb and forefinger was also called *mātrā*. Other units are passed over. The general rules are that both *recaka* and *pūraka* must be uniform and quiet, that the time given for *pūraka* should be half of that given to *recaka*. Three views about the duration of *pūraka*, *kumbhaka* and *recaka* are that they should be in the proportion of 1 : 4 : 2 or 1 : 2 : 2 or the same for all. The Purāṇas give different *mātrās* for *prāṇāyāma* e.g. the Mārkaṇḍeya (36. 13, 14) says that the *laghu* (*mṛdu* of the *bhāṣya*) is of twelve *mātrās*, double of that is *madhyama* and the *uttarīya* (*tivra* in the *bhāṣya*) is for three times twelve *mātrās*, while the Garudapurāṇa (I. 226. 14-15) puts down the figures as 10, 20, 30 respectively and the Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 11. 32) agrees with the Mārkaṇḍeya. The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 200-201 provides that *prāṇāyāma* is of three varieties (*adhama* of 15 *mātrās*, *madhyama* of 30 *mātrās* and *uttama* of 45 *mātrās*). The Lingapurāṇa (I. 8. 47-48) also puts forth 12, 24, 36 *mātrās* as the time of *nīca udghāta*, *madhyama udghāta* and *mukhya* and states that obvious results of these three are respectively perspiration, tremor and *utthāna* (*prasāda-kampa-notthāna-janakāśca yathākramam*). Compare Mārkaṇḍeya 36. 16 which states that those three are to be mastered respectively by the different lengths of *prāṇāyāma* (*prathamena jayet svedam madhyamena ca vepathum | viśādam hi tṛtīyena jayed-doṣān anukramāt ||*).

It should be noticed that neither Patañjali nor the Vyāsa-bhāṣya employs the well-known words, *pūraka*, *recaka* and

2361. निमेषकालवृत्त्यै हि विद्याल्लक्ष्यं च यत् । वायु 57. 6, निमेषो मातृषो योऽपि मात्रामात्रप्रमाणतः । छन्द 231 6, निमेषोन्मेषणा मात्रा ताली लक्ष्यं तथा ॥ मार्क 36 13 (Venk ed) विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 73.1 लक्ष्यं सप्तमा मात्रा निमेष, परिकीर्तित । वाचस्पति says 'स्वजातुसङ्गल पाणिना द्वि. पराशुर्य ऋद्धिदिकावच्छिन्न. कालो मात्रा तामि. षड्विंशता मात्राभिः परिमित. प्रथम उद्धातो मृदु । स एव द्विगुणीकृतो द्वितीयो मध्यमः । स एव त्रिगुणीकृतस्तृतीयस्तत्रि. ' on यो. सू II. 50, अङ्गुलिमोक्षनितयं जानुर्वो. परिमार्जनमथापि । तत्कालत्रयमपि तज्ज्ञा मात्रासंज्ञा प्रशंसन्ति ॥ बृहद्योगिया VIII. 12 q as योगियाज्ञवल्क्य 10 कृत्यकल्प (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 171). The गोरक्षशतक says 'प्राणायामो भवेत्त्रिधा मात्रा-द्वादशसंयुतः ॥ द्वादशाधमको मात्रा मध्यमे द्विगुणस्ततः । उत्तमे त्रिगुणा मात्रा. प्राणायामस्य निर्णयः ॥ verses 47-48, vide वायु 11. 80 81 मन्दो द्वादशमात्रस्तु उद्धाता द्वादश स्मृता । मध्यमश्च द्विगुणास्तत्रुर्विंशतिमात्रिकः ॥ उत्तमः स्यात् त्रिगुणा मात्रा. षट्त्रिंशदुच्यते ॥ The योगतत्त्वोपनिषद् (verses 41-42) lays down the proportion of the three (पूरक, कुम्भक and रेंदक) is as 16, 64, 32 *mātrās*, while the गरुडयु (I 226. 14-15) speaks of 10, 20, 30 *mātrās*.

kumbhaka, but only śvāsa, praśvāsa and gativiccheda.²³⁶² Besides, Patañjali and Vyāsa say nothing about the japa of Om, Gāyatri or Vyāhrtis in prāṇāyāma, as the smṛtis and later medieval works do. A third matter to be considered is that in some later works recaka, pūraka and kumbhaka are said to be three prāṇāyāmas and this latter is said to be of four kinds, three set out in Y. S. II. 50 and the fourth in II. 51.

The words 'recaka', 'pūraka' and 'kumbhaka' also must be, however, regarded as ancient enough. They are mentioned and defined by the Dharmasūtra of Devala²³⁶³ referred to by

2362. तस्मिन्सति श्वासप्रश्वासयोगतिविच्छेदः प्राणायामः । बाह्याभ्यन्तरस्तम्भ-
वृत्तिर्दशकालसंख्याभिः परिहृष्टो दीर्घसूक्ष्मः । बाह्याभ्यन्तरविषयाद्येपी चतुर्थः । यो ह्येव II
49-51, सत्यासनजये बाह्यस्य वायोराचमन श्वास कौष्ठ्यस्य वायोनि सारणं प्रश्वास
तयोर्गतिविच्छेदः उभयाभावः प्राणायामः । भाष्य on II. 49 The word वृत्ति is to be
connected with each of the three words बाह्य, आभ्यन्तर and स्तम्भ Here the
कुम्भक that follows रेचक is called बाह्यवृत्ति and the one that comes after पूरक
is called आभ्यन्तरवृत्ति The कुम्भक that is made when there is neither रेचक
nor पूरक is called स्तम्भवृत्ति. For an exhaustive and lucid exposition of the
Patañjala sūtras on prāṇāyāma, the bhāṣya thereon and the views of other
commentators, vide Yogamīmāṃsā (of Śrī Kuvalayaṇanda) vol. VI, pp. 44-
54, 129-145, 225-257

2363 देवलः । त्रिविधः प्राणायामः । कुम्भो रेचनं पूरणमिति । निश्वासानिरोधः कुम्भः ।
अजसनिःश्वासो रेचनम् । निश्वासाध्मानं पूरणमिति । स पुनरेकद्वित्रिविधः - (इष्टाते ?)
सुदुर्मन्दस्तीक्ष्णो वा भवति । प्राणायामव्यानोदानसमानानां सङ्ख्येयानां मूर्धन्यमाहृत्य (हृत्य ?)
निवृत्तिश्चोद्घातः (उद्घातः ?) । कृत्यकारणं p. 170 and अपरार्क p. 1023.
Compare व्यासभाष्य 'संख्याभिः परिहृष्टा एतावद्भिः श्वासप्रश्वासैः प्रथम उद्घाततद्वृत्ति-
वृद्धातस्यैतावद्भिर्द्वितीय उद्घातः । एवं तृतीयः । एवं सृष्टुरेवं मध्य एवं तीव्र इति संख्या-
परिहृष्टः । on यो ह्येव II. 50 The राजनार्तण्ड explains 'उद्घातो नाम नाभिमुला-
त्पेरितस्य वायोः शिरस्याभिहननम्' This word is differently explained by different
writers, vide योगमीमांसा vol. II. part 3 pp 225-234 Sometimes पूरक, रेचक
and कुम्भक are said to be three प्राणायामाः, sometimes all three together are
deemed to be one प्राणायामः. Each of these again is either सुदुः, मन्द (or मध्यम)
and तीव्र Vide बृहद्योगिया VIII 7 त्रिविधं केचिद्विच्छाति तथा च नवधा परे । सुदुः
मध्याधिमाम्रत्वादेकैकं त्रिविधं भवेत् ॥ Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III 280. 1 रेचकं पूरकं चैव
कुम्भकं च तथा द्विज । एकवचनस्यो विज्ञेयः प्राणायामो महाफलः ॥ रेचक-पूरक-कुम्भक-
प्राप्तिः श्वास-प्रश्वासयोगतिविच्छेद इति प्राणायामसामान्यलक्षणमेतदिति । तथाहि । यत्र बाह्यो
वायुराचम्यान्तर्धायते पूरके तत्रास्ति श्वास-प्रश्वासयोगतिविच्छेदः । यत्रापि कौष्ठ्यो वायुर्विरेच्य
वर्धिर्यते तत्रास्ति श्वास-प्रश्वासयोगतिविच्छेदः । एवं कुम्भकेपीति । वाचस्पति on यो ह्येव
II 50; पूरकः कुम्भकश्चैव रेचकस्तदन्तरम् । प्राणायामलिखा ज्ञेयः कर्नायो मध्यमोत्तमः ॥
पूरकः कुम्भको रेच्यः प्राणायामलक्षणः । बृहद्योगिया VIII 9-10, the last half verse
is quoted by च्युतिच. I p 142 (as योग्या.) and the three are defined in
बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 19-21 of which verse 19 is q. by च्युतिच. I p 142 कुम्भक is so
called because in it there is resemblance to a jar filled with water (which
remains steady in it), राजनार्तण्ड explains 'तस्मिन्सज्जमिव कुम्भे निश्चलतया प्राणा
अवस्थाप्यन्ते इति कुम्भनः ।'. Vide पाणिनि V. 3. 97 'प्रतिष्ठातौ च'; इवार्थे कन् स्यात्
समुदायेन चेतस्ज्ञा गम्यते । So कुम्भक means कुम्भ इव कुम्भकः कुम्भसदृशस्य संज्ञा

Śaṅkarācārya (vide note 2208 above). The Brhad-Yogi-Yāj. and Vācaspati also mention them. The Visnupurāṇa in a poetic description of the Śarad season employs them by way of śleṣa ²³⁶⁴ (as below). Several modes of performing prāṇāyāma are prescribed. One of the simplest is to stop the right nostril with the thumb, to fill in air through the left nostril according to one's ability; then to throw out the air through the right nostril; again inhale through the right nostril and eject air through the left. Do this at least thrice. Practise this at least twice every day, preferably in the morning after bath and in the evening or four times (before dawn, during midday, in the evening or at midnight). In the beginning kumbhaka need not be practised at all. After some practice with pūraka and recaka, kumbhaka may be begun after recaka. Kumbhaka after pūraka is to be practised with great caution and should be attempted under the direction of an expert.

The Manusmṛti contains ²⁴⁶⁵ a great eulogy of prāṇāyāma in the following words 'even three prāṇāyāmas performed according to the rules prescribed and accompanied by the vyāhritis and *manava* (the syllable *om*) should be regarded as the highest *tapas* for a brāhmaṇa; just as in the case of metals (like gold and silver) impurities are burnt when they are melted in the blast of a furnace, so blemishes (like passion &c.) of the organs of sense (including the mind) are destroyed by the control of breath; one should extinguish the blemishes (passion, hatred &c.) by prāṇāyāmas, sin by *dhūanū*, contact with the objects of sense by *pratyāhūṇa* and such attributes as are ungodly (viz. anger, avarice, jealousy &c.) by meditation (on brahma). The Y. S. states that from the practice of prāṇāyāma results the dwindling of actions (or *klesas*) that envelop enlightenment (which is the characteristic of *sattva*) and the

2364. प्राणायाम इवाग्निभिः सरसां कुतपूरकैः । अग्न्यस्य तेऽनुदिवसं रेवहाकुम्भवा-
दिभिः ॥ विष्णुपु V. 10. 14.

2365. प्राणायामा ब्राह्मणस्य त्रयोऽपि विधिवत्कृताः । व्याहृतिमणवैरुक्ता विज्ञेयं परमं
तपः ॥ दहन्ते भस्ममानानां धातूना हि यथा मलाः । तथेन्द्रियाणां दहन्ते दोषा प्राणस्य
निग्रहान् ॥ प्राणायामैर्देहं दोषान् धारणाभिश्च क्लिबिषम् । प्रत्याहारेण संसर्गान् ध्यानेनानी-
श्वरान् शुणान् ॥ मनुस्मृति VI. 70-72 All these are बृहद्योगिया VIII. 29, 30, 32
The last verse occurs also in शङ्खस्मृति VII 13, वाङ्मय X 93, भागवत III 28,
मार्कण्डेयपु 36 10=39, 10 B. I. ed., it is quoted from मार्कण्डेय by कृत्यकल्प°
(मोक्षकाण्ड p. 168), which explains 'दोषान् स्वेदेषपथुपमृतीन्, अनीश्वरान्, प्राणान्' .
अपरार्क p 990 explains 'अनीश्वरा शुणा रागद्वेषादयः'

mind of the yogin becomes fit for fixed attention.²³⁶⁵ The Gorakṣaśataka²³⁶⁷ provides 'a yogin always eradicates diseases by āsana, sin by prānāyāma and mental disturbance by pratyaḥhāra'. The Smṛtis state that prānāyāmas have great efficacy in destroying sins. Manu XI. 248 (= Vasistha 26. 4, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 31 and Śaṅkhasmṛti XII. 18-19) states 'sixteen prānāyāmas performed everyday for a month together with the *vyāhṛtis* and *pranava* (om) purify even the murderer of a brāhmaṇa. Manu XI. 199 and 201 prescribe the performance of a single prānāyāma as a purification for light lapses or riding an ass or a camel and such incidents as being bitten by a dog, jackal, horse, camel, boar or man. Yaj. III. 305 prescribes the performance of a hundred prānāyāmas for the destruction of all sins, of upapātakas (lesser sins described in Yaj. III. 234-242) and of sins for which no specific prāyaścitta is provided. Manu II. 83 (= Vasistha X. 5 and Visnudharmasūtra 55.83) states 'the one syllable (om) is (the representative of) the highest brahma and prānāyāmas are the highest *tapas*'.

It may interest readers to note that the great Jaina monk, ācārya Hemacandra, condemns prānāyāmas by saying that they allow no rest to the mind, that there is physical effort in pūraka, kumbhaka and recaḥa and that prānāyāma is an obstacle to *mukṛti*.²³⁶⁸

In kumbhaka performed after pūraka the nerves, heart and lungs are under strain and permanent damage to these may result from careless or hasty practice of kumbhaka after pūraka. Those suffering from lung or cardiac affections should not enter upon the practice of prānāyāma on their own initiative but must first consult an expert. Swami Vivekananda said long ago that all students of Yoga²³⁶⁹ 'are expressly and earnestly reminded

2366 ततः क्षीयते प्रकाशावरणम् । धारणासु च योग्यता मनसः । यो. सू. II. 52-53 ; 'प्राणायामात्मन्यस्य योगिनः क्षीयते विवेकज्ञातावरणीयं कर्म । ...तथा चोक्तम् । तपो न परं प्राणायामात्ततो विमुक्तिर्भलाया दीप्तिश्च ज्ञानस्य । इति । भाष्य

2367. आसनेन कजो हन्ति प्राणायामेन पातकम् । विकारं मानसं योगी प्रत्याहारेण सर्वदा ॥ गोरक्षशतक 54.

2368. तन्नामोति मनः स्वास्थ्यं प्राणायामैः कदार्थितम् । प्राणत्यागमने पीडा तस्य स्याच्चित्तविह्वलः ॥ पूरणे कुम्भने चैव रेचने च परिश्रमः । चित्तसङ्केशकारणान्मुक्ते. मत्सूह-कारणम् ॥ योगज्ञातयः हेमचन्द्र, 6th प्रकाश verses 4-5 (pub. in जैनग्रन्थमाला, Surat, Vikrama Samvat 1995)

2369. Vide p 123 Vol. I of the complete works of Swami Vivekananda, Mayavati ed. of 1946 Vide a similar warning given by Swami Kuvalayā-
(Continued on next page)

that with few exceptions Yoga can safely be learnt by direct contact with a teacher'. The fact, that the Yogasūtra containing 195 sūtras in all devotes only five sūtras (II. 49-53) to prāṇāyāma and that even these five are of a very general nature, indicates that Patañjali intended that the yogin should not practise prāṇāyāma by merely listening to or reading these sūtras but should approach an expert yogin for instruction and guidance.

It should be noticed that Patañjali does not require in his definition of prāṇāyāma the mental or inaudible repetition of any syllable like 'om' or any mantra like the Gāyatrī. But the Smṛtis prescribe the practice of prāṇāyāma every day in the Sandhyāvandana. Yāj. (I. 22) prescribes²³⁷⁰ that a man of the three higher varnas must every day take a bath, perform *mānjana* (sprinkling water with kuśas) with the mantras (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 'āpo hi sthā &c.'), practise prāṇāyāma, worship of the sun and japa of Gāyatrī (Rg. III. 62. 10) and that prāṇāyāma comprises the *japa* three times of Gāyatrī preceded by the Vyāhrtis, each being preceded by Om and followed by the Śīras. Prāṇāyāma as described by Yāj. is prescribed even in modern times for the morning and evening Sandhyā adorations. Prāṇāyāma with mental repetition of 'Om' or a 'mantra' is called 'sagarbha'²³⁷¹ or 'sabiḥja,' while prāṇāyāma not so accompanied

(Continued from last page)

nanda in 'Prāṇāyāma' part I p. 66 and by Shree Purohit Swami in 'Aphorisms of Yoga' (London, 1938 p. 56). Figures 27 to 40 (pp. 68-89 in Shri Kuvalayananda's popular handbook on Prāṇāyāma, part one) illustrate the three (pūraka &c) in prāṇāyāma of the best scientific type.

2370. रनानमब्देवैतैर्मन्त्रैर्मोजन प्राणसंयमः। सूर्यस्य चाष्टपुपरथानं गायत्र्याः प्रत्यहं जपः। गायत्रीं शिरसा सार्धं जपेद् व्याहृतिपूर्विकाम्। प्रतिप्रणवसंयुक्ता त्रिरप्यं प्राणसंयमः॥ याज्ञ I. 22-23. The second verse occurs in बृहस्पति 25 13, बृहद्योगिया VIII 3, अत्रिसंहिता verse 298. The whole japa for प्राणायाम would be ओं भू ओं भुवः ओं स्वः ओं महः ओं जनः ओं तपः ओं सत्यं ओं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। ओं आपो ज्योती रसोऽमृतं ब्रह्मसुखैवः स्वरेम्। This has to be repeated thrice in the सन्ध्यावन्दन The words आपो ज्यो ... रेम् are called शिरः of गायत्री. Vide बृहद्योगिया VIII. 4-6 q by स्मृतिच I p. 141 as योगया

2371. अगर्भश्च सगर्भश्च द्वितीयस्ततो वरः। जपस्यान विनाऽगर्भः सगर्भस्तत्समन्वितः॥ कूर्म II. 11. 31 mentions these two. प्राणारूपमनिल वक्ष्यमभ्यासात्कुरुते तु यः। प्राणायामः स विज्ञेयः सबीजोऽबीज एव च॥ विष्णुषु. VI. 7 40 q. by वाचस्पति on यो. सू. II. 52 and by अपराका p. 1022 (which explains सबीजः समन्वितः, अबीज इतरः). Vide also कूर्म II. 46. 40-41 'आवरणं सृष्टं पूजयेत्परमेश्वरम्। पिनाकिनं त्रिनयनं जटिलं कृत्तिवाससम्। रुक्माभं वा सदृशं कौञ्चित्यैवैदं द्वितीयं श्रुतिः। एष योगः सद्युद्धिः सबीजो मुनिपुङ्गवाः॥'.

is called 'agarbha' or 'abiya' and it is said that 'sagarbha' is the better of the two. Śāntiparva (304. 9. cr. ed. = Ch. ed. 316. 9-10) speaks of saguna and nirguna prāṇāyāma. The Yogabhāṣya (on Y. S. II. 52) quotes a passage ²³⁷² 'there is no higher tapas than prāṇāyāma, therefrom arises purification of the taints and knowledge flashes forth.'

The H. Y. P. speaks of eight kinds of Prāṇāyāma (in II. 44). The two most important ones, viz Ujjāyi and Bhastrikā are described by Śrī Kuvalayananda in chap. IV. pp. 67-68 and chap. VI. pp. 101-115 respectively in his handbook on Prāṇāyāma, part one and the other six viz. Sūryabhedana, Sītākārī, Śītalī, Bhṛāmārī, Mūrcchā, Plāvinī in. pp. 6-25 of the handbook part 2. H. Y. P. (II. 48-70) describes all the eight at some length.

Dr. Rele in his work 'Mysterious Kundalini' provides at the very beginning a diagram of the autonomic nervous system according to the Western anatomical science, showing the six cakras and identifying the positions of these six and the sahasrārācakra (lit. thousand-petalled i. e. having numberless petals). He propounded an original view that the Kundalini is the right vagus nerve. His book is very interesting and he has explored a very large field of yogic practices. He has very thoroughly utilized his deep knowledge of Western anatomy and physiology, but he himself admits in his preface (p. 2) that the explanations of the various Yogic practices and phenomena given by him are possible suggestions only. But it may be noted that Sir John Woodroffe, who made a deep study of Yoga and of Tantra works and who wrote a foreword to Dr. Rele's work, was not prepared to accept Dr. Rele's identification of Kundalini with the right Vagus Nerve (p. ii) and holds that Kundalini is not a nerve or any other physical substance or mental faculty but rather the Ground Substance of both (Foreword p. iii). Similarly, Śrī Kuvalayananda (in his popular handbook on prāṇāyāma part 1, p. 57 n. 3), after referring to Dr. Rele's admission about his explanations being possible suggestions only, points out that Dr. Rele had not tried a single experiment in the laboratory nor had he taken much care to consult the practical experience of the students of Yoga and he states that to him the whole book of Dr. Rele seems to be of doubtful scientific value. He goes further and asserts that Swami

²³⁷² तथा चोक्तम् : तपो न परं प्राणायामाच्चतरे विद्युद्धर्मलानां दीप्तिश्च ज्ञानस्य । इति । योगनाट्य on II. 52, compare विद्युद्धर्मोच्चर III. 280, 4 प्राणायामात्परं नास्ति दिवातीनां तथा तपः ।

Vivekananda's lectures on Rājayoga suffer from the same drawbacks as the work of Dr. Rele does. Śrī Kuvalayanānand shows (on pp. 121-126) the value of prāṇāyāma for physical health and the proper functioning of the lungs, the organs of digestion, the liver, pancreas and kidneys and asserts that the spiritual value of Prāṇāyāma is very great.

Pratyāhāra (withdrawal of the sense organs from the objects of sense) is defined ²³⁷³ in Y. S. II. 54 as 'when the senses have no contact with (are withdrawn from) their objects (because the mind is restrained) and thereby resemble the state of the mind itself, there is pratyāhāra.' When the mind, being restrained by the yogin, does not come in contact with the objects of sense, viz. sound, touch, form, taste, smell, the organs of sense also become disconnected with them, the organs come to resemble the mind itself (hence the words 'anukāra iva' in the sūtra). From this (non-contact) results the complete mastery over the senses. The idea is that in restraining the mind from the objects of sense the organs also are withdrawn from contact with them. Since the mind is made *ekāgra* (one-pointed) the sense organs together with the mind do not cognise or apprehend the objects. Pratyāhāra is the checking of the outgoing activities of the mind and freeing it from being the slave of the senses. The Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 5-7 = Ch. ed. 195. 6-7) speaks of it. The Viṣṇupurāṇa in V. 10. 14 (in describing Śarad, i. e. autumn, states 'Śarad removed the turbidness of waters as pratyāhāra withdraws the organs from their objects') refers to pratyāhāra ²³⁷⁴

2373. स्वनिपयासमयोगे चित्ररूपाशुकार इवेन्द्रियाणां प्रत्याहारः । ततः परमा वश्यतेन्द्रियाणाम् । यो ह् II, 54-55 The word प्रत्याहार is formed from the root ह् with प्रति and आ The राजमार्तण्ड explains 'इन्द्रियाणि निपयेयुः प्रतीपमानोचन्तेस्मिन्निति प्रत्याहारः'. The word प्रत्याहार literally means 'bringing back'. The भाष्य explains 'स्वविषयसंयोगाभागे चित्तस्वरूपाशुकार इवेति चित्तनिरोधे चित्तवजिरुद्धासीन्द्रियाणि नेतरेन्द्रियजन्यदुषायान्तरपेक्षान्ते । यथा मधुकरराजं मक्षिका उत्पत्तन्तमनूयन्ति निविशन्तमद्व निविशन्ते तथेन्द्रियाणि चित्तनिरोधे निरुद्धासीत्येव प्रत्याहारः ॥'. The illustration of the queen bee and the honey-making bees occurs in Praśna Up. II. 4 'तद्यथा मक्षिका मधुकरराजानमुत्क्रामन्ते सर्वा एवोत्क्रामन्ते तस्मिंश्च प्रतिष्ठमाने सर्वा एव प्रतिष्ठन्ते । एवं वाद्यनश्रद्धः श्रोत्रं च । This sūtra is variously interpreted but the bhāṣya follows the view of Jaigīśavya.

2374. शब्दादिष्वप्युक्तानि निरुत्पाक्षानि योगवित् । कुर्वाञ्चिच्छाशुकारिणी प्रत्याहारः परायणः ॥ वश्यता परमा तेन जायते निश्चलात्मनाम् । इन्द्रियाणामप्रत्येस्तेन योगी योगसाधकः ॥ विष्णुसु VI. 7. 43-44. These are also quoted by कृत्यकल्प° (मोक्षकाण्ड p 173) and by अपराङ्ग p. 1025. The मार्क° सु (39. 41 of Cal. ed = 36. 41-42 of Venk. edition) says 'शब्दादिभ्योऽनिवृत्तानि यदक्षानि यतात्मनिः । प्रत्याह्रियन्ते योगेन प्रत्याहारः स्ततः स्मृतः ॥ q. by कृत्यकल्प° (मोक्ष p. 173) .

as 'Indriyānindriyārthebhyah pratyahāra ivāharat'. Vācaspati quotes two verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa which employ the very characteristic words of the Y. S. and probably borrow the idea and language from the Y. S. The Dharmasūtra of Devala²³⁷⁵ explains pratyahāra as 'establishing (or yoking) the mind to the soul by bringing it back (to the soul) when it has swerved from the path of Yoga, because of its subtlety, its restlessness, its thoughtlessness or its force'. The Kūrmapurāṇa²³⁷⁶ defines it as 'the suppression or mastery over the organs of sense that are naturally attracted to objects of sense'. Vide Śāntiparva (or. ed. 232, 13) also

It appears that when the Chān. Up. (in VIII. 15) enumerates the circumstances which enable a person to reach the worlds of *brahman* it has an idea of pratyahāra in the word 'ātmani sarvendriyāni sampratisthāpya' ('when he concentrates all his senses in the self').

The third pāda of the Y. S. is called 'Vibhūti-pāda' (pāda that deals with the super-normal powers of the yogin). The word 'vibhūti' occurs in Prasna 5. 4 where it is stated that he who contemplates on Om of the dvimātra type is taken to the world of the moon where he enjoys 'vibhūti' and again returns to the earth. There the word probably means nothing more than prosperous life. The third pāda first deals with the last three of the eight angas of Yoga, the first five being called *bahuraṅga* (indirect helpers of samprajñāta-samādhi), while the last three are said to be *antaraṅga* of samprajñāta-samādhi (but even these three are *bahiraṅga* with reference to nirbīja Yoga, as the latter may occur even in the absence of the three 'dhāraṇā' &c. These three are called dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi and these three when practised on the same object are called samyama, which is a technical term in the Yoga system. Vibhūtis are the results of samyama of various kinds. Instead of employing the three words dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi Patañjali employs expressly or impliedly the word 'samyama' in most of the sūtras from 16 to 52 of the 3rd pāda.

2375. अश्रुत्वाद्यापराधोपवाहलवत्त्वाद्वा योगमदस्य मनसः पुनः प्रत्यानीयार्थं योजनं प्रत्याहारः । देवल q. by कृत्यकल्प (नोऽं p. 173), अपरार्क p. 1025 ascribes this sūtra to हारत and reads 'अश्रुत्वाद्यापराधोपवाहलवत्त्वाद्वा योगमदस्य मनसः पुनः प्रत्याहारः' (we should read 'लाद्वा योगः'). कृत्यकल्प (नोऽं p. 173) explains 'अर्थोऽज्ञात्मा'.

2376. इन्द्रियाणां चिच्छ्रितां विषयेषु स्वभावतः । नियतः मोक्षयते सद्भिः प्रत्याहारस्तु सत्तम ॥ कूर्म II 11. 38. स्कन्द, काशीराम 41. 101 'इन्द्रियाणां हि चरता विषयेषु पश्यत्या । यत्प्रत्याहारं युक्त्या प्रत्याहारः स उच्यते ॥, युक्त्या means 'विषयदोषदर्शनेन'.

Dhāranā, dhyāna and samādhi are said to be the direct auxiliaries of Yoga and are three successive stages, the preceding one leading to the next. Dhāranā is the holding of the mind to a certain spot or point²³⁷⁷ or object. The bhāṣya explains that the mind is to be held down to such spots (in one's body) as the navel, the heart-lotus, the head, the light (in the eye), the tip of the nose, the tip of the tongue and the like or on external objects (such as images of gods in various forms). In this stage attention has to be firmly held upon the chosen object for a period of time determined by the will of the yoga aspirant. In this stage there are three elements, the subject, the object and the act of concentration. The next stage is dhyāna, which will be described immediately below. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa speaks of ten dhāranās on the different parts of the yogin's own body²³⁷⁸ and is in accordance with the plural 'dhāranāsu ca योग्याता मनसाह' (in Y. S. II. 53) employed by Patañjali himself. The Āśvamedhikaparva also employs the plural 'dhāranāsu'. Vide the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 8-12 = Ch. ed. 195.8). The Yājñavalkya-smṛti²³⁷⁹ in a succinct manner brings

2377 देशबन्धश्चित्तस्य धारणा । तत्र प्रत्ययैकतानता ध्यानम् । यो सू. III. 1, 2, the भाष्य on these is: नाभिचक्रे दृश्यगुणद्वारीके मूर्ध्नि ज्योतिषि नासिकायै जिह्वाय इत्येवमादिषु देशेषु बाह्ये वा विषये चित्तस्य वृत्तिमाधेण बन्ध इति धारणा । तस्मिन्देशे ध्येयालम्बनस्य प्रत्ययस्यैकतानता सदृश प्रवाहः प्रत्ययान्तरेणापरामृष्टो ध्यानम् । The लिङ्गसु I. 8. 42-43 appears to echo the words of यो सू. in 'चित्तस्य धारणा योक्ता स्थानबन्धः समासतः' ... तत्रैकचित्ततास्थानं प्रत्ययान्तरवर्जितम् । The Upanisads speak of the heart as lotus (vide above note 1717 and शङ्कराचार्य on वे सू. I 3. 14-21 दूर उत्तरेयः &c.), ज्योतिषि probably refers to the Puruṣa in the eye (as in छ. VIII. 7 4 or IV. 15. 1 (य एवोऽक्षिणि पुरुषो दृश्यत एव आत्मेति होवाच) or the Lord in one's heart, बाचस्पति explains बाह्ये वा विषये by quoting several verses of the विष्णु-पुराण VI 7 77-85 where it speaks of contemplation on the form of Viṣṇu with a benign face, lotus-like eyes, wearing ear-rings and having the Śrīvatsa jewel on his chest, with four or eight long arms, wearing a yellow garment and holding conch, śāṅga bow, mace.

2378 प्राङ्मूलाया हृदये चाथ वृतीये च तथोरासि । कण्ठे मुखे नासिकायै नेत्रभ्रूमध्यं मूर्ध्नि ॥ किञ्चित्स्मात्परस्मिन् धारणा परमा स्मृता । दशैता धारणाः प्राप्य प्राप्नोत्यक्षरसात्म्यताम् ॥ मार्कण्डेय (36. 44-45 = 39. 44-45, Cal. ed.), गरुडसु (I. 226. 21-22) q. by अपराक p. 1023 and कृत्यकल्प (नोक्ष p. 173). Compare कूर्म 'हृद्युण्दरीके नाम्या वा मूर्ध्नि पर्यस्य मस्तके । एवमादिषु देशेषु धारणा चित्तबन्धनम् ॥ II 11. 39, तथैव वृत्ते योगी धारणासु समाहितः । प्राप्नोत्यासु परं स्थानं लक्ष्यमुक्तं इवाश्रयम् ॥ आश्वमेधिक 19 37

2379. अरुस्थोत्तानचरण. सर्वे न्यस्योत्तर करम् । उत्तान किञ्चिदुभयम् सुखं विदुष्य चोत्सा । निर्मालिताक्षः सत्त्वस्थो दन्तैर्दन्तानसस्पृशन् । तालुस्थाचलजिह्वश्च स हतास्यः सुनिश्चलः । संनिरुध्यैन्द्रियग्रामं नातिनीचोऽन्वितासना । द्विगुण त्रिगुणं वापि प्राणायाम-मुपक्रमेत् । ततो ध्येयः स्थितो योऽसौ हृदये क्षीपवत्प्रभुः । धारयेत्तत्र चात्मानं धारणा धारयन्

(Continued on next page.)

in the āngas from āsana to dhāraṇā and dhyāna as follows: (The yogin) occupying a seat neither too high nor too low, having placed his upturned heels on his thighs and having placed on the left (palm placed on the upturned right heel) his other (right) palm (turned upwards), having slightly raised his face and having braced up his body with his (raised) chest, having closed the eyes, being free from *rajas* and *tamas*, not allowing the upper and lower rows of teeth to touch, holding his tongue firmly in the palate, and allowing no shaking of the body, covering the mouth, holding back the organs of sense from their objects, should perform prāṇāyāma of the twofold or threefold type (of 24 or 36 mātṛās), should contemplate on the Lord that occupies his heart like a lamp, and fix his mind on that Lord by way of Dhāraṇā. Devala states ²³⁸⁰ that dhāraṇā is the holding in check of the body, senses, mind, intellect and ātman (egoism).

M. Charles Boudouin in 'Suggestion and auto-suggestion' tr. by Elder and Cedar Paul (ed. of 1923, Allen and Unwin) says (on p. 150) 'As one of the curiosities of history and further as a lesson in humility we must point out that the states just described under the names of collectedness, contention and auto-hypnosis are described with considerable psychological acumen (though not in modern psychological terminology) in the precepts by which for centuries past the Yogis of Hindustan have been accustomed to attain to self-mastery' and the author refers to Pratyāhāra and Dhāraṇā in this connection and on p. 151 remarks that auto-hypnosis is encountered in Yoga but it is tinged with mysticism because the sacred word 'om' is repeated hundreds of times.

Dhyāna (contemplation) is the one-pointedness (continuous flow) of the apprehension of the object contemplated upon,

(Continued from last page)

दुष्टं ॥ याज्ञ III. 198-201 These except the last are quoted by कृत्यकल्प० (नोक्षकाण्ड p. 180) and occur in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 41. 69-71 and the last (verse 201) is q. by कृत्यकल्प० (नोक्ष on p. 194) Vide figure 16 in Shri Kuvalayānanda's handbook on 'Āsanās' (pp. 54-55) for पद्मासन These verses in या. are commented upon by Viśvarūpa, the Mītākṣarā and Aparārka. Therefore they cannot be said to be later interpolations.

^{2380.} शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्ध्यात्मना धारणाद्वारणा । देवल q. by अपराक्ष p 1025, कृत्यकल्प० (नोक्ष p. 174). अपराक्ष says 'अत्रात्मादेकारः'; the कृत्यकल्प० says nothing on आत्मा.

unaffected by any other idea or apprehension. The Upanisads²³⁸¹ insist upon dhyāna, e. g. Mundaka says 'contemplate upon the Self in the form of Om'; the Br. Up. has the famous passage 'the self should be seen, heard, understood and reflected upon.' The Chān. Up. (VII. 6. 2) employs the word 'dhyāna' in the sense of 'concentrating all thoughts on one object'. The Śv. Up. (I. 3) mentions dhyānayoga and also Gītā 18. 52 does so (dhyānayoga-paro nityam). The Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 13 ff = Ch. ed. 195. 13-18) speaks of dhyāna. The Kṛtyakalpataṛu (on Mokṣa p. 181) quotes a long prose passage from Devala-dharmasūtra about dhyāna. The Viṣṇupurāṇa²³⁸² closely agreeing with the Yogabhāṣya in phraseology describes dhyāna as the one-pointed succession of the apprehension of the Lord's form, unmixed with another idea, brought about by the practice of the first six angas of Yoga. Aparārka (pp 1025-27) quotes a long prose passage from Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap 97), which asks the yogin to contemplate upon the all-pervading and all-powerful Lord who is free from guṇas (sattva, rajas, tamas), is beyond the twenty-four tattvas and who is imperceptible to the senses, and that, if he be unable to focuss his mind on formless God all at once, to

2381. आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्य. श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्य.। बृह उप II. 4. 5; ओमित्येवं ध्यायथ आत्मानम्। सुण्डक II. 2. 6. निदिध्यासितव्यः is the potential passive participle of the desiderative form of ध्यै with नि. The छा. उप. VII. 6 is 'ध्यानं वाच चित्ताद्भ्यः। ध्यायन्तीव पृथिवी ... ध्यायन्तीव देवमनुष्या। तस्माच्च दृढं मनुष्याणां महतीं प्राप्नुवन्ति ध्यानापादाशा इवैव ते भवन्ति। ... ध्यानमुपास्तेति। The earth is motionless, just as a yogin when deep in contemplation is motionless and therefore it is said "the earth is as it were engaged in contemplation"

2382. तद्रूपप्रत्ययैकाग्र्यसन्ततिश्चाप्यनिर्गुहा। तद् ध्यानं मथनैरहै. षड्भिर्निष्पाद्यते ह्युप० विष्णुपु VI. 7. 91 q. by वाचस्पति, कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p 175) and अपरार्क p. 1026 who explains 'ब्रह्मरूपप्रत्ययात्मिका सन्ततिः मवाहः सा विषयान्तरासंस्पृष्टा सती ध्यानमित्युच्यते।'; सगुणं वर्णभेदेन निर्गुणं केवलं मतम्। समन्त्रं सगुणं विद्धि निर्गुणं मन्त्रवर्जितम्॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 41 120. One verse from वृत्तिहपुराण is repeated even now in worship viz ध्येयः सदा सवितृमण्डलमध्यवर्ती नारायण. सरसिजासन-संनिविष्ट। केयूरवान् मकरकुण्डलवान् किरीटं हारी हिरण्यवपुर्धृतकाङ्क्षचक्रः ॥ 26 17 q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 192). हस्तस्य ध्यानयोगेन देवदेवस्य दर्शनम्। ध्यानं प्रोक्तं प्रवक्ष्यामि ध्यानयोगमतं शुभम्॥ शङ्करस्मृति VII. 16. This is followed by seven verses, two of which are अणोरणीयान् and वेदाहमेत (VII. 20 and 23) that are the same as श्वेताश्व. उप III 20 and 8 respectively, and all the eight verses are q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 193) The editor did not identify them from शङ्कर; बहिर्मुखानि सर्वाणि कृत्वा चान्तर्मुखानि वै। मनसैवेन्द्रियग्रामं मनश्चात्मनि योजयेत्। सर्वभावविनिर्मुक्तं क्षेत्रज्ञं ब्रह्मणि न्यसेत्। एतज्ज्ञानं च ध्यानं च ज्ञेयोऽन्यो ग्रन्थविस्तरः॥ दक्षस्मृति VII. 20-21. These and the following five verses are q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष pp 207-208) which the editor did not identify. The verse सर्वभाव ... विस्तर. is q. by अपरार्क p. 970 (reads एतद् ध्यानं च योगश्च).

gradually rise up from Prthivī and the other elements, mind, intellect, the soul, avyakta (unmanifested Spirit); if he be unable to do even this he should contemplate on the person that is like a lamp in his own heart (lotus); if this is impossible, he should contemplate upon the form of Vasudeva having on his chest vanamālā, having four arms, holding the conch, the quoit, mace and lotus; and adds that he secures whatever he contemplates upon and that this is the secret of dhyāna. This shows that dhyāna is either *saguna* or *nirguna* as stated by the Padmapurāna IV. 84, 80-86 (nirguna) and IV. 84, 88-96 (*saguna*) or *sūkāra* and *mṛākāra* (Padmapurāna, II. 80 70, 77-78). The Viṣṇupurāna (VI. 7, 78-90) contains a passage similar to the Viṣṇu Dh. S. Skanda (Kāśīkhanda, chap. 41 19) speaks of dhyāna as *saguna* and *nirguna* and defines *saguna* as depending on different forms or as accompanied by repetition of mantras and *nirguna* as 'not depending on any particular form or as not accompanied by mantras'. The Nārasiṃhapurāna (17. 11-28 and 26. 17) describes at some length the form in which Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu is to be contemplated upon and these verses are quoted by the Kṛtya-kalpataru (Mokṣa, pp 191-192). The Śaṅkha-smṛti states that one has realization (*darśana*) of the Lord of gods that abides in the heart (of every person) by means of dhyānayoga and describes the mode of dhyāna. Dakṣasmṛti also emphasizes dhyāna and jñāna (correct knowledge) and states that description of others serves no purpose beyond adding to the bulk of the work. In this stage there is only the duality of subject and object, there is no awareness of effort to tie down the mind on an object (as in mere *dhūraṇā*).

Samādhi (concentration and absorption)—Dhyāna itself is Samādhi, when only the contemplated object shines forth and when dhyāna is as if emptied of its own form because there is no apprehension of dhyāna as distinct from *dhyaeya*.²³⁸³ When

2383. तदेवार्थमात्रनिर्भासं स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः । त्रयमेकत्र संयमः । तदपि धिरङ्गं निर्बीजस्य । यो ह्यु. III. 3, 4, 8 The भाष्य on these three is: ध्यानमेव ध्येयाकार-निर्भासं त्रयपालकेन स्वरूपेण शून्यमिव यदा भवति ध्येयस्वभावावेवात् तदा समाधिरित्युच्यते ॥ तदेतद् धारणा-ध्यान-समाधि-त्रयमेकत्र संयमः । एकविधयोगि त्रीणि साधनानि संयम इत्युच्यते । तदपि त्रयस्य सान्निध्या परिभाषा संयम इति ॥ तदप्यन्तरङ्गं साधनत्रयं निर्बीजस्य योगस्य धिरङ्गं भवति । कारणात् । तदभावे भावात् । The राजनार्तण्ड explains the word समाधि as सम्यगाधीयते एकाग्रोक्तिर्यते विज्ञेयत्वं परिहृत्य मनो यत्र स समाधिः । The योगसुधाकरं p. 118 (Kashī series, 1930) brings out the distinction between संमज्ञात and असंज्ञात समाधि as follows: ब्रह्माकारमनोवृत्तिस्वर्वाहोर्द्धकृतिं विना । संमज्ञातः समाधिः (Continued on next page)

meditation is carried to a stage where the object contemplated upon alone appears and the meditator is not conscious of the idea of contemplation, because the object meditated upon entirely engulfs the meditator. The yogin becomes so much identified with the object meditated upon that he is not conscious that he is contemplating upon an object. This is what is meant by 'savarūpaśūnyam-iva' (in Y. S. III, 3). In Samādhi the subject and object, the individual and Paramātman are completely blended into one, so that the consciousness of the subject as separate from object disappears. The word 'Samādhi' does not occur in any of the ancient Upanisads, though it is known to the Maitrāyaṇī Up. (vide n. 2327 above). The word Samādhi occurs in the Bhagavadgītā (II, 53-54) and in Vanaparva (3 11) and in Śāntiparva 195. 19-20, Ch. ed.). The Visṇu-purāṇa²³⁸¹ provides that it is called Samādhi when the mind grasps as a result of dhyāna the real nature of that (the Paramātman) in which there is absence of the separate apprehension (of the object to be meditated upon, the act of meditation and the meditator). The three (dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi) are direct aids in samprajñāta-samādhi but they are indirect aids in asamprajñātasamādhi, as this last may follow without these. The Hathayoga-pradīpikā²³⁸⁵ states 'that is called Samādhi where there is equality and oneness of the individual self and the Highest Self and where all desires cease to exist'. *Sābiya* and *nurbija* samādhis would be equal to savikalpa and nirvikalpa samādhis defined by the Vedāntasāra. There are several grades or stages in samādhi. There are four grades²³⁸⁶ of Samprajñāta

(Continued from last page)

स्याद्ध्यानाभ्यासप्रकर्षतः । इति । ... परवैराग्यपूर्वकनिरोधमयत्वेन तस्यापि निरोधे सर्ववृत्ति-
निरोधाभिर्निज समाधिर्भवति । तदुक्तम् । मनसो वृत्तिशून्यस्य ऋक्षाकाशतया स्थितिः । याऽसम्प्रा-
प्तनामासौ समाधिरभिधीयते । इत्येष विभागो ब्रह्मण्यः । योगसुधाकर of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती
on यो सू III, 3.

2384. तस्यैव कल्पनादीनं स्वरूपग्रहणं हि यत् । मनसा ध्याननिष्ठायां समाधिः सोऽभि-
धीयते । विष्णु VI 7 92 q. by वाचस्पति, कृत्यकल्प (मोक्ष p 175), अपरार्क
p. 1026 (who explains तस्य प्रह्वणः कल्पनादीनं ध्येयं ध्यानं ध्यातेति भेदप्रत्ययरहितं
etc.). The लिङ्गपु I 8 44 is 'चिद्भासमर्थमात्रस्य देहशून्यमिव स्थितम् । समाधिः
सर्वदेहश्च प्राणायाम इति स्थितः ॥'

2385. तत्समं च द्वयोरैक्यं जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः । प्रत्यक्षसर्वकल्प- समाधिः सोऽभिधीयते ॥
द. यो प्र IV. 7. This is practically the same as स्कन्द, काशी 47. 127 यस्-
मत्वं द्वयोश्च ... भिधीयते ॥

2386. तत्र शब्दार्थज्ञानविकल्पैः संकीर्णां सवितर्कां समापत्तिः । स्मृतिपरिशुद्धौ स्वरूप-
शून्येवार्थमात्रनिर्भासा निवितर्का । एतस्यैव च सविचारा निर्विचारा च सूक्ष्मविषया व्याख्याता । ...
ता एव सचीज. समाधिः । यो सू I. 42-44, 46; तद्यथा गीतिरिति शब्दो गौडियर्थो गीतिरिति
ज्ञानमित्यविभागेन विभक्तानामपि ग्रहणं दृष्टम् । विभाज्यमानाश्चान्ये शब्दधर्मा अन्येऽर्थधर्मा
अन्ये विज्ञानधर्मा इत्येषां विभक्तः पन्थाः । भाष्य.

samādhi, viz. savitarka, nirvitarka, savicāra, nirvicāra. Vide p. 1411 note 2318 above. The word gauḥ, the object cow denoted by it and the concept or idea (jñāna) 'this is a cow' are all really three separate matters, but they are apprehended as mixed up. When a yogin concentrates upon a gross object and his intellect is conscious of that object as permeated by all the above three, then that samādhi is savitarka (Y. S. I 42). For the others vide note 2318 and below. In the asamprajñāta Samādhi, the ultimate reality dawns on the yogin, prakṛti does not affect him in any way, his soul which abides in itself and is not conscious of personality and even of joy is all *cat* or *catśakti* and nothing else. In this section about the influence of yoga on Dharmaśāstra it is not necessary to go deeply into the several stages of samādhi described in the yoga works. The Gorakṣasataka²³⁸⁷ describes the final stage of samādhi as follows: 'A yogin in Samādhi does not apprehend smell, flavour, form, touch or sound nor does he apprehend himself or others (as distinct); knowers of brahma hold it to be pure, immovable, eternal, not engaged in activities, free from the gunas, expansive like the sky, as intelligence and bliss; the knower of yoga reaches non-duality in the highest stage as milk poured in milk, ghee into ghee or fire into fire.'

It would have been noted that in dharāṇā, dhyāna and samādhi the principal emphasis is mental. External conditions do help in the training but they are subsidiary. As noted above (pp. 1421-22) cleanliness, contentment, austerities (tapas), sexual purity, certain easy postures and living in detachment, restrictions as to quantity and quality of food—these are the chief physical or external conditions. While the yogin practises the above three he may develop certain super-normal powers which he is advised to ignore, as they are hindrances in the attainment of his goal (Yogasūtra III. 36). Though this is the opinion of Patañjali, from the fact that with most yogins the siddhis are an important part of yoga doctrines and the fact that, out of 195 sūtras of the Yogasūtra, 35 (III. 16-50) are devoted

2387. न गन्धं न रसं न रूपं न स्पर्शं न च विस्वनम् । आत्मानं न परं चेत्ति योगी युक्तः समाधिना ॥ निर्मलं निश्चलं निर्यं निष्क्रियं निरुणं नरुत । श्योम विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदो निदुः॥ दुग्धे क्षीरं दूने समिरज्जो बहिरिवापितः । अह्वयत्वं ब्रजेतिर्यं योगवित्तरने पदे ॥ गोरेक्ष-
ज्ञानक verses 97, 99-100. The first verse is also ह शो म IV. 108. Compare श्वेता उप. VI. 19 निष्कलं निष्क्रियं, कठोप 3. 15 अज्ञानमस्मिन्महामन्त्रं, विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म बुध. उप. III 9 28 and श्वेताम्ब. उप I 15 तिलेयु तैलं ... चाग्नि. with दुग्धे क्षीरं &c.

to the description of siddhis, the present author is constrained to say that siddhis are an integral part of Yoga. The Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra says that the yogin can vanish from people, can see distant objects and hear in spite of great distance.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the results of all *samyamas* mentioned in Y. S. pāda three. A few are cited by way of sample. By *samyama* on the power of an elephant one secures the strength of an elephant (III. 24), by *samyama* on the sun there arises the knowledge of the seven worlds (III. 26) and by *samyama* on the moon, there arises knowledge of the arrangement of the stars (III. 27), by *samyama* on the navel *cakra* arises knowledge of the arrangement of the body (III. 29, viz. the three *doṣas*, *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha* and the seven dhātus viz. skin, blood, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow and semen). By *samyama* on the coarse ²³⁸⁸ forms, the essential attributes (*svarūpa*), the subtle form (*tanmātrās*), the inherence (*anvaya*) and the purposiveness of the five elements results the conquest (or mastery over) elements and from this results the appearance of the perfections called *anumā* and others, perfection of body and non-obstruction (of the actions of the yogin by the qualities of the elements i. e. the earth cannot prevent the yogin by its hardness from penetrating inside the earth's rocks nor can fire burn him &c.) In IV. 1 Patañjali states that supernormal powers (siddhis) arise in five ways viz. by birth in certain ²³⁸⁹ bodies

2388. स्थूलस्वरूपसूक्ष्मान्वयार्थवत्त्वसंयमाभूतत्वजयः । ततोऽणिमादिशुद्धिर्भावः । कायसम्पत्-सद्गुणानभिधातश्च । रूपलावण्यबलवज्रसहनत्वानि कायसम्पत् । योगसूत्र III. 44-46 स्वरूप consists of nature or attributes of the five elements and is explained as solidness (or hardness) of the earth, liquidity of water, heat of fire, mobility of the wind, all pervading nature of ākāśa. The 4th rūpa of the elements viz *anvaya* is the attributes of *khyāti* (cognition), activity and inertia. भाष्य explains: अन्वयिनी गुण प्रकाशमवृत्तिरिति रूपतया सर्वज्ञानव्यवस्थितेन समुपलभ्यन्ते Vide यो सू II 18 'प्रकाशक्रियास्थितिशील भूतेन्द्रियात्मकं भोगापवर्गीयं हृदयम् ।' The three प्रका.. स्थिति stand for *gunas* सत्त्व, रजस्, तमस् respectively. Vide above p. 1357 note 2215 (सत्त्वं लब्धुं etc.) The fifth 'aribhavaiva' consists in the five elements serving the purpose of affording experience and liberation to the soul. वज्रसंहननत्वं having a body as hard as diamond वज्रस्य द्वय सहननं संहरति अस्य तस्य भावः वज्रसंहननत्वं The भाष्य explains तद्गुणानभिधातश्च as पृथ्वी मूर्त्या न निरुणद्धि योगिनः शरीरादक्रिया, शिलागमज्युपविशतीति । नाप. स्निग्धाः क्लेदयन्ति । नाशिरुणो दहति etc

2389. जन्मौषधिमन्त्रतपःसमाधिजाः सिद्धयः । यो. सू IV 1 Ernest Wood on 'Yoga' (1959, in Penguin Books) observes on p. 104 about levitation (*laghīmā*) 'I remember one occasion when an old yogin was levitated in a recumbent position about six feet above ground in an open field for about

(Continued on next page)

(e.g. being born as a bird which can fly high in the sky), by the use of certain drugs, by the *japa* of certain mantras, by *tapas* (which is one of the *niyamas*) and by *samādhi*, each succeeding one being superior to each preceding one.

The *siddhis* have been enumerated and explained above on pp 1112-13. The *Devaladharmasūtra* has a long note on *siddhis*, which is quoted in *Kalpataru* (*Moksakāṇḍa* pp. 216-217).²³⁹⁰ The *Yājñavalkya smṛti* (III, 202-203) enumerates some characteristic signs of *Yogasiddhi*, viz. becoming invisible to others, remembrance of incidents in past lives, charming appearance, ability to see past and future happenings or objects that are distant, knowing what is being said at a great distance, entering another body after leaving one's own body, creation of things at one's will (without possessing the appropriate materials).

A great deal has been said above on mantras under *Tantra* (pp. 1096-1107 and notes thereto). There are two theories about mantras; one is the vibration theory, viz. that the letters of the mantra are charged with certain powers by the original composer and user of it and when the mantra is repeated certain imperceptible vibrations are set up which help in securing the purpose for which the mantra is repeated. The other theory is that the mantra comes down from antiquity and from

(Continued from last page)

half an hour, while the visitors were permitted to pass sticks to and fro between'. He further refers to levitation which a princess of Sikkim asserted she saw as a girl. A. Koestler in 'The Lotus and the Robot' (London, 1960, on p. 114) doubts the quality of the evidence of E. Wood on the ground that no exact date or place is mentioned and asserts that no experiment on levitation with definite date and place has been published. But Dr. Alexander Cannon in 'The invisible influence' (1935) pp. 39-41 narrated a personal experience of levitation (*laghimā*). It is not clear whether A. Koestler was aware of this statement.

2390. A short extract from the long prose passage of *Devala-dharmasūtra* may be set out here. तत्र देवलः । अणिमा महिमा लघिमा प्राप्तिः प्राकाम्यमीशित्वं वशित्वं यत्र कामावसायित्वं चाष्टावैश्वर्ययुगाः । तेषामणिमा महिमा लघिमा त्रयः शरीराः । प्रत्ययादयः पञ्चेन्द्रियाः । ... शरीराद्युपानित्वं लघिमा । तेनातिदूरस्थानपि क्षणेनासाद्यते । विश्वविषयावाप्तिः प्राप्तिः । प्राप्या सर्वमप्यक्षदृशी भवति । ... अमतिदूतैश्चर्यमीशित्वम् । ईशित्वेन देवतानामप्यतिज्ञेते । ... यत्र कामावसायित्वं त्रिविधम्-छायावेशः, अवध्यानावेशः, अङ्गमवेश इति । यत् परस्य अङ्गमवेशमात्रेण चित्तं वशीकरोति स छायावेशः । यदूरस्थानानपि अनुष्ठानेन चित्ताधिष्ठानं सोऽवध्यानावेशः । यस्तत्त्ववस्तुमिच्छेत् (?) जीवस्य वा शरीराद्युपवेशनं सोऽङ्गमवेशः । अन्तर्धानं रश्मिः कान्तिर्हृदि ओजःशक्ता तथा । निजं शरीरसुखं परकायाप्रवेशनम् । अर्धान् गन्तव्यं । सुदृष्टिर्गतिश्चेन्न लक्षणम् । या III, 202-203

a great sage and its power of suggestion is great. But the real effective power of a mantra seems to the present author to depend far more on the knowledge, the responsiveness and the high spiritual level which the person who repeats it brings to bear on its use. No scientific tests have been employed and different works emphasize with exaggeration one of the two theories about mantras. All is speculation. The present author believes that the 2nd theory has greater elements of trust-worthiness than the first, as it relies on human psychology, while the first degenerated so much that the famous mantra 'om mani padme hūm' (dedicated to Avalokiteśvara) written on some material and pasted on a wheel which was turned round and round hundreds of times was supposed to yield great results. The 2nd theory led to the importance of *guru* and *dikṣā* (initiation) and here also extravagant claims were made. This latter theory, however, required that the disciple should possess certain qualifications such as implicit faith in the guru, respect for matters spiritual, some knowledge of the tenets and the basic scriptures and readiness to devote time and energy to the study and practice of the teachings of the guru. Vide Śiva-saṃhitā (III. 10-19) for the relation between guru and disciple.

The fourth *pāda* deals with *Kaivalya*. The yogin who has gone through the whole discipline up to *saṃādhi* and has become thoroughly aware of the distinction between Puruṣa and the *gunas* (*sattva* and others), becomes free from the influence of the three *gunas*, because they merge in *Pradhāna* after having served the purpose of the soul, that is *Kaivalya* (isolation) or it (*Kaivalya*) may be stated to be the principle of consciousness that abides by itself (and does not become connected with even *sattva-guna*).²³⁹¹ This has also been alluded to in Y. S. II. 25 that states that when *avidyā* (nescience) is removed by discrimination the self (who is the perceiver) does not come into contact with the *gunas*, which state is *Kaivalya*.²³⁹² *Kaivalya*

2391 सुषुप्तार्थज्ञानाणां गुणानां प्रतिमत्तः कैवल्यं स्वरूपमतिष्ठति वा चित्तिशक्तिरिति । यो. सू. IV 34. भाष्य 'कृतभोगावयवार्थां सुषुप्तार्थज्ञानानां यः प्रतिमत्तव त्रार्यकारणात्मकानां गुणानां तत्त्वैक्यं, स्वरूपमतिष्ठति पुनर्द्विषयज्ञानमिदं न्यग्वात्सुषुप्तस्य चित्तिशक्तिरिव कैवल्यं, तस्याः सदा तथैवावस्थानं कैवल्यमिति । वाचस्पति explains प्रतिमत्तव. as स्वकारणे प्रधाने लयः.

2392 तस्य हेतुमिथ्या । तदभावात्सयोगाभासो हानं तद्वद्वे कैवल्यम् । यो. सू. II. 24-25 ; तस्यादर्शनस्याभावाद् बुद्धिसुषुप्तयोगाभास आत्मनिको बन्धनोपरम इत्यर्थः । एतद्वानम् । तद्वद्वेः सुषुप्तस्याभिधीमायः पुनरसयोगो गुणैरित्यर्थः । दुःखकारणानि तृती द्वि त्रयो-परमो हानं तदा स्वरूपमतिष्ठतिः सुषुप्त इत्युक्तम् । भाष्य. कैवल्य means 'एकाकिता', remaining alone by itself

is put forward in IV. 34 from two points of view. When a purusa ceases to be affected in any way by the gunas (that constitute prakṛti) because he has become entirely passionless, prakṛti becomes aloof (*kevala*) so far as that purusa is concerned. When purusa has thorough knowledge and ceases to be affected by gunas he remains as bare consciousness (*citiśakti*) and remains aloof (*kevala*) and that is the 2nd point of view about *kaivalya*. In that state of *kaivalya* or *moksa* we cannot predicate any happiness or bliss about him but we can only say about him that he is in a state of bare consciousness (*citiśakti*). The Upanisads declare²³⁹³ that in such a state the liberated soul has neither joy nor sorrow, that happiness or its opposite does not touch such an one, since he has risen above identifying the body with himself. The ideal of Yoga is to be *jīvan-mukta* (i. e. to reject Life and Personality, to die to this world though the body may persist for some time).

The eight angas of Yoga are described in more or less detail in several Purāṇas. Vide Agni, chap. 214-215 and 372-76, Bhāgavata III. 28, Kūrma II. 11, Naraśimha 61 (verses 3-13 of which are quoted by Kalpataru, *mokṣa-kāṇḍa* pp. 194-195), Matsya chap. 52, Mārkaṇḍeya (chap. 36-40 of Venk. edition, 39-43 of Cal. ed.) about 250 verses, many of which are quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru (on Mokṣa), Aparārka and others; Liṅga I. 8, Vāyu, chap. 10-15, Viṣṇu VI. 7 (which closely follows the Y. S. in thought and phraseology), Viṣṇudharmottara III. 280-284, Skanda (Kāśīkhanda, chap. 41).

Geraldine Coster in 'Yoga and Western Psychology' (Oxford Uni. Press, 1934) observes 'I am convinced that the ideas on which Yoga is based are universally true for mankind and that we have in the Yoga-sūtras a body of material which we could investigate and use with infinite advantage (p. 244) ... My plea is then that Yoga as followed in the East is a practical method of mind development, quite as practical as analytical therapy and far more practical and closely related to real life than the average university course. I am convinced that the Yoga-sūtras of Patañjali do really contain the information²³⁹³ that some of the most advanced psychotherapists of the present day are ardently seeking' (p. 245).

2393. अज्ञीरं वाच सन्तं न विद्यामिदं स्पृहतः । छा उप VIII 12 1 ; अध्यात्मयोगा-
धिगमेन देव सत्त्वा धीरो हर्षशोकी जदादि । कठ II. 12, वे सू IV. 4. 2 (शुक्ल. प्रतिज्ञानात्)
is based on छा. उप VIII. 12 1.

The last chapter in Dr. Behanan's book on 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation' is interesting and important. He makes an appraisal of several aspects of Yoga by means of experiments which he carried out on himself after spending one year under the guidance of Swami Kuvalayanand of Lonavla and after he had three years of experience in Yogic breathing. It is not possible for reasons of space to give here a summary of his appraisal of several aspects of Yoga but reference may be made to a few of his findings. He finds that by yogic practices the mind is turned inward and detached from the external world (p. 232), it seems to him very probable that the prāṇāyāmic breathing induces a state of relaxation, thereby inducing the mind to take an inward course (p. 234), that taking normal breathing as a basis of comparison it was found that oxygen consumption increased 24.5 per cent in Ujjāyī, 18.5 per cent in *bhastrikā* and 12 per cent in *Kapālabhātī*; that the nasal gaze in a meditative posture is an aid to checking the wandering propensities of the mind (p. 242), that Yogic practices lead to an emotional stability and that watching at close range for a year the daily lives of more than half a dozen practitioners of yoga Dr. Behanan concluded that they were the happiest personalities that he had known and that their serenity was contagious (p. 245).

Dr. P. A. Sorokin of the Harvard University, one of the greatest living sociologists, contributes a very valuable paper on 'Yoga and man's transfiguration' to the *Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan's Journal* for November 1958 (pp. 111-120), the very first sentence of which opens with the words 'The methods and techniques of the yoga, particularly those of the Rājayoga, contain in themselves nearly all the sound techniques of modern psycho-analysis, psychotherapy, psycho-drama, moral education, and education of character.'

That a person engaged in Yoga practices is succeeding in reaching higher and higher spiritual levels is shown by the appearance of certain traits in himself. The Śv. Up. states that the first favourable signs of the working of Yoga are: lightness or agility of body, health, freedom from desires, brightness of complexion, fineness of voice, pleasant bodily odour, passing only a small quantity of urine or excreta. Almost the same verse occurs in the *Vāyu* ²³⁹⁴ and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and

2394. लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं वर्णप्रसादः स्वरसौष्टवं च । गन्धः शुभो मूत्रपुरीषमहर्षं योगप्रवृत्तिं प्रथमा वदन्ति ॥ श्वेता. उप II. 11, वायु II. 63 reads सत्त्वं तथारोग्य..

Mārkaṇḍeya further says 'people come' to like the yogin and sing praises of his qualities behind his back and all animals are not afraid of him; he is not affected by severe cold or heat and is not afraid of others; these show that *siddhi* in Yoga is approaching' The Vāyupurāṇa adds 'if the practitioner of Yoga sees the earth or his body as if on fire and if he sees himself entering the elements (or all beings) he should understand that success in Yoga is near.'²³⁹⁵

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (chap. 38 verse 26) and the Visṇu-purāṇa II. 13 describe at some length *yogicaryā* (i. e. behaviour or conduct of a yogin). It is not possible to set out all that is said in these chapters but two striking verses are rendered here. The Mārkaṇḍeya²³⁹⁶ says 'honour and disrespect cause pleasure and distress to man (in general), but these two have the reverse effect and serve to produce perfection in the yogin; these two are called poison and nectar respectively; disrespect is nectar for the yogin and honour is terrible poison.' The Visṇupurāṇa emphasizes that a yogin should so act that people will disrespect him and would not seek his company. The Manusmṛti (in VI. 38-85) enlarges upon the duties of sannyāsins, many of which are applicable to yogins. In VI. 65 Manu calls upon the sannyāsin to ponder by means of Yoga over the subtleness of the Highest Self and in VI. 73 Manu advises the ascetic to practise dhyānayoga. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti also (in III. 56-67) prescribes the duties of sannyāsins, one of which (in verse 64) is the same as Manu VI. 73.

The Śāntiparva provides²³⁹⁷ that a man is said to be a yogin by those who know the procedure and ordinances of Yoga,

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वर्णप्रभा सुस्वरसौम्यता च गन्धः .. योगप्रवृत्तिः प्रथमा इति ॥ The Mārkaṇḍeya reads अलौक्य-
मारोग्यमनिदुरतं गन्धः ... तपम् । कान्तिः प्रसादः स्वरसौम्यता च योगप्रवृत्तेः प्रथमं हि
चिह्नम् ॥ 36 63 (= 39 63 in Cal. ed.) This and two more verses of
Mārkaṇḍeya (36 64-65) are q. by कृत्यकल्प (on मोक्ष) p. 211.

2395. आत्मानं पृथिवी चैव ज्वलन्ती यदि पश्यति । भूतान्प्राविशति चैव विद्यात्सिद्धि-
मुपस्थिताम् ॥ वायु 11 64 q. by कृत्यकल्प (on मोक्ष) p. 211

2396. मानापमानौ यवेतौ शीत्यद्वेगकरी वृणाम् । तवेव विपरीतार्थौ योगिनः सिद्धि-
कारकौ ॥ मानापमानौ यावेतौ तवेवाहुर्विद्याभुक्ते । अपमानोऽमृतं तत्र मानस्तु विषमं विषम् ॥
मार्क 38. 2-3; compare विष्णुपुराण II 13. 42-43 संमानना परा हानिं योगार्द्धं कुरुते
quoted in note 2284 above

2397. स्थिरीकृत्येन्द्रियग्रामं मनसा निधिलेश्वर । मनो बुद्ध्या स्थिरं कृत्वा पापाण इव
निश्चल ॥ स्थाण्डिल्यश्चाप्यकम् स्थाण्डिल्यश्चापि निश्चलः । बुद्ध्या निधिविधानज्ञास्तदा युक्त
(Continued on next page)

when he curbs the senses by his mind and makes the mind itself firm by his intellect and he becomes unmoved (by objects of sense) as if he were a stone, is unshakable like a tree-trunk, strong and motionless like a mountain. The wise call a man yukta (a yogin), when he neither hears, nor smells fragrance, nor tastes nor sees, nor touches and when his mind does not form (ever changing) ideas, when he does not regard anything as his own, when he does not cognise (external objects) as if he were a log of wood and when he can be said to have recovered the original real nature (of the Self). The Devaladharmasūtra provides that all beings come under bondage owing to *ahaṅkāra* (egoism that one will do this or that) and *manatva* (regarding transient things as owned by oneself) but he who is free from these becomes liberated.²³⁹⁸

Through centuries Sannyāsins and Yogins have been paid the highest honours in India. Special emphasis is laid on inviting a Yogin at a śrāddha and it is said by some authorities that a single yogin is equal to hundreds and thousands of brāhmanas. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 388, 398-399 for original authorities. In cases of doubt as to what the proper conduct or Dharma is in a set of circumstances, the matter was left to be decided by a *parisad* (an assembly) of ten learned brāhmanas or at least three, but even one may constitute a parisad, provided he is learned in Veda and knows Dharma (vide Manu XII. 108-113). But Yāj. I. 9 and others say that four persons knowing the Veda and Dharmaśāstra or three of the same type or even one who is the best among knowers of spiritual matters (ascetics) may constitute a parisad and what he declares would be the right course of conduct. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. 969 for texts on this point. The Bhagavad-gītā says 'the yogin (who is a real karmayogin surrendering the

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प्रवक्षते । न शृणोति न चाग्रोति न रक्षति न पश्यति ॥ न च स्पृष्टं विजानाति न मृद्वपश्यते मनः ॥ न चाभिमन्यते किञ्चिन्न बुध्यते च काटयत् । तदा प्रकृतिमापन्नं युक्तमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ शान्तिपर्वः । (cr ed. 294. 14-17=306. 14-17 Ch. ed.) q. by कृत्यकल्पतरु (on मंत्र pp. 187-188). The editor did not identify this passage. The वाक्यदानक q. above in n. 2387 appears to be based on this passage of the शान्तिपर्व

2398 उद्धं नमेति यन्म्याम्यमात्मनोऽर्थेषु मन्यते । अज्ञानंमदन्वित्यर्थं समग्रमिति तद्विदुः ॥ अहमित्यभिमानेन यं क्रियासु प्रवर्तते । कार्यकारणयुक्तासु तद्वद्द्वारद्वारणम् । अहद्वार-ममत्वाभ्यां बध्यन्ते सर्वदेहिनः । संसारविनियोगेषु ताभ्यां युक्तस्य (युक्तस्य ?) मुर्यते ॥ द्वारद्वार- q. by कृत्यकल्पतरु (मंत्रप्रकरण pp. 90-91).

fruits of his actions to God) is superior to persons practising *tapas* (such as fasts or following Hathayoga) and superior even to those who have mastered philosophical knowledge (like that of Sāṅkhya) and he is superior to those who are performers of Vedic rites (leading to *starga*); therefore, O Arjuna ! be a yogin, that does acts (because it is his duty to do so and who does not hanker after the fruits of those actions).

Manu (XII. 83) states 'study of the Veda, *tapas*, true knowledge (about brahma), restraint of the sense organs, *ahimsā*, attending on one's guru-these are the highest means of *mḥśreyasa* (i. e. moksa). Then verse 85 proceeds 'of all these six means true knowledge of the Self is the highest, it is at the head of all *vidyās* (lores), since immortality (moksa) is obtained by means of it.

The highest value is attached to Yoga ²³⁹⁹ as an integral part of Vedānta by the Yājñavalkyasmṛti when it states that realization of the Self by means of Yoga is the highest Dharma. Then the same Smṛti provides ²⁴⁰⁰ 'study of the Veda, performance of sacrifices, brahmacharya (sexual purity), *tapas* and *dama* (restraint of senses), faith, fasting and freedom from attachment to worldly objects; these are the causes of securing knowledge of the Ātman.' It should be noticed that some of these fall under *yama*, *niyama* and *pratyāhāra*. The Daksasmṛti avers 'even the country, where a yogin, who has profound knowledge of yoga and who is given to *dhyāna*, becomes holy; what need is there to say about his relatives (i. e. they will certainly be pure). ²⁴⁰¹

The Yogasūtras are difficult and do not give complete explanations of the several stages of Yogic practices. They are in the nature of brief notes or hints that are calculated to rouse the curiosity of the hearer or reader and induce him to go to a competent teacher and learn Yoga practices. A few examples may be cited Y. S. II 50 refers to three kinds of Prāṇāyāmas, and II. 51 mentions a fourth (bāhyābhyantaravisayāksepi caturthah). There is no further explanation of this 4th variety. In IV. 1 Patañjali lumps together siddhis arising from *janma*, *osadhi*, *mantra*, *tapas* and *saṁādhi*. There is a vast difference

2399. अथ तु परमो धर्मो यद् योगेनात्मदर्शनम् । याज्ञ I. 8.

2400. वेदाद्यवचनं यज्ञो ब्रह्मचर्यं तपो दमः । अर्द्धोपवासं स्वातन्त्र्यमात्मनो ज्ञानहेतवः ॥
याज्ञ III 193, compare बृह उप. IV. 4 22 q. in note 1464, p. 918 above

2401. यस्मिन्देशे वसेयामी ध्यायी योगविच्छक्षणः । सोऽपि देशो भवेत्पूतः किं पुनस्तत्रयत्नाधवा. ॥ दक्षस्मृति VII. 45.

between a siddhi due to a drug and siddhis due to samādhi Patañjali says that *Om* is the symbol of Īśvara and that repetition thereof and reflection on its meaning is a means of attaining *ekāgratā*, but there is no explanation why *Om* is expressive of Īśvara nor is any reference made to the Upanisads &c. about the importance of *Om* or how japa is to be performed. This is probably due to the age-long tradition that spiritual knowledge should be kept secret, should not be taught to all and sundry, but only to a disciple possessing certain qualifications. Already on pp. 1071-72 notes 1733, 1734 it has been shown from a few Upanisad quotations how esoteric knowledge was imparted only by a guru to a disciple. In the dialogue of Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga (Br. Up. III 2. 13), when the latter asked, after saying 'after a man's death his speech enters fire, his breath enters into wind, his eye into the sun, his body into the earth' 'where does then the man remain?' Yājñavalkya replied 'take my hand, on this matter we two alone must come to some understanding, but not here in the midst of company.' Then the two went aside and conferred with one another. That shows that the knowledge about what happens after death was not held to be a matter proper for being discussed in an assembly of people. The Chāndogya Up. (III. 11. 5) states 'therefore a father may tell that doctrine of Brahma to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil but not to anyone else even if the latter gave him this earth girt by waters (seas) and full of wealth, for this doctrine is worth more than that'. The Br. Up. VI. 3. 12 provides 'one should not speak of it (brahma doctrine) to one who is not his son or pupil'; vide Śv. Up. VI. 22, Maitrāyaṇī Up. VI. 29 for similar words. The Sāntiparva in a chapter dealing with spiritual knowledge provides that it should be imparted to one's dear son and an obedient disciple, but not to one whose mind is not quiescent nor controlled, nor one who is jealous or crooked or a backbiter or a logic-chopper.²⁴⁰² H. Y. P. states 'a Yogin desirous of attaining *siddhi* should keep the knowledge of Hatha as highly secret; it becomes potent if kept secret, but becomes impotent if exposed to all; one should practise yoga alone in the way expounded by the guru'.²⁴⁰³ This applied in ancient

2402. तद्धिदं नामशान्ताय नादान्तायातपस्विने । नास्यकायादृजवे न चानिर्दिष्टकारिणे । न तर्कशालदग्धाय तथैव पिशुनाय च । शान्तिः 246 16-18 (Ch ed) The words अस्यकायादृजवे seem to be an echo of the verse quoted in the निरुक्त II. 4 विद्या ह वै ... अस्कायादृजवे &c.

2403. हठविद्या पर गोप्या योगिना सिद्धिमिच्छता । भवेद्विर्यवती युता निर्वीर्या उ प्रकाशिता ॥ मूलपद्धिद्वयार्थेण योगमेव समस्यसेत् । ह. यो. प्र. I 11 and 16,

times not only to esoteric knowledge but to other scholastic studies. The Nirukta (II. 3) says that it (Nirukta) should not be taught to one who does not know grammar, nor to one who does not approach (the guru) for knowledge or who is not aware of the importance of the śāstra, since an ignorant person always bears ill-will to knowledge; and the Nirukta quotes (II. 4) four verses (called Vidyāsūkta) on this matter.²⁴⁰¹ In the Bhagavad-gītā Kṛṣṇa frequently emphasizes that the knowledge of Bhakti-yoga is a sovereign secret (IX. 2), in XVII. 63 the knowledge conveyed to Arjuna is stated to be more secret than all secrets and in XVIII. 64-65 Kṛṣṇa asks Arjuna to listen to the most secret words of his viz. 'fix thy mind on Me, be my devotee, offer sacrifice to me, prostrate thyself before me; thou shalt come to me; I promise to thee truly as thou art dear to me'. This last is repeated from IX. 34. At the end of chap. XV it is said 'O blameless one! this most secret doctrine has been expounded by me to you'.

Whether the path of Yoga is desirable or feasible in its entirety cannot be debated here. But there have been great men in India for thousands of years who have trodden the path of Yoga that led to the desired goal of freedom of the self from *andhā* and the bondage of birth and death by means of Yoga. Even as early as the Śāntiparva (chap. 289, cr. ed. verses 50 and 54), the path of yoga is said to be very difficult and that it is easy to stay on the sharp edges of razors, but that those whose souls are not purified would find it difficult and painful to continually practise Dhāraṇā. Kālidāsa so finely describes in the 8th canto of the Raghuvamśa (verses 16-24) how Yoga was practised by king Raghu. Kālidāsa refers (in VIII. 16) to *aparāga* as the goal of the ascetic Raghu as contrasted with *mahodaya* (*abhyudaya* or *bhoga*), both words occurring in Y. S. II. 18 (*prakāśa ... bhogāpavargārtham drśyam*), mentions *dhāraṇā* (in VIII. 18), *pranidhāna* practice and consequent mastery over the five *prāṇas* (in Raghu VIII. 19, Y. S. II. 45 '*samādhisiddhīśvara-pranidhānāt*), mastery over the three *guṇas* that constitute *prakṛti* (Raghu VII. 21, Y. S. III. 48 mentions '*pradhānajaya*), *Yogavidhi* as a means of *paramārta-madarśana* (Raghu VIII. 22, Yāj. smṛti I. 8 quoted in note 2399).

2404. Vide the Gospel of Mark IV. 11 and 33-34 where Christ is said to have expounded all things to his twelve disciples, but only in parables to the multitude.

Rājayoga holds the supreme goal to be liberation from Nature (*prakṛti*) or *Māyā* of the Advaita) and its attitude towards the world of senses and our empirical life is that of shunning these. Mukti means absorption into *brahma* for the Vedantist or Kaivalya (isolation of the Individual self from the bonds of birth and death and from *prakṛti* according to pure Yoga). For the vast majority of men and women the path and final goal of Pātañjala Yoga or of the Advaita Vedānta are almost inaccessible and unattainable, as the Gītā itself states (AII, 5) "Those whose mind is set on the Unmanifested encounter greater difficulties (than those who worship a personal God), since the goal of the unmanifested is hard to reach by embodied beings". The path of *Karmayoga* (performing good deeds and acts prescribed by Śāstra without hankering for rewards) and *Bhaktiyoga* (wherein there is deep devotion to God and self-surrender) appear to be more suitable and practical for ordinary human beings. The Gītā in chap. XIII. (verses 13-17) contains one of the best descriptions of God as transcendent and immanent and verse 18 adds that the devotee of God who understands this reaches God.

Many readers familiar with Shri Aurobindo's *ūśrama* at Pondicherry and his voluminous writings might express surprise at the present author's non-mention (in what precedes) of Shri Aurobindo (who is called Mahāyogi by his disciples and admirers) in this section on Yoga and its influence on Dharmaśāstra. But the reasons are obvious. In the first place, Shri Aurobindo says hardly anything about Dharmaśāstra in relation to Yoga. In the 2nd place, Shri Aurobindo admits that he had 'no touch from a guru', that he got an inner touch and practised Yoga, that he got some help from Mr. Lele of Gwalior, that when he came to Pondicherry he got from within a programme for his *sādhana*, that he could not make much progress as to the help to be given to others and that when the Mother (Mira Richard) came to the *ūśrama* in 1920 he found with her aid the method of helping others. In the next place, he departs from the teachings of a galaxy of Sanskrit writers on Yoga, viz. that a yogin must shun women (vide p. 1421 and note 2330), while his biographer Mr. Diwakar states that the Aurobindo Ashram was founded on 24th November 1926, that the Mother was entirely in charge of it from that day and that Shri Aurobindo thenceforward cut off all contacts except through the Mother (p. 257). In this, he strikes an entirely new line and appears to ordinary

men like the present author to have diverged far from the well trodden path of ancient Yoga and become like one described in the well-known words ('*Murārestṛtiyah panthāh*'). Shri Aurobindo is a mystic,²⁴⁰⁵ the experiences of mystics are peculiar and their own, ordinary words and modes of speech fail to communicate them to those that cannot claim to have ever shared such experiences. Aurobindo became a recluse from November 1926 to his Mahāsamādhi on 5th December 1950 and gave *darśana*²⁴⁰⁶ only on four days in the year viz. 15th August (his birth date), 24th November (day of victory for him), 21st February (the birth date of the Mother) and 24th April the day of the Mother's coming to the Ashrama (vide Mr. Diwakar's '*life of Mahāyogi*' p. 265). For forty years Aurobindo lived in Pondicherry. His Ashram became a centre of the gospel of integrated Yoga and a home for those who sought real life and light, a place of pilgrimage for men and women attracted by his teachings.

On 15th August 1947 when India attained Independence (which happened to be the date of Aurobindo's birth) he issued a long statement referring to the dreams of his youth, which he thought were arriving at fruition or were on their way to achievement. He stated 'the first of these dreams was a revolutionary movement which would create a free and united India. Another dream was the resurgence and liberation of the peoples of Asia and her return to her great role in the progress of human civilization. The third dream was a world union forming the outer basis of a fairer, brighter and nobler life for all mankind. A catastrophe may intervene and interrupt or destroy what is being done; but even then the final result is sure. For unifica-

2405. It is difficult to give an accurate definition of 'mysticism'. W. R. Inge in his work '*Christian Mysticism*' publishes 26 definitions of the word in an Appendix. James H. Leuba defines it as follows: "Mysticism means for us any experience taken by the experiencer to be a contact (not through the senses, but immediate or intuitive) or union of the self with a larger than self, be it called the World Spirit, God, the Absolute or otherwise" ('*Psychology of religious mysticism*', Kegan Paul, 1929). In a recent work '*Mysticism, sacred and profane*' Prof. R. C. Zaehner (Oxford, 1957) says 'Mysticism is the realization of unity' (p. 144) and translates and examines Chān Up. VI. 9.1-4, Bṛ. Up II. 3-6, III 7.1. ff. Bhagavadgītā II. 55-72 (pp 136-145) for that purpose.

2406 Vincent Sheean in his work '*Lead, kindly light*' (Random House, New York, 1949) pp 269-277 has a very illuminating and sympathetic note on what 'obtaining darshan' of such Great Men as Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Aurobindo means to the crowds that throng for it.

tion is a necessity of Nature, an inevitable movement. Another dream, the spiritual gift of India to the world, has already begun; India's spirituality is entering Europe and America in an ever-increasing measure. The final dream was a step in evolution which would raise man to a higher and larger consciousness and begin the solution of the problems which have perplexed and vexed him since he began to think and to dream of individual perfection and a perfect society. Here too, if the evolution is to take place, since it must proceed through a growth of the spirit and the inner consciousness, the initiative can come from India and, although the scope must be universal, the central movement may be hers'.

These emotional and eloquent words are flattering to the pride of all Indian people, but it is possible that, bearing in mind that the whole of India was mostly under the heel of ruthless or exploiting conquerors for over seven hundred years from the 13th century A. D. (except for some parts and for brief periods as under the Vijayanagar Empire or under the Marathas for about 150 years and for about 50 years under Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Panjab) these proud assertions of Aurobindo are likely to bring derisive smiles on the faces of many non-Indian readers. It is for discerning Indian readers to judge whether any of the dreams of Shri Aurobindo (except the first about ²⁴⁰⁷ Independence) are on the way to achievement or realization, whether during the last fourteen years after Independence India has progressed in the way of spirituality among men in general, whether there is any likelihood of there being a union of peoples and nations in the near future or whether the world is on the brink of a precipice.

Shri Aurobindo had set his heart on the unity of the human race by an inner oneness and purpose and not by an external association of interests; for 24 years he completely withdrew from the outer world and gave *darśana* only on four days in the year. What efforts he made for the inner oneness of the human race except by his writings is not clear and nor does it appear that in the community of men and women that gathered under his leadership and influence at Pondicherry any one occupied

2407. There has been no 'United India' after Independence. The country was partitioned and Pakistan came into being as a separate entity and has been a source of constant irritation to India, in spite of the policy of the appeasement of Pakistan followed by Indian leaders throughout. 'There is today hardly a Hindu or a Sikh to be found in West Pakistan' says Mr. V. P. Menon in 'Transfer of Power in India' on p. 43

a pre-eminent position and energetically and fruitfully pursued the path marked by the Master and carries on the work that the master dreamt of and left unattempted and unfinished. Passages quoted from his letters by Shri Diwakar (on p. 258) clarify what visions he had 'there will be first a race representing the supermind as man represents the mind', 'in what I am trying to do the spiritual realization is the first necessity, but it cannot be complete without an outer realisation also in life, in men in this world, spiritual consciousness within but also spiritual life without'. About his Sādhana he says 'I began my Yoga in 1904 My Sādhana was not founded upon books but upon personal experiences that crowded on me from within.....It is a fact that I was hearing constantly the voice of Vivekananda speaking to me for a fortnight in the Jail' (p. 131 of Mr. Diwakar's book).

In a letter to his brother Barindra dated 7th April 1920 which is set out in full on pp 309-314 in the work 'Shri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother' (1953), Aurobindo asserts 'the main defect in the old Yogas consisted in the fact that they knew mind and intelligence and the Ātman; they used to be satisfied with spiritual experience on the mental level; but the mind is capable of only partial knowledge and it can comprehend only parts and not the whole. The mind can know the infinite and the total reality only through Samadhi, Moksha or Nirvana and by no other means. Of course, some people do attain this kind of Moksha which may be said to be a blind alley. But *then what is the use of it?* But what the Bhagwan intends to do with man is to enable him to realize God in life, in the individual as well as in the collective society (to manifest God in life). The old systems of Yoga could not bring about a synthesis or unity between spirituality and life; they disposed of the world calling it *Māyā* or the transitory play of the Lord. The result is vitality and vigour in life have been sapped and India has decayed'. In this passage Aurobindo tries to bring out the distinction between his integral Yoga and the Yoga of ancient and medieval Indians. There is hardly anything very new in his theory of Yoga. The Gītā also says the same in 'ajñānenāvṛtam' (Gītā V. 15), in 'utsīdeyur-ime lokā' (Gītā III 24-25, II 47, III 8, 19, IX 27, XVIII 45-46, all of which emphasize that disinterested work is worship of God). Aurobindo should have brought into being an organised body of workers after his own heart. The Pātanjala Yoga does not employ the

word *Māyā* at all nor did it say that the world was a play of God. It was the *Vedānta-sūtra* II. 1. 33 (*lokavat-tu lilakaivalyam*) that said so by way of repelling an objection. In the *Pātanjala yoga* *Īśvara* has nothing to do with the creation of the world (vide above pp. 1402-3) but it speaks of *avidyā* by which the individual self is enmeshed (Y. S. II, 3-5 and 24) and not God or the Supreme Self. Besides one is tempted to echo the question of Aurobindo himself 'What is the use of integral Yoga, mind, overmind and supermind?' Can anybody point out even half a dozen men and disciples of Aurobindo who have devoted all their energies to the regeneration of the country and of the human race on his lines? The position of the Ashram itself is rather vague; anomalous and undefined. But it is unnecessary to say in this work anything further about it. ²⁴⁰⁸

The writings of Shri Aurobindo are numerous and voluminous. For a list of his writings along with a few other works, vide the Bibliography (pp. 267-269) given by Shri Diwakar at the end of his work 'Mahāyogī'. The present author has read only the following works of Shri Aurobindo 'Yoga and its objects' (1938, a brief work in which 'adhyātma Yoga' is said to be higher than Hathayoga and Rajayoga); 'The Mother' (1937), 'Essays on the Gītā' (5th ed. of 1949), 'The Synthesis of Yoga' (1948) which attempts to show that all three paths, viz. of knowledge (*Jñānayoga*), of Devotion (*Bhaktiyoga*) and of Divine works (*Karmayoga*) can be integrated; 'the problem of Rebirth' (published by the Aurobindo Ashram in 1952 after his passing away); 'Foundations of Indian culture' (essays brought together in one volume, revised by Shri Aurobindo), New York, 1953; Aurobindo's *Magnum Opus* is 'Life Divine' (originally in three volumes, now available in one of 1272 pages, published by the Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry 1955). The present author has read only the first volume of this last work. Men of ordinary intelligence like the present writer find this philosophical work not easy to read, and are often at a loss to find out, in the flood of high sounding phrases used by Shri Aurobindo concerning the mind, overmind,

2408. I have to acknowledge my obligations to two biographies of Sri Aurobindo, one by G. H. Langley (former Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University) published in 1949 and 'Mahāyogī' (on the life, *Sādhana* and teachings of Aurobindo) written by Shri R. R. Diwakar and published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, 1953. There is an interesting work published by the Aurobindo International University Centre at Pondicherry called 'Sri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother' (1953)

supermind, his precise meaning. Only one sentence is cited here for sample (from p. 345 of the big one volume edition); 'Overmind, intuition, even supermind not only must be principles inherent and involved in the Inconscience from which we arise in the evolution and inevitably destined to evolve, but are secretly present, occult actively with flashes of intuitive emergence in the cosmic activity of mind, life and matter.' The present author regards the book 'Foundations of Indian culture' as the best of the works of Shri Aurobindo which he has read. Prof. R. D. Ranade in his Lectures on 'Bhagavadgītā as a philosophy of God Realization' (Nagpur, 1959 pp 163-176) submits to examination Aurobindo's 'Essays on the Gita' and disagrees with him on some points. While these pages were passing through the press the present writer received a copy of 'Integral Philosophy of Aurobindo', a symposium edited by Dr. Haridas Chaudhuri and Dr. Frederic Spiegelberg (and published by Allen and Unwin, 1960), which contains 30 papers written by Indian and Western scholars on the Philosophy of Aurobindo, p. 32 defining the essence of integral Yoga and p. 44 distinguishes between 'mind' and 'supermind' (of Aurobindo's philosophy).

CHAPTER XXXIII

Tarka and Dharmaśāstra

The Yājñavalkyasmṛiti (I. 3) mentions Nyāya (logic)²⁴⁰⁹ as one of the fourteen vidyās and as one of the means of knowing what Dharma is. Nyāya is rendered as 'tarkavidyā' by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. and the Mit. states that the fourteen vidyās are the *hetu* (means) of (knowing) dharma.

Both the Nyāyasūtra and the Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kanāda postulate that 'nirhreyasa' follows from the correct knowledge of the categories of the two darśanas.²⁴¹⁰

One of the earliest occurrences of the word *tarka* is in the Kathopanisad²⁴¹¹ where it is declared 'This knowledge (about the Self) cannot be obtained by (mere) ratiocination' and the previous verse states that the Self is subtler than the subtlest and not capable of being understood by mere inference or reasoning. The word 'mantavyah' in the passage²⁴¹² 'Ātmā vā are drastavyah śrotavyo mantavyo' (in Br. Up. II. 4. 5 and IV. 5. 6) is held by the objector (in bhāṣya on V. S. I. 1. 2) and also by Śaṅkarācārya as referring to *tarka* on V. S. II. 1. 4. *Tarka* is accepted as an *anga* of Yoga in the Maitrāyaṇī Up. (vide note 2327 above), which further quotes a passage stating that by the control of speech, mind and prāṇa one apprehends *brahman*

2409. Some works read the verse as 'Pūrāṇa-tarka-mīmāṃsā', vide note 1337 for the verse.

2410. अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । यतोऽगुदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः । द्रव्यशुण-
कर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानं निःश्रेयसहेतुः ।
विशेषिकसूत्र I. 1. 2 and 4, प्रमाणप्रमेयसहायप्रयोजन-हृष्टान्त-सिद्धान्तालयवतर्क-निर्णय-
वादज्ञानवितण्डाहेत्वाभासच्छलजातिनिग्रहस्थानानां तत्त्वज्ञानातिश्रेयसाधिगमः । न्यायसूत्र
I. 1. 1 The word निःश्रेयस occurs in 'अचतुर' (a long sūtra) in पा and in
कौषीतकश्रुतिपद II. 14 and III. 2.

2411. नैवा तर्केण मतिरापनेया श्रोक्तान्येनैव सुज्ञानाय प्रेष्ट । कठोप. II. 9 q, by
शङ्कराचार्य in भाष्य on वे सू II. 1. 6. The previous verse ends with the words
'अपीयान्धतर्कमशुप्रमाणात्,' आपनेय is an irregular form for आपनीय । (अप् +
अनीय) or for अपनेय (from नी with अप)

2412. अध्यान्वयान्नुक्तम् । अतः पराऽस्य धारणां तादृक्समाप्तिनिपीडनाद्वाङ्मन-भाण-
निरोधनाद् ब्रह्म तर्केण पश्यति । मैत्रा. उप. VI. 20.

with the help of tarka ²⁴¹³ The Gautamadharmasūtra ²⁴¹⁴ remarks 'tarka is the means for securing justice (among contending parties)'. One of the replies given by Yudhisthira to the Yakṣa guarding a lake is 'ratiocination is unstable (leads to no certain conclusions), the Vedic texts differ (among themselves), there is no single sage whose opinion is held authoritative (by people or other sages); the essence of Dharma is placed in a cave (i. e. is enveloped in darkness and cannot be seen clearly), that is the path (to be followed) by which the majority of people ²⁴¹⁵ proceed'. This appears to make man in the mass the ultimate tribunal on all questions of value. In its peroration at the end, the Manusmṛti observes 'one who desires to secure the pure Dharma must know well the three viz. direct perception (or experience), inference, and śāstra based on various traditions; none but that man who considers the sayings of sages (i. e. the Veda), the instruction on Dharma (contained in the Smṛtis) with the help of reasoning that does not (directly) conflict with Veda and śāstras knows what Dharma is'. ²⁴¹⁶ This is the position of most orthodox Sanskrit writers about Tarka. Their reasoning appears to have been this. If one were to rely on mere reason, the result would be uncertainty and anarchy. Every theorist states that his system is based on reason; but the answers arrived at on the basis of reason as to questions of vital importance to ordinary men are bewilderingly different. Thinkers brought up in different environments and of different experiences have different logics and propound even different moral laws. Whom should an ordinary man follow? The Vedas and Smṛtis

2413. अतिरपि 'श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यः' इति अवगम्यतिरेकेण मननं विदधती तर्कमप्य-
त्रादत्तस्य दर्शयति (this is पूर्वपक्ष in भाष्य on वे. सू. II 1.4), to this the भाष्य
replies 'यदापि अवगम्यतिरेकेण मननं विदधत्येव तर्कमप्यादत्तस्य दर्शयतीत्युक्तम्।
नानेन निषेधे शुष्कतर्कस्यात्मात्मलाभः सम्भवति। अत्यलुहरीत एव ह्यत्र तर्कोऽस्यैवाह्वयेना-
श्रियते'। The following sentence in the भाष्य cites three examples of inferences
not opposed to *śruti*.

2414. न्यायाधिगमे तर्कोऽभ्युपायः। तेनाभ्युह्य यथास्थानं गमयेत्। गी. ध. सू.
II 23-24.

2415. तर्कोऽपत्तिः। पन्थाः। धनपर्व 313. 117 (Chitrashala ed. whole
verse q. in n. 2072). Some mss read नैको अतिरपि. The sūtra तर्कापत्तिद्वाना-
दप्यन्यथास्तमेयमिति चेदेवमप्यपिनोक्षमसङ्गः (वे. सू. II 1.11) seems to echo the words
of धनपर्व. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 860 n. 1667, where मेधातिथि on मनु. II. 1
refers to 'महा ... पन्थाः' as a न्याय.

2416. मत्पक्षमनुमानं च शास्त्रं च विविधागमम्। त्रयं सुविदितं कार्यं धर्मशुद्धिमभीप्सताम्॥
अप्यर्धमोपदेशं च वेदशास्त्राविरतिधना। षष्ठकीणास्तस्यच स धर्मो वेदो नेतरः॥ मनु. XII. 105,
106, relied upon by बाह्युपाचार्य in भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 11

embody the principles of conduct in all spheres of life arrived at by eminent and selfless sages during the course of thousands of years i. e. they embody the experiences and the reasonings of numerous wise men. Therefore, if a modern man says that reason leads him to hold opinions opposed to the Veda, most people are not prepared to accept a single man's opinion pitted against the views of numerous ancient sages. This point need not be elaborated further. On many important questions viz. whether there is God or a Supreme Intelligence guiding the universe, or whether there is an individual self, or what the future of a man when he dies is, the wisest among men have given widely differing answers²⁴¹⁷ On such questions final answers acceptable to all or most people cannot be given by reason alone. Though the orthodox position is as stated above, it has been shown above (e. g. on pp. 1267-1269) how Vedic practices have been discarded by the weight of popular opinion from time to time. It is laid down by Smṛti writers themselves that blindly following the words of Śāstra would lead to loss of Dharma and that in case of conflict between two Smṛtis reasoning should be resorted to and popular opinions and practices should be considered. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 866-868 for this. The Mahābhārata enjoins²⁴¹⁸ 'one should not try to solve incomprehensible matters by ratiocination.' In the dialogue between the famished sage Viśvāmitra (who desired to eat the tail of a dog) and a cāṇḍāla the great Epico winds up by saying 'therefore a learned man whose soul is pure should act after relying on his intelligence in the matter of deciding what Dharma and adharma are'.²⁴¹⁹ It should not be supposed that Śāṅkarācārya and other great Indian writers wanted to throw reasoning overboard altogether. What they emphasized was that mere reasoning of one or more men should not as a rule be followed if the

2417. Pascal quoted in 'This I believe' edited by E. P. Morgan (London, 1953) on p. 60 says 'The heart has its reasons which reason does not understand.'

2418. अचिन्त्या खलु ये भावा न तास्तर्केण योजयेत् । मकृत्स्य पर यच्च तदचिन्त्यस्य लक्षणम् । भीष्मपर्व 5. 12, q. by ऋद्ध्याचार्य as स्मृति on वे. सू. II 1. 6. First half only q. by ऋद्ध्याचार्य on वे. सू. II 1. 6. This also occurs in मत्स्य 113. 6, पद्म (आदि 3. 12), the first half in ब्रह्माण्ड II. 13. 7-8. ब्रह्माण्ड reads तदचिन्त्यं मचक्षते and some read साधयेत् for योजयेत्. मकृति would mean material cause' The मत्स्य (Anan ed.) reads अचिन्त्या. .. तास्तु तर्केण साधयेत्, thus reversing the position adopted by others.

2419. तस्मात्कौन्तेय विदुषा धर्माधर्मविनिश्चये । बुद्धिमास्याय लोकस्मिन्वर्तितव्यं कृतारमना ॥ शान्तिपर्व 141. 102 = cr, ed. chap. 139. 94,

conclusions arrived at by reasoning are in direct conflict with Vedic and smṛti texts. Śaṅkarācārya clearly states his position on V S II. 1.1. and 11.²⁴²⁰ Beliefs (such as those of Jains and Buddhists) were held to be heterodox, because they did not acknowledge the authority of the Veda and the sacred tradition, though they often observed Hindu practices and married with Hindus; but within this limit there was room enough for an enormous and bewildering variety of convictions, rites and practices that claimed to be orthodox. This may be illustrated by the attitude of some Upanisads. For example, the Mundaka, Up. (I 1. 4-5) speaks of two vidyās, *parā* and *aparā*, includes under *aparā* the four Vedas and the six *aṅgas* and *parā* (highest) *vidyā* is that by which the imperishable *brahman* is attained. In the Chān Up (VII. 1.1-5) when Nārada approached Sanat-kumāra for instruction, the former recounted what he had already learnt viz. the four Vedas, Itihāsapurāṇa and other lores; then Sanatkumāra tells him that all that he has studied is mere name and then explains what is better than all those. Mundaka (I. 2. 7) condemns *yajñas* as leaky vessels. It is extremely surprising that the Chān. Up. in I. 12. 2-5 compares the procedure of the five priests and the sacrificer touching each other and creeping from the *sadas* towards the *cātvāla* where the Bahispavamāna chant is to be sung with a procession of dogs, each dog holding the tail of the preceding dog in his mouth. Vide for the creeping of priests noiselessly and silently Tāndya Brāhmaṇa VI. 7. 9-12 and Āp. Śrauta-sūtra XII. 17. 1-4 and H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1166 and 1169. Though this is so, the Upanisads are called Vedānta, are looked upon as orthodox and as the highest end of the Vedic religion and literature. Most ancient Upanisads, however, quote Vedic Samhitā texts as authorities. For example, Br. Up. I. 4. 10 and Ait. Up. II. 5 quote Rg. IV. 26. 1 and IV. 27. 1 respectively, Br. Up. II. 5. 16-17 quote Rg. I. 116. 12 and I. 117. 22 and Br. Up. II. 5. 19 cites Rg. VI. 47. 18; Katha IV. 9 is the same as Atharvaveda X. 8. 16, Prāśna I. 11 is quoted from Rg. I. 164. 12. The Mundaka III. 2. 10

2420. वेदस्य हि निरपेक्षं स्वार्थं मामागम्यं खेतुव रूपविषये। पुरुषवचसां तु मूलान्तरा-
पेक्षं वस्तुस्त्वित्यवहितं चेति विमर्श्ये। तस्माद्वेदविरुद्धे विषये स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषमसङ्गो न
दोषः। भाष्ये on वे. सू. II 1 1, तर्कज्ञानानां तत्त्वोप्यविरोधात्मासिद्धा विमतिरिति। यद्धि केन-
चित्ताकिणोदमेव सम्यग्ज्ञानमिति प्रतिपादितं तदपरेण व्युत्पाद्यते तेनापि प्रतिष्ठापितं ततोऽपरेण
व्युत्पाद्यते इति मसिद्धं लोके। कथमेकस्यानवस्थितविषयं तर्कमभवं सम्यग्ज्ञानं भवेत्। न च
प्रधानवादी तर्कविदास्तत्र इति सर्वस्ताकिणः परिगृहीतो येन तदीयं मतं सम्यग्ज्ञानमिति
प्रतिपद्येनिति। शाङ्करभाष्ये on वे. सू. II, 1. 11.

provides that *brahmavidyā* is to be expounded to *śrotṛīyas* (those who have studied the Veda). Herein the Upanisads rely upon the principle of *adhikārabheda*.

One of the oldest philosophical problems is Authority and Reason or to put it in different words, Faith and Reason and there has been throughout the ages a constant struggle between these two. Most men want to rely on some authority, on some one deemed higher than themselves. For vast numbers of people this authority or the something greater than themselves is Revelation and God. They have neither the leisure nor the inclination nor the intellectual ability to think for themselves rationally on such abstruse questions as the existence of God or an individual self, free will and determinism, the general principles of conduct, the final destiny of men after physical death &c. In sociological matters human judgement is often warped by prevailing dogmas and prejudices; on questions which are deemed to be religious (and in India the field of matters deemed to be religious has always been very extensive) a frank discussion is almost impossible without creating anger and rancour. Several ethical questions such as divorce and birth control often assume the position of religious dogmas and when openly discussed create great heat. In several so-called democracies of the present day rational discussion comes last and vital questions are determined by party loyalties or by personality cults or by lust for power and self-aggrandisement. It should not be supposed that ancient and medieval India had no rationalists nor atheists. As a matter of fact there were several rationalists. Vide the present author's note 875 pp. 358-359 in H. of Dh. Vol. II, Vol. III. pp. 46-47 note 57 on *Lokāyatas* and their views, ²⁴²¹ and pp. 974-975 note 1596 above for rationalistic criticism of sacrifices, *śrāddhas* &c. Many rationalists hold that there is no proof of the existence of God, they deny an individual soul, they deny immortality and the existence of any intelligence in the universe higher than man's, deny that there is any design or purpose in the Universe and they believe that in all religions there is some truth mixed with a great deal of error. The case of the rationalist is that

²⁴²¹. For *Lokāyata* or *Laukāyatika*, vide the work *Tattvopaplavaśmha* of Jayarāśbhatta (GOS). The word *Lokāyata* occurs in the *gāṇa* *Uktādi* mentioned in Pāṇini 'Kratūktādisūtrānta-thak' IV. 2. 60. Vide Dr. Dakshinaraman Shastri's 'Short History of Indian Materialism' (Calcutta, 2nd ed. of 1937) and pp 1205-6 note 1956 above.

he should not be called upon to prove that there is no God (which is a negative proposition), that it is for theists to prove that God exists (which is a positive proposition) and that he is omnipotent and omniscient. They say that to attribute anger, love, pity to God is to implicitly negative God's omnipotence. The problem of evil in the world is, according to rationalists, a great stumbling block in accepting God as good, kind, all-knowing and all-powerful. The rationalist might agree with the theist that man as an individual depends on something greater than himself that is able to give directions and to punish him for the disobedience of directions. For the rationalist it is some kind of community or society in which men live and have their being that is greater than themselves. This would be substituting the worship of the human community or of collective human power for the worship of God. What human community is to be in the place of God? Is it to be the whole human race (now having over two thousand million human beings) or some big or small groups out of these? There are now two well-defined blocks between whom there is a conflict of ideological ends, viz. the communist block represented by the U. S. S. R. and China and the capitalistic block represented by U. S. A., England and several other countries of Europe, and a third unorganized block of countries professing to have no alignment with anyone of the two blocks.

In these days Communism is really a form of worship i. e. worship of man or men in place of the worship of God. It may be conceded that probably the masses of the Russian people are far better off in the matter of physical needs than they were in the regime of the Tsars. The masses seem to have devotion to Communism. But that devotion is more apparent than real, based on the hope of quick gains or the fear of prompt punishment and is the product of rigid State control of education and the environment. The communists have an attractive slogan in the words 'Workers of the world! unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains.' There are also the catchwords 'Dictatorship of the proletariat'. But this ends in fact in a dictatorship of the Communist Party over the proletariat. In return for physical well-being the common people have had to bargain away several freedoms, freedom to think for themselves, freedom of expression, freedom of intercourse with foreigners, freedom to choose their occupation &c. The communists make no secret that they want to bring the whole world under Communism. Therefore, they pose that they are the

saviours of common men and women throughout the world and they cannot be charged with aggression since they mean to liberate people from the bonds of capitalism or colonialism &c. Their creed is one of fanaticism, of intolerance or hatred of others. The only experiment of a godless society on a large scale was made by the Soviet, but it does not appear to outsiders to have been a happy or successful one. The universal exhibition of portraits of great Soviet leaders (some of whom were declared by successor leaders to be no better than murderers)²⁴²² proclaims the necessity of worship even in a godless society. Dictators have nationalized not only all the means of the production of wealth but also all the labour in the country. They have established themselves in the place of God and desire to have total control over the bodies and the minds of all their subjects. The faith of the communists is that their country is a heaven on earth and one must accept their word for that without wanting to see for one self the real state of things. The Communists have their own special versions of history, economics and science. These one must not question.

The followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam (all believing in one God and one Book) did not hesitate for centuries to inculcate their doctrines and practices by terrible persecutions and bloody wars. This spirit is very shocking to people brought up in Hinduism or Buddhism. If Rationalists substitute blocks of humanity or the leaders of such blocks for worship and authority, humanity itself would soon be wiped out. Conceding for argument that the existence of an omnipotent and omniscient Power cannot be proved to the satisfaction of the so-called rationalists, the present writer feels that it is for the good of most societies consisting of millions of common men and women that they believe in God and the individual soul. Most men are influenced to keep to the path of virtue and right by the fear of God, by the prickings of conscience (which is the inner light implanted in man by God), by the fear of public opinion, and by fear of punishment at the hands of the rulers of the State (vide

²⁴²². Those interested in this phase of Communism should read 'Krushchev and Stalin's Ghost' by Bertram De Wolfe (1957), pp 88-232 contain on even pages Krushchev's secret report to 20th Congress on the night of February 24, 25 in 1956, translated into English and odd pages contain notes and commentaries by the author. On p 91 note it is stated that Stalin placed the number of *Kutaks* disposed of at one crore. Vide 'Assignment in Utopia' by E Lyon (1937) for the horrors in Russia before 1934, and 'Communist China to-day' by S. Chandrasekhara, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961 for the present state of morals in China.

Śantiparva quoted in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 389 note 619). Those who reject the first of these would have to reject the 2nd also and would have to fall back upon hedonism (the greatest pleasure for themselves) or the idea of greatest good of the greatest number or progress towards some ideal state of society painted by imagination. The pursuit of purely secular or worldly happiness is incompatible with the precepts and ideals of Hinduism and all higher religions. Rationalism accepts the postulates which science finds convenient and useful. Though these postulates work well up to certain limits, it must be said that those limits are very narrow. Science aims at establishing general rules or laws. From those laws we know only the behaviour of nature and how man can utilize natural forces for realizing human aims, but science does not tell us what those aims should be, it is amoral and not concerned with morals or spirituality. Rationalism appears to smother many experiences of the human mind which are beyond the present machinery of science. When the scientific method is adopted in social studies, there is little to show that it leads to increased wisdom about the values that should be pursued. Rationalism insists that all our beliefs ought ultimately to be based on tangible and definite grounds and that modern scientific method is the only reliable method for acquiring knowledge of all kinds. But there are sub-conscious and non-rational impulses, beliefs and intuitions in men that are held by men to be truer or of a higher order than what is on the rationalistic level (vide W. James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 74, ed. of 1920). It should be the endeavour of leaders of thought in each generation to find out what is essential and vital in tradition (without believing in the infallibility of all traditions) and to present reasoned dogmas which, while retaining the essential elements of tradition, will meet the demands of modern thought and conditions and environment. It is not necessary to say here more about modern rationalism. For over two thousand years our ancient writers and smrtis like those of Manu (XII. 105-106 which are relied upon by Kumārila himself as shown on p. 1261 above) have allowed to *tarka* a place in the matter of finding out what Dharma is and have been most tolerant of differing views even on fundamental matters as shown above and brought about great changes even in religious rituals, philosophical views, social customs and practices without perpetrating atrocities and indulging in wholesale persecutions. A man may be a monotheist, or a polytheist or

an image-worshipper, an agnostic, or atheist or an idealist philosopher holding 'nirguna brahma' as the only reality, yet he may nevertheless be held to be a full Hindu, if he conforms to the general attitude towards Veda and social usages. A more radical tolerance than what our people showed throughout the ages is almost unthinkable. Western writers while admitting great tolerance in religious views and practices harp often on the requirements about observing caste rules in matters of food, marriage etc. But caste is more a social institution than a religious one and therefore just as in Western countries there were rules of etiquette and observance (such as the number 13 and the regulations against working on Sabbath and against theatre going, card playing and physical exercise except walking) that had to be observed meticulously, in India caste rules had to be observed. Besides, even when caste rules were broken the offender had in a meeting of the caste people to admit his mistake, to pay a fine to the caste or village temple and then was restored to all privileges of the caste. As the Christian churches were extremely intolerant of the slightest departure from religious views held at particular times, there arose in Europe the emphasis on rationalism and freedom to hold opinions. Government could effectively mould the opinions of its subjects by controlling education, by censorship of books and by inflicting severe penalties on those who expressed opinions opposed to those espoused by them. The Roman Church prepared an Index of forbidden books and an Index expurgatorius (a list of passages to be expunged from books that were otherwise permitted). The first Index Librorum Prohibitorius in its latest edition (before 1949) contains 5000 titles. Lecky in his 'History of the rise and influence of rationalism in Europe' ²⁴²³ points out to the extirpation of Christianity from Japan, of Protestantism from Spain, of the Huguenots from France, of most Catholics from England. The Jesuits acted on the ²⁴²⁴ principle that the end justifies the means.

2423. Vide Lecky's work, vol. II p. 5 for these instances (ed. of 1890). The Toleration Act (1689) in England expressly excluded Catholics and Unitarians from the benefits of the Act. In 1401 the English Parliament passed the Statute for the burning of heretics which was not repealed until the Stuarts came back. Vide 'Conscience and Liberty' by Robert S. W. Pollard (1940) pages 46-48, for harsh laws in force in England a little over one hundred years ago against non-Conformists and Roman Catholics.

2424. Vide 'Rationalism in Theory and Practice' by Archibald Robertson (pub. by Watts & Co., 1954) p. 57 for the Jesuits. Vide p. 59 of the (Continued on next page)

Their end was the 'greater glory of God', which meant to them the conversion of peoples and kingdoms to Roman Catholicism. Their means included incitements to assassination and to war. It has been mentioned above (p. 483) how Galileo was persecuted for espousing the Copernican theory in astronomy. Not much difference is made to religion whether the Sun revolves round the earth or the earth round the sun. In this connection it may be pointed out that Āryabhata (born in 476 A. D.) appears to have held the view that the stars did not revolve round the earth, but the latter revolved round itself and gave the illustration of a man sitting in a moving boat feeling that it is the stationary objects on the banks that rush past in the opposite direction.²⁴²⁵ The *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (13. 6) of Varāhamihira refers to this view and rejects it, not on the ground that it is opposed to the Veda, but on the ground that, if that view were correct, hawks and other birds flying high up in the sky would not be able to come back to their nests without fail. He did not know that the atmosphere also goes with the earth. This was more than eleven hundred years before Galileo and there is nothing to show that Āryabhata suffered in the least for his views. For Āryabhata's view vide 'Āryabhatīyam' by W. E. Clark (Chicago, 1930) p 64. As observed by Archibald Robertson the history of the Rationalist movement in Europe is to a very great extent the history of a fight for the right to hold and propagate opinions unpopular for the time being and the growth of religious toleration in Europe has in fact gone hand in hand with the decay of traditional religious beliefs. Reason arrives at different conclusions on the same matter in different ages and even in the same age what appears reasonable to one group or people is held to be unreasonable by another people. Vide Robert Bridges' 'Testament of Beauty' Book I lines 465-470 on what is reasonable. Millions of people saw fruits falling from tree tops to the earth, but it was only the intuition and logic of Newton that enabled him to formulate the laws of gravitation.

(Continued from last page)

same book and also 'The flame and the light' by Hugh T Anson Fausset (London, 1958) pp. 11-12, where the author says that Western man is very little sustained or guided by the doctrines of orthodox Christianity and that European civilization of the last five hundred years is dissolving.

2425 अचलोनगतिर्नैरिथ. पश्यत्यचलं त्रिलोकं यद्वत् ! अचलानि भान्ति तद्वत्समपश्चि-
नगानि तद्वत्पदम् ॥ आर्यभटीय, गोलपाद verse 9.

Doubt has been and is a frequent and legitimate attitude of the mind as recognised by the Br. Up. (I 5. 3) 'Kāmah sankalpo vicikitsā śraddhā, āśraddhā, dhṛitir, adhṛitir hrīr-dhīr-bhīr-etyetat sarvam mana eva' (desire, fancy, *doubt*, faith, want of faith, steadiness, restlessness, shame, understanding, fear, all these are aspects of mind). Even the Rgveda (II. 12. 5) refers to doubters about Indra (utem āhur-naisostityenam'). In the Katha Up. Naciketas says "when a man dies there is the *doubt*, some saying 'he (the self) exists', others saying 'he ceases to exist' and prays to Yama to resolve that doubt for him as the third boon.

Descartes held that only one truth is beyond doubt viz. *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). In Europe the whole of the 18th and 19th centuries were dominated as far as thoughtful men were concerned by boundless faith in reason and progress. But owing to the two world wars (particularly the second), their aftermath and the rise of two powerful Communist countries have greatly weakened the faith in progress guided by reason and ethics, faith in the dignity of man and in equality is on the decline and is assailed in many regions and the view that might creates or is right is gaining ground.

The Upanisads teach that a sound moral preparation must precede the acquisition of true vedāntic view. The Br. Up. states 'therefore one who knows this, after securing quiescence, restraining his senses, being free from allankerings, bearing with fortitude all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold), having his mind concentrated, sees the Self in the self, looks upon everything as Ātman'; the Kathopanishad II. 24 says 'one who has not ceased from doing evil actions, who is not quiescent, who has not concentrated his mind nor has made his mind quiescent would not realize this Self by correct knowledge'; Praśna I. 16 'those secure the pure world of *brahman* who are free from crookedness, falsehood and deceitful conduct'; Śv. Up. VI. 22 'this highly esoteric knowledge of Vedānta should not be imparted to one whose mind is not quiescent or who is not a son or disciple'. The great formula 'thou art That' teaches one to look upon all men as Ātman or as the Gītā (VI. 29-30) puts it 'he who is endowed with Yoga and knows Ātman to be in everything and everything as abiding in Ātman, is not lost to the Lord nor is the Lord lost to him'. Compare Īśa Up. 6 and Manu XII. 91. In the Chān. Up. (III. 16. 1) man is symbolically represented as sacrifice and in III. 17, 4 it is stated

that *tapas*, charity, straightforward conduct, *ahimsā* and truthfulness are the *dakṣiṇā* (sacrificial fees).

This shows that Vedānta in its highest form is the best support of pure morality for individuals. It is on account of this teaching that many sages cultivated these virtues in hermitages and were honoured by kings and common people in ancient times in India, but in medieval times the sages became²⁴²⁶ rare and as regards common people they were tied down by customs and caste and very few people made strenuous efforts for solidarity of all their countrymen, for meeting their common needs and safeguarding all peoples' interests, and by the side of sublime philosophical tenets our country witnessed abject poverty among large masses of people and political domination by alien or brutal invaders. The tendency to rely on the Vedas, to believe and to argue that what has been is the best, and to appeal to the past has been very strong throughout our history for centuries. Our motto must not be 'back to the Vedas' but rather 'forward with the Vedas'. While giving due weight to the Veda and authority, we must not condemn all independence in thought.

Some Western rationalists such as Bentham, James Mill and John S. Mill put forward the theory of utilitarianism which briefly comes to this that actions are to be judged by their consequences and are right in proportion as they tend to make for the greatest good or happiness of the community or of the greatest number. This theory has great drawbacks, the most important being that it is not really a moral theory at all as it does not tell us exactly what a man or community ought to do. Religions tell their followers what they ought to do or not to do. Another difficulty is that what may appear to one man as being for the greatest good of the greatest number may not be so accepted by others and further it is difficult to define what the greatest number regards as good or happiness. Besides, many men care nothing at all about the happiness of others. Moral, political and economic actions are confused by this doctrine. In practice, as the emphasis was put on happiness, this theory

2426. Even in these days our country can produce men imbued with the true spirit of Advaita-vedānta like Raman Maharshi, the sage of Arunachal (1879-1950) about whom Arthur Osborne has published a very interesting and revealing work 'Raman Maharshi and the path of Self-knowledge' (Rider and Co, 1954)

was made the excuse for epicurianism and indulgence in things material.

The present author is not at all against freedom of thought, but what he objects to is making a fetish of rationalism and making millions of common men and women waver in their faith and principles of conduct by the constant talk of the non-existence of God or of the individual soul &c. The rationalists and utilitarians hardly agree upon any values and principles of conduct to be inculcated among ordinary young men and women. If God and soul be eliminated, they have not been able to put something more valuable in their place, for which the young generation that is growing up would be ready to live laborious days or to sacrifice themselves. Though we may not subscribe to the position that the last word of wisdom on all religious and social matters is to be found in the Veda or in the works of ancient sages and writers, even wise men may hesitate before they decide the question whether we should carry on a campaign for eradicating beliefs in God and an immortal self. The Gītā strikes the right note for most people when it utters the warning (III. 26) 'let not the knowing or wise man (the *jñānin* or *udvān*) unsettle the minds of the ignorant that are attached to (certain) actions (by habit); the enlightened man, himself doing all work in the true spirit of a yogin, should set others to do all actions.'

As a result of the two world wars in which unspeakable atrocities and barbarities²⁴²⁷ were committed by highly educated and organized countries most of whose people professed Christianity, there is a revulsion of feeling and several eminent men are busy in attributing the present difficulties to the decay of religious belief and in inviting humanity to return to religion. But the crux of the problem is what religious beliefs and practices are to be inculcated and practised by men in the present age. It appears to the present writer that religions can hardly be a panacea for the ills of the world. Very large blocks of modern educated men are dissatisfied with the tenets and practices of several current religions and their authoritative books. The real difficulty to be grappled with is to

2427. Vide 'Scourge of the Svasitka' by Lord Russell of Liverpool p. 171 where he cites the confession of Hoss that not less than three million people were put to death at Auschwitz, 2500000 of them by gas chambers and on p. 250 he remarks 'the murder by the Germans of over five millions European Jews constitutes the greatest crime in World History.'

define what must be the content of the faith that would appeal to and secure the allegiance of most or all good, intellectual and educated modern men. At different times different virtues (such as monachism, charity, humility, patriotism, social service or philanthrophism) were preached as of supreme importance. The growth of the virtue of patriotism and of the feeling of nationalism in Western countries was not due to Christianity's teachings but to various other causes in Europe's political and economic history. There are religious virtues, heroic virtues, amiable virtues &c. The Christian people of Europe and America during the last four centuries achieved great wealth and prosperity by throwing to the winds the virtues preached in the Sermon on the Mount, by extending their colonial empires for exploiting vast regions, by decimating millions of unoffending backward races, by hunting human beings as if they were beasts and forcing on them slavery and by preaching from the house tops the great need of competition in all spheres and worshipping it as if it were God. After the holocaust of the great wars, many eminent men, not only religious men, but even those that occupy positions in Government and political life, preach the necessity of the moral sense, of benevolence and kindness towards others, restraint, unselfishness and a desire to allow others to share in the good things of life, which virtues were emphasized for all men in the Br. Up. V. 2. 1-3 quoted above ²⁴²⁸

In India Emperor Āśoka in the 3rd century B. C. inculcated in his Edicts tolerance for the Brahmanic and the Buddhist faith (vide pp 1011-12 above). Āśoka does not enter into dogma of any kind, but regarding himself as the father of all his subjects enjoins on them a morality that is practical and would be acceptable to all, such as tolerance, humanity, charity to monks and also to the poor and compassion towards dumb animals. Later on, it was at the most necessary to show that the doctrines put forth by reasoning were not directly opposed to the dicta

2428. Archibald Robertson in "Rationalism in theory and Practice" (Watts and co, London 1954) asserts (on page 41) that Christian morals have never been practised and that a society would not last for a month if run on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount. W. R. Mathews in 'Christ' (London, 1939) agrees (on page 76) with Professor Whitehead that the adoption of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount literally understood on any large scale would mean the sudden death of civilization. C. H. Tawney in 'Acquisitive Society' (1921) asserts that what was Christian in Christianity had largely disappeared from about 1700 A. D. (pages 12-13).

of the Veda. To take only one example : though the Upanisads express Advaita in such Mahāvākyas 'aham brahmāsmi' (Ch. Up. III. 14. 1), 'tat-tvam-asi' (Ch. Up. VI. 8. 7), Madhvācārya could expound his thorough-going *dvaita* doctrine, could explain away by reasoning the above passages and claim to be the only true expounder of Veda and denounce the *advaita* doctrine as Buddhism in disguise without any serious persecution on either side. Yājñavalkya (II. 192) calls upon the king to safeguard the special usages of guilds and heretics and their modes of livelihood. This tolerance for multiplicity of forms and practices in religion and for diametrically opposed philosophic views has had also its weakness viz it permitted the growth of endless variations in the formulation of faith, ritual and philosophic doctrines and led in great measure to several abuses, to some unhealthy and even revolting practices.

SECTION IX

CHAPTER XXXIV

COSMOLOGY

All writers on Dharmaśāstra are agreed on the existence of God. They rarely enter upon the task of adducing arguments for the existence of God. Christian theologians for hundreds of years put forward various arguments pointing to the existence of God. They are briefly summarised in William James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 437 (ed. of 1920). The cosmological argument reasons from the ordered universe to a First Cause which must be conceived as God who must at least possess whatever perfection the universe itself contains. The argument from purpose or design (teleological argument) bases itself on the evidence of purpose or design in Nature and concludes that the First Cause (God) must be a creative intellect or mind. Then there are other arguments also such as the 'moral argument' (viz. the moral law presupposes a law-giver), the argument *ex consensu gentium* (viz. there is widespread belief in God all over the world and it should carry weight).²⁴²⁹

2429. Vide also F. W. Westway's 'Obsessions and convictions of the human intellect' (Blackie & Son, 1938), which adds a fifth to James' four viz., ontological argument (the very idea or concept of God makes the existence of God requisite) pp. 378-80. W. James in 'Pragmatism' (p. 109, ed. 1910) states that the evidence for the existence of God lies primarily in inner personal experience. Mr Westway (on p. 374) gives a definite answer that there is no proof of the existence of God, but (on p. 387) he admits that the argument from design carries an extremely high degree of probability and that he believes that the Universe is not merely a chance-made affair as some philosophers believe. The argument from design (for God's existence) is held to have been shattered by the theory of evolution. If everything has a cause, it is also argued, why should God not have a cause? And it is said by some that there is no reason to suppose that the world had a beginning at all. This is the view of famous Mīmāṃsakas like Kumāṇila. Vide above pp. 1209-1210 and note 1963. H. G. Wells in his 'You can't be too careful' (London 1942, p. 282) holds that the idea of God's omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence must be
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The Upanisads speak of the Absolute *brahman* as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the *bhūtas* (beings or elements or both). For example, the Tai. Up. III. 1 (Bhrgu²⁴³⁰ is instructed by his father Varuna) 'desire to know that from which all *bhūtas* spring, by which, after being created, they live (are sustained) and to which they return and are absorbed therein; that is *brahma*'. This is the basic text on which V. S. I. 1. 2 (*janmādyasya yatah*) is based. This means 'from which the creation (sustenance and dissolution) of this (world) proceed' (that is *brahma*). Another passage of the Tai. Up. (II. 1) states that 'from this *Ātman* *Ākāśa* sprang, from *ākāśa* *Vāyu*, from *Vāyu* *Agni*, from *Agni* waters, from waters the earth, from earth plants, from plants food, from food man'. A passage of the Chān. Up. states²⁴³¹ 'all this, indeed, is *brahma*; a man, cultivating restraint of the mind, should meditate on that (world) as springing from, ending in and breathing on account of that (*brahma*)'. This is the basis of V. S. I. 2. 1 (*sarvatra prasiddho-padeśāt*). Here the three attributes of *brahma* are creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe.

The Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyana further says that śāstras (sacred canon or texts) are the source of the correct knowledge

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abandoned, since, according to him, these are preposterous absolutes. On the other hand Dr. F. W. Jones in his work 'Design and purpose' (London, 1942) puts forward the view that many people are in danger of losing sight of the truth that the Cosmos is an ordered entity and that many have lost belief in the purpose of human life (p 13). The teleological argument may strengthen the faith of a person who already believes in God, but it appears that it cannot create faith in God in the case of one who does not subscribe to that view. Abel Jones in 'In search of truth' (1945) holds that the three main arguments for the existence of God are cosmological, teleological and ontological.

2430 यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंश्रान्ति तद् विजिज्ञासस्व । तद् ब्रह्मेति । वै. उप. III. 1.

2431. सर्वं यद्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति ज्ञान्त उपसीत । छा. उप. III 14. 1, The word तज्जलान् applied to *brahma* is peculiar, it is explained by Śaṅkara's commentary as follows: तज्जलानिति । तस्माद् ब्रह्मणो जातं तेजोयकादिक्रमेण सर्वम् । अतस्तज्जम् । तथा तेनैव जलनक्रमेण यद्विलोमतया तस्मिन्नेव ब्रह्मणि लीयते तदात्मतया श्लिष्यते इति तद्वद् । तथा तस्मिन्नेव स्थितिकाले अनिति प्राणिति चैतदेति । Vide also छा. उप. I. 9. 1 सर्वाणि इ वा इमानि भूतान्याकाशादिव सहस्रयन्त आकाशं प्रयसन् यन्त्याकाशो ह्येभ्यो जययान् । आकाश. परायणम् ।

of brahma.²⁴³² To the objection that the Veda is concerned with rites, that some portions of it are meant for the praise of rites, that the Vedic mantras only remind the performer about the various ingredients of sacrifice, that, therefore, the Vedānta texts either serve no purpose at all or at the most give information about the soul of the sacrificer or the deity to be worshipped in sacrifices, the reply is given by the Vedāntasūtra I. 1. 4 (*tat-tu samanayāt*), which means that all Vedānta texts are agreed that their purport is to establish that brahma, which has been postulated (in V. S. I. 1. 2) as the creator, preserver and absorber of the world has that character and is omniscient and omnipotent.

That the argument from design also was present to the minds of the propounders of Vedānta follows from the fact that the Vedāntasūtra (II. 2. 1, *racanānupapattesca nānumānam*) denies that the *Pradhāna* of the Sāṅkhya (that is postulated as *acetana*) can be inferred as the cause of the universe.²⁴³³

It may be noted here that, according to Śāṅkarācārya, the detailed²⁴³⁴ statements on the doctrine about creation contained in the Upanisads are not to be taken literally, that no special purpose dependent thereon can be found nor is such a purpose laid down by Sruti (Veda), but all those statements are intended to lead on to the knowledge of brahma and to expound the non-difference of the world from brahma.²⁴³⁵ From early times most

2432. शास्त्रयोनित्वाद् । वे. सू. I 1. 3 ; शाङ्करभाष्य । यथोक्तमृवेदादिशास्त्रं योनिः । कारणं प्रमाणमस्य ब्रह्मणो यथावत्स्वरूपाधिगमे । तत् समन्वयाद् । वे. सू. I 1. 4, भाष्य 'तद् ब्रह्म सर्वज्ञं सर्वशक्तिं जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिपकारणं वेदान्तशास्त्रादेवावगम्यते । कथम् समन्वयाद् । सर्वेषु हि वेदान्तेषु वाक्यानि तात्पर्येणैतत्तत्पर्यस्य प्रतिपादकत्वेन समन्वयानि ।'

2433. अतो रचनामुपपत्तेश्च हेतोर्नास्ति तन् जगत्कारणमनुमातव्यं भवति । शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. II. 2. 1.

2434. न ह्ययं सृष्ट्यादिमप्यथः प्रतिपिपादयिष्यति । न हि तत्प्रतिबद्धः 'कश्चित्सुखदार्थो हृष्यते श्रूयते वा । न च कल्पयितुं शक्यते, उपक्रमोपसंहारार्थं तत्र तत्र ब्रह्मविषयैर्वाक्यैः साक-नेकवाक्यताया गम्यमानत्वाद् । दर्शयति च सृष्ट्यादिमप्यथस्य ब्रह्ममतिप्रस्यर्थताम् — 'अज्ञेन सोम्य शृङ्गेनापो मूलमन्विच्छ .. सम्मूलमन्विच्छ' (छा. VI. 8. 4) इति । सृष्ट्यादिदृष्टान्तैश्च कार्यस्य कारणेनाभेदं धर्तुं सृष्ट्यादिमप्यथ. आप्त्यत इति गम्यते । शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I 4. 14. For सृष्ट्यादिदृष्टान्त, vide छा. उप. VI. 3 4-6 यथा सोम्यैकेन मृत्पिण्डेनः सर्वं घृन्मयं विशातं स्यात् । वाचारम्भेण विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् ॥ Again on V S IV. 3. 14 Śāṅkarācārya remarks : सृष्ट्यादिदृष्टान्तैर्हि सतो ब्रह्मण एकस्य सत्यत्वं विकारस्य चाद्वैतत्वं प्रतिपादयच्छास्त्रं नोत्पत्त्यादिपरं भवितुमर्हति । .. एवमुत्पत्त्यादिश्रुतीनामेकाल्पाद्यन्यपरत्वाच्चानैकशक्तियोगो ब्रह्मणः ॥

2435. The following works may be read for cosmology of Vedic texts : H. W. Walks on 'Cosmology of the Rgveda' (1887) ; 'Vedic mythology' (Continued on next page)

philosophers oscillate between the doctrine of the First Principle as immanent in the universe and the doctrine that God is the creator and is transcendent. The Rgveda and Upanishads appear to postulate the first doctrine according to which the Absolute enters into it when it creates the Universe (Tai. Up. II. 6 'tat sṛstvā tad-evānuprāviśat'), Chān. Up. VI. 2. 1, VI. 3. 2, Br. Up. I. 4. 10. They also speak of God as ruling the Universe (antaryāmin) as in Br. Up. III. 7. Kausitaki Up. III. 8. At that time there was no atomic theory. Early Greek thought also wavered between the two doctrines. Later on came the rival theory of cosmology in which atoms played a great part, that was adumbrated by Democritus (died about 370 B. C. acc. to William James in 'Some Problems', and explained by Lucretius. In India also the Vaiśeṣikas put forward the theory that the world is paramāṇus (atoms). Kanāda or Kanabhuk (lit. one who assumes or subsists on kanas, very subtle particles) is the reputed founder of the Vaiśeṣika system. He does not expressly say anything about God. But later medieval writers on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika combined the two doctrines of God and atoms. As the Tarkadīpikā²⁴³⁶ puts the theory it is as follows: when God desires to create, activity is produced among the atoms, two atoms join, dvyanuka (dyad) is produced, tryanuka is produced from three dvyanukas and in the end the great earth is produced; of things created when God desires to bring about dissolution an activity is produced in the atoms. The atoms are eternal and infinite in number.

Though there was almost universal agreement about the existence of God among the Dharmaśāstra writers, there was (as in the²⁴³⁷ West) divergence about the names, nature and

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by A. A. Macdonell pp. 8-15, Deussen's 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' translated into English by A. S. Geden (1906) pp. 180-253; 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads' by A. B. Keith, pp. 570-584. A recent work 'Theories of the Universe' by Milton K. Munitz (pub. by Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957) deals with the cosmologies of several countries from Babylonian myth to modern science (but omits the Indian material)

2436. ईश्वरस्य चिकीर्षावशात्परमाणुं किया जायते। ततः परमाणुद्वयसंयोगे सति द्व्यणुकमुत्पद्यते त्रिमिद्व्यणुकैस्त्र्यणुकम्। एवं चतुरणुकादिकमेव महती पृथिवी .. वायुमुत्पद्यते। .. एवमुत्पन्नस्य कार्यद्वयस्य सखिहीर्षावशात् परमाणुं किया। तर्कदीपिका p. 9 (Athalye's 2nd ed. of 1918).

2437. In the West, Jeans in 'Mysterious Universe' (Cambridge 1931) goes so far as to say (on p. 134) 'the great Architect of the Universe ...

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attributed to God. Most were agreed that God is one without a second, is spiritual (and not physical, though several people worshipped Him in the form of Śiva or Viṣṇu or Devī), immutable, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, creator, holy, good and just &c. Difficult questions arise about belief in God. One or two may be mentioned: Is God omniscient in the completed and strictest sense viz whether he could do anything whatever as he likes or whether there are certain things which he cannot do. Another question is whether all existing things other than himself have been created by him or whether there are some things whose existence is as ultimate as God's. All religions are faced with difficulties and therefore religion is a matter of faith.

Though the Rgveda is full of the deeds of and prayers to individual Gods (such as Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Soma), the Rgveda contains several hymns and verses to the effect that the original Principle is only one, that it creates the world out of itself, enters into it and inspires it. In Rg. I. 164. 46 the sage says 'the wise speak of the One existing (principle) under various names, they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan (wind god)'. This is not a solitary verse. There are similar verses in the Rgveda. For example, Rgveda VIII. 58. 2 (a verse from the Vāṅkhilya hymns) says 'The one fire is kindled in many places, the one Sun appears in the whole world, the one Dawn shines over all this world and the One (Principle, Spirit) became all this'. In Rg. X. 90. 2, it is declared 'all this universe is (in reality) the Puruṣa alone, (both) what has been and what will come into existence in future'. In Rg. II. 1. 3-7 Agni is identified with Indra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Varuna, Mitra, Aryamaṇ, Tvāṣṭṛ, Rudra, Dravinodas, Savitr and Bhaga. All these verses establish that ultimately all plurality is only a play of words, a mere name ('Vācārambhanam vikāro nāmadheyam' as the Chāṇ. Up. VI. 1. 4 states) and that unity is the only Reality and that the fundamental teaching of the Upaniṣads appears in germ in the Rgveda.

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begins to appear as a pure mathematician' Einstein, the greatest scientist of modern times, is reported to have cabled back to Rabbi H. S. Goldstein of New York (who asked by wire 'Do you believe in God) that 'I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals himself in the harmony of all beings, not in a God who concerns himself with the fate and actions of men.' In 'Ont of my later years' he holds that the main conflict between science and religion lies in the concept of a personal God. Vide Viscount Samuel's address in the symposium 'In search of faith' edited by E. W. Martin p. 78, where four views on the relation of God and the world are mentioned.

In the Rgveda there are several hymns about the creation of the world in the 10th Mandala (X. 72, X. 81 and 82, X. 90, X. 121, X. 129). For reasons of space all these cannot be set out at length, but some important texts will be mentioned. The main purpose of the hymn (X. 72) is to describe the birth of eight Ādityas. Rg. X. 72. 2 states²⁴³⁸ that Brahmanaspati brought about the (births of) gods like a smith (that works with bellows) and that in the primeval ages of the Gods' *sat* was produced from *asad*. In Rg. X. 72. 4-5 and 8 it is said that Dakṣa was born from Aditi and Aditi from Dakṣa, that the gods were born after her (Aditi) and that from Aditi eight sons were born. The two hymns X. 81 and 82 refer to Viśvakarman who fashioned the worlds. X. 81. 2 and 4 ask questions 'what was the base'²⁴³⁹ (from where he created the world), what was the

2438. ब्रह्मणस्पतिरेता सं कर्मर इवाधमत् । देवानां पूर्वे युगेऽसत् सदजायत ॥ ऋ. X. 72. 2. Here 'Asat' must be taken to mean 'undeveloped' (*Avyakta*) and not as meaning 'non-existent'. The Br Up (I. 4. 7) states 'all this was then (before creation began) undeveloped and it was developed by name and form'. Similarly, in the Tai. Up. II. 7 it is said असद्वा इदम्य आसीत् ततो वै सदजायत. But the Chān. Up. (VI. 3. 1-3) emphatically asserts "in the beginning there was that only which was 'sat', one only without a second; some say 'in the beginning there was that only which is *asad*, from which arose *sat*'; but how could it be thus, how would *sat* (that which is) spring from *asad* (that which is not)? It is *sat* only that was at the beginning, one without a second. It reflected 'may I be many, may I produce', it created fire &c". Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 4. 15 refers to Tai. Up. II. 7 'asad vā idam-agra āsit' and Chān. Up. III. 19. 1 'asad-evedam-agra āsit' and explains what is meant by *asad* in such passages viz 'नामरूपाकृतवस्तुविषयः प्रायेण सच्चब्दः प्रसिद्ध इति तद्व्याकरणाभावापेक्षया मातृव्यते सदेव ब्रह्मासदिवासीदित्युपचर्यते' and points out that in such passages Śruti itself adds words which give the go by and refute the words 'asad-evedam' &c. In Rg. X. 72. 4 (*aditer dakṣo ajāyata*) Prof. Velankar (Pro. of All I. O. Conference, 17th Session in 1953) holds 'aditeh' to be in the genitive case (p. 62) and not in the ablative case, to avoid the riddle how Dakṣa and Aditi were born of each other, but that breaks the symmetry of the words, such as 'asatah', 'uttānapadah', 'bhuvaḥ' that precede and are taken as ablatives. The present author demurs to this explanation offered by Prof. Velankar.

2439. किं त्विवासीदधिष्ठानमारम्भं कतमस्त्विक्थासीत् । यतो भूमिं जनयन्विश्वकर्मा विद्यामौर्गोन्महिना विश्वचक्षो ॥ विश्वतश्चक्षुरत विश्वतोमुखो विश्वतो बाहुमत विश्वतस्पात् । सं बाहुभ्या धमति सं पतयेर्षावाधूमी जनयन्देव एकः ॥ किं त्विद्वनं क उ स इक्ष आस यतो ध्यावापृथिवी निरतस्तु । ननीविणो मनसा पृच्छतेतु तथद्व्यपतिष्ठद्व्यमानि धारयन् ॥ ऋ. X. 81. 2-4. The half verse किं त्विद्वनं occurs in Rg. X. 31. 7 also. Sayan explains कथासीत् in the first verse as 'कथमभूत् किं स्वयं सदसद्वा भवेदित्यर्थः । उभयमपि नोपपद्यते । तस्ये'

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material (out of which he fashioned the earth), what was the forest and the tree from which heaven and earth were chiselled out' and the third verse describes the one God as follows 'The one God who sees all round, whose face is turned in all directions, who has hands and feet everywhere, who when creating heaven and earth sends them forth with his (two) hands as with bellows and with wings' (as a bird is propelled). Rgveda X. 90 (containing 16 verses) is the famous hymn called Purusasūkta and postulates a supreme creator as a Purusa (called Ādipurusa by Śaṅkara) with a thousand heads, eyes and feet, asserts that all this that has come into being and that is yet to come is Purusa, that from Purusa arose Virāj, from whom arose (what we may call the second) Purusa (Hiranyagarbha) whom the gods offered as *havis* (oblation or *paśu*) in a symbolical sacrifice in which the three seasons, Vāsanta, Grīṣma and Śarad were respectively the ghee, the fuel and the *havis*. This hymn was probably composed at a time when, it appears, there was a firm belief (as in Śat Br. V. 2. 4. 7, VI. 1. 1. 3 and Tai. S. VII. 4. 2. 1) that nothing great can be accomplished without *yajña* or *tapas*. The hymn then proceeds to say that from that primeval *yajña* all animals (horses, cows &c.), the four *varṇas*, the Sun, the Moon, Agni, Indra, the Veda, heaven and earth were produced. In the Atharvaveda XIX. 6 also there are 16 verses of which the first fifteen correspond with the first 15 verses of the Purusasūkta, but the order of verses is different and some of the words also are slightly changed. The Vaj. S. 31 has all the 16 verses of the Purusasūkta but it contains five more verses and a prose passage at the end. Rg. X. 121. 1 declares²⁴⁴⁰ that in the beginning Hiranya-

(Continued from last page)

द्वैतमद्वयसङ्गः। असचेत् सदात्मकयोर्वावापृथिव्योरुपादानानर्हत्वात्। नास्मात्किञ्चन मिदं
इति श्रुतेऽर्थेतिमिमांसाः। The तै अ (II 8. 9. 3 ff) repeats all the verses of
Rg. X. 129 except the 3rd verse and in II 8. 9. 6 states that the answer to
the question किं त्विदं (Rg. X. 81. 4) is ब्रह्म वनं ब्रह्म स ब्रह्म आसीद्यतो वावापृथिवी
निर्दिष्टः। मनोयिषो मनसा विजिगीमि वो ब्रह्माध्यतिष्ठद्ब्रह्मणि धारयन्। 'Brahma was
the forest and the tree from which they chiselled heaven and earth (and
worlds)'.

2440 हिरण्यगर्भं समवर्ततामे मृतस्य ज्ञात पतिरेक आसीत्। ऋ. X. 121. 1. The
तै सं. V. 5. 1. 2 provides 'हिरण्यगर्भं समवर्ततामे इत्याध्यात्मधारयति प्रजापतिर्वै हिरण्य-
गर्भं प्रजापतेरुत्तरुत्तरायः य आत्मदा बलदा यस्य विश्व उपासते प्रशियं यस्य देवाः। यस्य
द्यावाभूतं यस्य मृत्युः कस्यै देवाय इदिया विप्रेभः' ऋ. X. 121. 2 'He gives life and
strength, his commandments are honoured by all the Gods, whose shadow
is immortality and also death; who is this God whom we worship with
other offerings (or to what God we may offer worship with *havis*?).

garbha (the Golden Egg) was born; and verse 10 identifies him with Prajāpati and verses 8 and 10 declare that waters were produced by him from which issues forth Hiranyagarbha (the Golden egg), which was Prajāpati Himself. The second verse is quoted in n. 1440. Rg. X. 125 is a hymn placed in the mouth of Vāk (speech), wherein speech is portrayed as a power even beyond the gods and as creative. Three (1, 6, 8) out of the eight verses may be rendered here 'I move along with the Rudras and Vasus, with the Ādityas and Viśvedevas; I support both Mitra and Varuna, Indra and Agni and the two Āsvins. I stretch the bow of Rudra in order to kill the enemy, the hater of *brahma* (sacred prayer); I cause war for men; I entered heaven and earth. I blow like the wind, producing all the world; I am beyond heaven and beyond this earth; by my greatness (power) I have become such a one'. Here one must hold that the sage is not referring to ordinary speech or language but to the conception that word has creative power and that it is one with God or was the thought uttered by *brahman*.

Rg. X. 129 (called Nāsadīya-sūkta from the opening words) is a unique hymn.²⁴⁴¹ Several passages of his hymn are yet very obscure in spite of the labour bestowed upon it by eminent scholars. In this hymn the First Principle or Creator is not given any name but is simply spoken of as 'tad-ekam', as done in the Upanisads in 'Tat-tvam-asi' or 'ekam-svādvītyam' (Chān. Up. VI. 2.1-2.). The important and tolerably clear passages are translated here: "There was then neither 'asat' (what is not,

2441. नासदासीको सदासीत्तदानी नासीदजो नो व्योम परो यत् किमवरीवः
कुद कर्य इमेज्जम्: किमासीद्वहन गर्भीतम् ॥ न मुत्सुरासीदश्वत् न तर्हि न रात्र्या अह्ना आसीत्
पकेतः। आनीदवात् स्वधया तदेक तन्मादान्यक्ष परं किं च नात् तम आसीत्तमसा शब्दहमधे-
ऽपकेतं सलिल सर्गमा इदम् । ... कामस्तदये समवर्ततावे मनसो रेतः प्रथम यदासीत् । ... को
अद्वा वेदं क इह प्रोचत् कुत आजाता कुत इय विवृष्टिः । . इय विवृष्टिर्यत् आवभूत् यदि वा
दधे यदि वा न । यो अस्याश्चक्ष, परमे व्योमन् सो अहं वेदं यदि वा न वेदं ॥ Rg. X. 129. 1-7.
The शतपथब्राह्मण (X, 5 3. 1-2) makes an interesting reference to this hymn:
'नेव वा इदमग्रेऽसदासीन्नैव सदासीत् । आसीद्विन्न वा इदमग्रे नैवासीत्तद्ध तन्मन एवासः ।
तस्मादेतद्विणिगम्यदृक्तम् । नासदासीको सदासीत्तदानीमिति । नेव हि सन्मनो नेवासत् तदिदं
मनः सृष्टमाविरुद्यत् ।' This Br makes it clear that this (Universe) was as it
were neither non-existent nor existent and it further says 'in the beginning
this (Universe) as it were existed and did not exist' there was then only
the mind and that mind as it were was neither existent nor non-existent.'
It may be noted that the Bhāgavatapurāṇa speaks of the Lord as importing
the esoteric (guhya) Truth in verses 32-36 of II. 9, verse 32 which re-
minds us of Rg. X. 129 1 is अहमेवासमेवाग्रे नान्यथैतदम्यरम् । पश्चादहं यदेतन्न
यौवशिष्येत सोऽम्यरम् ॥

non-being) nor 'sat' (what is); there was no sky nor the heaven which is beyond; what was it that covered all? Where was it and under whose shelter? Was there deep unfathomable abyss of waters?; (2) There was no death, hence nothing immortal; there was no consciousness (distinction) of night and day; that one breathed by its own nature (power) without there being any air, really nothing other than that existed; (4) desire came into being, that was the first flow (seed, offspring) of the mind: (6) who knows directly, who can proclaim it here whence this creation came into being, (7) He from whom arose this creation, whether he made it or did not make it, the Highest seer in the highest heaven, he indeed knows or even he does not know?

It would be noticed that the sage, who was a poet and philosopher, proclaimed that there was that one Being, raised high above all gods, conditions and limitations; he, the sage, gives expression to what he conceived to be the state before the creation of the universe. Night and day, death and immortality are opposites. These exist only when there is manifest-ness or creation and therefore he says 'there was no death, nor anything immortal'. The hymn does not say that there was non-being out of which being grew. What he means is that That One alone breathed, the opposites, being and non-being, did not exist. For translations and remarks on this hymn, vide Max-Müller's 'History of ancient Sanskrit Literature' (1859) pp. 539-566, and 'Six systems of Indian Philosophy' (1919 ed.) pp. 49-52, Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'Indian Philosophy' (1923), vol. I. pp. 100-104 Prof Whitney (Proceedings of American Oriental Society Vol. XI p. CXI.), in his characteristic supercilious manner referred to above on p 512, remarked that the praises bestowed on this hymn were nauseating. Deussen, long after Whitney's diatribe, said 'in its noble simplicity, in the loftiness of its philosophic vision, it is possibly the most admirable bit of the philosophy of olden times' and that 'no translation can ever do justice to the beauty of the original' (vide Bloomfield's 'The religion of the Veda,' p. 234, ed. of 1908). Vide Keith's 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads.' Vol. II. pp. 435-436. In many other passages of the Rgveda, different gods are referred to as creators. God Prajāpati is said to have created heaven and earth, the wide, deep, well formed and to have pushed them by his power without support (IV. 56. 3). Indra is said to have created the Sun and Usas (Rg II. 12. 7) and to have established heaven without any beam to support, supported and spread the earth (Rg. II. 15. 2).

The creation hymns refer to a stage when there was no generally accepted theory about the origin of the world. But this much is clear that in the most ancient times, at least some of the Vedic sages had arrived at the theory that there was only one Principle or Spirit, though called by various names and that it willed to create the world and created it from itself.

Apart from the above-mentioned hymns that may be called creation hymns, the R̥gveda contains many references to the creation or the support²⁴⁴² of heaven and earth by several gods and also creation of other things. In Rg. X 89. 4 Indra is said to have made from heaven and earth on all sides as the axle does the wheels. Rg. I. 154. 4 refers to Visnu who single-handed supports the three, viz. the earth, the heaven (and antarikṣa) and all the worlds. Mitra is said to support heaven and earth (Rg. III. 59. 1) and to bear all gods (Rg. III. 59. 8)²⁴⁴³. Brahmanaspati (Lord of Prayer, Brhaspati) is said to have sent forth (blazed) the births of gods like a blacksmith and that in the primeval times of the gods *sat* was born from *asat*. Soma is said (Rg. VI. 47. 4) to have made the width of the earth and the loftiness of the heaven and supported the wide antarikṣa (mid regions) and in Rg. II. 40 (which is addressed jointly to Soma-Pūṣan) it is said that one of them (Soma) produced all worlds and the other (Pūṣan, the Sun) goes over-seeing or marking, the doings of the whole world (verse 5).

In Rg. VII. 78. 3 dawns (plural) are said to have created the Sun, Yajña and Agni. This is metaphorical, since after each dawn the Sun rises, sacrificial fire is kindled into flames and sacrifice is offered. In Rg. I 96. 2 Agni is said to be the progenitor of men. In Rg. II. 35. 2 (apām napāt, grandson of waters i. e. Agni) is said to have created all worlds.

Heaven and earth (as dual divinities) have six hymns addressed to them in the R̥g. viz. I. 159-160, 185, IV. 56, VI. 70, VII. 53) and they are called 'rodasī' and sisters (Rg. I. 185. 5). They are also called parents of the gods (Rg. VIII. 97. 8, X. 2. 7).

2442. च उ त्रिधातु पृथिवीभुत धामिनी दाधार भुवनानि विन्वा । ऋ 1. 154. 4 The word त्रिधातु occurs at least two dozen times in the R̥gveda, but the meaning is not certain. In Rg VIII 40 12 we have 'tridhātunā sarmāna pātām-asmān' (protect us with a three-fold protection) and it is difficult to say what 'tridhātu' protection is.

2443. ब्रह्मणस्पतिरेता सद्जायत । ऋ X. 72. 2 एता refers to जाना (जन्मानि) in the first verse (देवानां ह्यु बयं जाना प्रबोधान विपश्यता). For the meaning of सद् and असद् vide note 2438 above.

The word 'antariksa' (atmospheric region) occurs at least a hundred times in the Rgveda. Sometimes we have phrases like (*tisrah prthivī*) meaning the three worlds including the earth (Rg I. 34. 8), while in other passages reference is made to lower, middle and highest prithivī as in Rg. I. 108. 9 (*yad indrāgni avamasyām prthivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta sthah*) meaning thereby the earth, antariksa and heaven. Antariksa is often called 'rajas' as the region of dust, mists and clouds in Rg. I. 35. 2 and 9).

In Rg. I. 35. 6 it is said 'there are three *dyaus* (i. e. heaven, antariksa and earth), two are on the lap of Savitr (i. e. heaven and earth) and one (antariksa) is in the world of Yama. The sage explains in Rg. X. 88. 15 'I have heard of two paths viz of the pītr̥s and of the gods and also of men; the whole world that moves reaches that (region) which is between the father (heaven) and the mother (the earth)'.

Varuna is said to have spread antariksa on forests, spread the Sun in heaven and Soma on mountains (Rg V. 85. 2). Even in the times of the Rgveda speculation had begun about the distance between heaven and earth. In Rg. I. 155. 5 the poet says that no one dare soar up to the third step of Visnu (i. e. heaven), not even the birds flying on their wings. In the Aitareya Brāhmana the distance between the earth and heaven is put at one thousand days' journey for a horse ²⁴⁴⁴

In the Taittiriya Samhitā Prajāpati is frequently mentioned as creating the gods and asuras (III. 3. 7. 1), as creating yajñas (I. 6. 9. 1), as creating people (II. 1. 2. 1) and animals (I. 5. 9. 7) and desiring to create *prajā* and performing tapas for that (III. 1. 1. 1). Tai. S. (V. 6. 4. 2) states that all this in the beginning was water, a sea and that Prajāpati becoming wind floated rapidly on a lotus leaf.

The Atharvaveda has some hymns on creation. But they are verbose, repetitive and do not possess the depth, philosophy and terse style of the hymns of the Rgveda cited above. In hymns 7 and 8 of the 10th *kāṇḍa* it puts forward Skambha as the base and as identified with Prajāpati, as the creator and supporter of all worlds and as having all the thirty-three gods in himself; it asks 'by how much did Skambha enter the manifold

²⁴⁴⁴ सद्यन्मूर्ध्वं स्वर्गकामस्य सद्यन्मूर्ध्वे वा इतः स्वर्गो लोकः । ऐ. ब्रा (7th अ, 7th सूक्त or 2nd पक्षिका 17).

forms of the highest, lowest and middling type that Prajāpati created; how much is that in which he (Skambha) did not enter'? In Rg. IX. 86. 46 Soma made for sacrifice is spoken of as Skambha. Hymn 8 of kānda X (of Atharvaveda) is styled 'description of Jyestha-brahma' (the highest or oldest brahma). Two verses from it may be cited 'Obeisance to that *Jyestha Brahma* that governs all, whether produced or to be produced, and to whom alone heaven pertains. These two, heaven and earth, stand supported by Skambha; all this that has *Ātman*, that breathes and blinks is Skambha. Skambha literally means 'support' or 'pillar'. The verbal form 'Skabhnāti' occurs in Rg. X. 6. 3 and the word 'Skambha' occurs several times in the Rg. but not in the sense of 'creator'. In Atharva X. 8. 2 Skambha is mentioned twice, while in X. 7²⁴⁴⁵ (of 44 verses) it occurs many times. Atharva X. 2 is called *Brahmaprakāśana* hymn (of 33 verses). Numerous questions are asked in verses one to 19. In verses 20, 22, 24 questions are asked and verses 21, 23, 25 give replies to them. One question and answer may be set out 'By whom was this earth made (or arranged), by whom was the high heaven placed, by whom was the sky placed above and crosswise and in various directions'? 'Brahma made the earth, brahma is the heaven placed high, it is brahma that is the sky placed above, cross-wise and in various directions.' Verse 27 of Atharva X. 8 is the same as Śv. Up. IV. 3 and identifies the creator with young and old, men and women and boy and girl. In Atharva X. 8 several other deities also are mentioned but they are deemed to be comprehended in the Supreme Entity. In Atharva IX. 2 (25 verses) there is apotheosis of Kāma, in the first eighteen verses of which there are prayers to Kāma for vanquishing and driving away enemies, the last quarter of each of the verses 19 to 24 ends 'tasmai te Kāma nama it krnmi' (I offer obeisance to you, O Kāma). These six verses declare that Kāma appeared first, that neither the gods, nor pitrs nor men reached Kāma who is greater than heaven and earth, waters, Agni, the directions, all beings that blink their eyes, the sea; Vāta, Agni, the Sun and the Moon do not reach Kāma.

2445. यस्मिन् स्तब्धः प्रजापतिर्लोकान्तर्वा अचारयत् । स्कम्भं तं ब्रह्म कतमः स्विदेव स ॥
यत्परममवमं यच्च मध्यमं प्रजापतिः सृजते विष्णुरूपम् । कियता स्कम्भं प्रविशेत् तत्र यः
प्राविशत्किञ्चित् बभूव ॥ यस्य त्रयस्त्रिंशद्देवा अङ्गे सर्वे समाहिताः । स्कम्भं तं ब्रह्म कतमः
स्विदेव सः ॥ अथर्व X. 7. 7, 8, 13. केनेयं भूमिर्विहिता केन द्यौरुत्तरा हिता । केनेदमूर्ध्वं
तिर्यक् चान्तरिक्षं व्यचो हितम् ॥ ब्रह्मणा भूमिर्विहिता ब्रह्म द्यौरुत्तरा हिता । ब्रह्मेदमूर्ध्वं
तिर्यक् चान्तरिक्षं व्यचो हितम् । अथर्व X. 2. 24-25.

Atharva XIX. 52 is a hymn²⁴⁴⁶ of five verses addressed to Kāma, who is said to have appeared in the beginning and was the first flow of the mind.

Atharvaveda XI. 4 (26 verses) is addressed to Prāna, the first verse being 'obeisance to Prāna under whose domination is all this (world); he is the Lord of all and in him everything is centred (or established)' and verse 12 is 'Prāna is Virāj, Prāna is the directing power, all offer worship to Prāna, Prāna is indeed the Sun, the Moon and they (the sages) call him Prajāpati'.

In hymns 53 (10 verses) and 54 (5 verses) of Kānda 19 the Atharvaveda appears to put forward Kāla (time) as the first principle. Three of these are here translated. 'Tapas is placed in Kāla, also the Jyestha Brahma, Kāla is the Lord of all, he was the father of Prajāpati; Kāla created people, in the beginning Kāla created Prajāpati, Svayambhū (Brahmā), Kāśyapa and tapas sprang from Kāla; from Kāla were born waters, brahma, tapas and directions, sun-rise is due to Kāla and it is merged in Kāla (at night).'

The Śat. Br. in many places speaks of creation. A few passages only can be referred to here. The Śat Br. (in VI. 1. 1) starts by saying that 'in the beginning there was here the non-existent' and asserts that the non-existent was the sages, the vital airs and then it postulates Prajāpati (made from seven vital airs) who desired 'May I be more, may I have progeny'. 'He toiled and practised tapas, and being tired, he created first of all the Brahman, the triple lore (the three Vedas), that Prajāpati then created waters from Vāk that is the world; that he (Prajāpati) entered the waters with the triple lore and that thence an egg arose; he touched it, then earth was produced and so on.

In XI. 1. 6. 1 ff. the Śat. Br. states "In the beginning this was water, only a sea The waters desired 'How shall we have

2446 कामस्तद्वये समवर्तत सप्तसौ रेतः प्रथमं यदासीत् । स काम कानेन ब्रूहता सुयोनी रापरशेयं यजमानाय धेहि ॥ अथर्व XIX 52 1 For सप्तसौ रेतः, compare Rig. X. 129. 4 quoted above in n 2441, प्राणाय मनो यदय सर्वमिह ब्रूते । यो मृतः सर्वस्येश्वरो यस्मिन्सर्वं भवतिदितम् ॥ प्राणो विराट् प्राणो देही प्राणं सर्वं उपासते ॥ प्राणो ह सर्वेश्वद्रमा. प्राणमाहुः प्रजापतिम् ॥ अथर्व XI. 4. 1 and 12, काले तपः काले ज्येष्ठं काले ब्रह्म समाहितम् । कालो ह सर्वस्येश्वरो य विदासीत्यजापते ॥ काल मजा अष्टजत कालो अये प्रजापतिम् । स्वर्चभूः कश्यपः कालात्तपः कालादजायत ॥ अथर्व XIX 53. 8 and 10, कालादायः समभवन् कालाद् ब्रह्म तपो दिशः । कालोदेति सूर्यः काले नि विहाते पुनः ॥ अथर्व XIX. 54. 1.

progeny?' They toiled and practised austerities; while they were doing this a golden egg was produced, which floated for about a year, in about a year's time a Purusa, Prajāpati, was born; he broke open the egg; he created the Gods by (the breath of) his mouth, he created Agni, Indra, Soma" &c.

In XI. 2. 3. 1-2 the Śat Br. says—In the beginning this (universe) was *brahma*, it created the gods, Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya; then a reference is made to name and form (*nāma rūpe*) by which he descends into the worlds and it is said 'these two (*nāmarūpe*) are the great manifestations of *brahma*'.

This myth about a golden egg of the universe is developed from Rg. X. 129 3 and X. 121. 1 (Hiranyagarbha samavartatāgre) in the Ch Up. III. 19 1-2 'In the beginning this universe was *asat* (not unfolded), it became *sat* (began to unfold), it was born (i.e. it took form); then an egg was evolved, it lay (in waters) for the period of a year; then it broke up, the two halves were one of silver and the other of gold, the silver half is this earth and the golden half is heaven'. This is followed in Manusmṛti as will be shown later on.

It is stated in the Śat Br. X. 4 2. 22-23 that Prajāpati arranged the R̥gveda in such a way that the number of syllables in the R̥gveda come to 12000 Brhati metres (each Brhati has 36 syllables).

The Tai. Br. states "Prajāpati created Gods and asuras (II. 2. 3) but he did not create Indra; the Gods said to him 'create Indra for us'; just as I created you by means of *tapas* in the same way you create Indra, they practised *tapas* and they saw Indra (abiding) in themselves (i.e. in their hearts) they said to him 'be born'". In II. 2. 9 1 the Tai.²⁴⁴⁷ Br. states "this universe was nothing at all in the beginning; there was no heaven nor earth nor mid region; that non-existent created Mind with the thought 'let me be'". In II. 6. 2 3 the same Brāhmaṇa says "Prajāpati created by the help of Veda the two forms '*sat*' and '*asat*'". The Tai Br. in II. 8. 8 9-10 cites as Puroṇuvākya and Yājñya of puroḍāsa and puroṇuvākya of 'havis' as follows: 'Brahma produced the Gods and all this world;

2447 इदं वा अत्रै नैव किञ्चनासीत् । न द्यौरासीत् । न पृथिवी । नान्तरिक्षम् । तद-
सदेव सत् मनोऽङ्कुरत स्थितिम् । तै ब्रा II 2 9. 1. ब्रह्म देवानजनयत् ब्रह्म विश्वमिदं
जगत् । ब्रह्मणा सत्त्वं निर्मितम् । ब्रह्म ब्राह्मण आत्मना ॥ अन्तरिक्षाग्निं लोका । ब्रह्मैव भूतानां
ज्येष्ठम् । तेन कीदृति स्पर्धितम् ॥ ब्रह्मदेवास्तयस्त्रिंशत् । ब्रह्मक्षिन्द्रमजापती । ब्रह्मन् विश्वा
भूतानि । नावीनान्तः समाहिता ॥ तै ब्रा II. 8. 8 9-10.

the ksatriyas were produced from brahman and brahma transformed its form into brāhmanas; (Yājñā) 'these worlds abide inside *brahman*, similarly all this world is inside it; brahma is the best among all bhūtas; who vie or compete with it, brahman is thirty-three Gods, and all bhūtas, all placed inside it as in a boat'

In the Kausītaki Brāhmana there are brief allusions to Prajāpati. In VI. 1 it is stated 'Prajāpati, desirous of progeny, practised *tapas*; while he was thus practising *tapas* five were born, viz. Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, the Moon and Usas as fifth;' in VI. 10 it is said 'Prajāpati practised *tapas*; after having practised *tapas*, he produced this world (the earth) from *prāna*, the mid regions from *apāna* and the yonder world (heaven) from *vyāna*; he then created Agni, Vāyu and Āditya respectively from the earth, mid regions and heaven, and he produced *ṛk* verses from Agni, *yajus* texts from Vāyu and *sāman* texts from Āditya; in XIII. 1 it is asserted 'Prajāpati is indeed *yajña*, in which all desires, all immortality are centered'; in XXVIII. 1 it is said 'Prajāpati created *yajña*, the gods worshipped by means of *yajña*, when it was created and thereby obtained all desired objects' 2448

The chief aim and purpose of the Brāhmanas of the Veda are to prescribe the acts and parts of the ritual of various sacrifices, to set out some myths and legends for their origin and to postulate various rewards on the performance of numerous sacrifices.

Prajāpati, who is mentioned very rarely in the Rgveda (IV. 53. 2 where Savitr is called Prajāpati, IX. 5. 9 where Soma is called Prajāpati, X. 85. 4 where in the marriage hymn Prajāpati is prayed to bestow offspring, X. 169. 4 where Prajāpati is invoked to bestow good cows, X. 184. 1 where Prajāpati along with other gods and goddesses is invoked for the blessing of conception in a married woman, X. 121. 10 (already referred to above on p. 1490), becomes the most prominent god in the Brāhmanas. The Ait. Br. narrates the story that after Indra killed Vṛtra he wanted to be great and honoured in place of Prajāpati, that then Prajāpati said (if you are to be great) 'who am I going

2448. प्रजापतिर्व यज्ञस्तस्मिन्तर्वा कामा सर्वममृतत्वं च। कौषी. भा XIII. 1 (Lindner's ed. Jena, 1887). प्रजापतिर्दे यज्ञं सृजे तेन ह सृजेन देवा ईजिरे तेन हंष्टु मर्गं यामानासु। Ibid. XXVIII. 1.

to be' (koham-iti) and thereby Prajāpati came to be called 'Ka'.²⁴⁴⁹

The Ait. Br. states that Prajāpati desiring to propagate and to be many and having practised tapas created the three worlds, earth, mid region and heaven from which arose three lights (*nyotis*), Agni, Vāyu and Āditya, from which arose the three Vedas &c.

The Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas show that the popular belief about the individual self was that by good deeds the soul reaches heaven, becomes immortal and enjoys various joys and pleasures. Vide Rg. IX 113. 7-11, I. 125. 4-6, Atharva IV. 34. 2 and 5, VI. 120. 3. There was also the idea of retribution and recompense for evil or harmful acts done by one person to another. For example, the Śat Br. says (XII. 9. 1. 1) 'for whatever food a man eats in this world, by the very same is he eaten again in the other world.' Vide also Śat. Br XI 6.1 But when we come to the Upanisads, the whole intellectual atmosphere is changed. The Upanisads frequently assert that Ātman is the only reality, that there is nothing else and that the Ātman can only be described as 'not this-not this' i. e. the Ātman is unknowable. This is the first and foremost aspect of Vedānta. But this lofty metaphysical conception clashed with the ideas of common people who thought that a real universe existed apart from the Creator. The higher philosophic minds had to concede the reality of the universe for common people. They were prepared to say that the universe exists, in truth, however, it is nothing but the Ātman entered into the universe. They said that the world was phenomenal, not false or nothing, but the world had the Ātman behind it. This was the good aspect of the Vedānta viz. that the universe evolved from the first principle, *brahma*. They distinguished between *saguna* (qualified) *brahman* that was for prayer and worship (*upāsana*), and for practical purposes (*vyavahārāvasthā*) and *nirguna* (unqualified) *brahma*. But the higher thought also insisted that the highest truth (*pāramārthikasatya*) is that *brahman* is one, that everything in the world (men, animals, inorganic matter)

²⁴⁴⁹ In Rg. X. 121 the last quarter of the first 9 verses is "Kasmai devāya havisā vidhema" (to what god shall we offer havis?). Then the 10th and last verse addresses Prajāpati with the words 'there is no God other than you who encompassed all these creations.'. It is probably due to this that from 'kasmai' (in the first nine verses) Prajāpati came to be called 'Ka'.

is brahman ('*sarvam khalvidam brahma*' Chān. Up. III. 14. 1, 'aham brahmāsmi tasmāt tatsarvam-abhava' Br. Up I. 4. 10). The Ait Up. quoted below is most emphatic about the identity²⁴⁵⁰ of the first principle with men, beasts, motionless beings and other passages do the same. As regards the elements the Br. Up. has a long passage²⁴⁵¹ (III. 7. 2-23) in which Yājñavalkya propounds to Uddālaka Āruni the sublime doctrine viz. that the Ātman residing in the earth and other elements is inside them, whom they (the elements) do not know, whose body is the earth and other elements, who rules from within the earth and others, that that Ātman is the soul of thee (and of mine and others), is the inner ruler and is immortal. The last part of this passage is 'the ruler within is unseen but seeing, unheard but hearing, unperceived but perceiving, unknown but knowing, there is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, that is no other perceiver but he, there is no other knower but he. This is the Self, the ruler within, the immortal. Everything else is distress' This whole section called

2450. आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाय आसीत्तान्पार्त्तिकचन मितत् । स ईक्षत लोकां सुजा इति । स इमंल्लोकान्मृज्जतात्मो मरीचिर्ममाप । स ईक्षत इमे च लोका । लोकपालां सुजा इति । सो अन्वय एव उपरं सद्युत्तरामूर्च्छयत् । ... स ईक्षत कथं निन्दं महेते स्यादिति । स ईक्षत कतेरेण मया इति । ... स एतमेव सीमानं विदार्थितया द्वारा प्रापद्यत । ऐ. उप I 1-3, I. 3 11-12 This passage is dealt with in V. S III 3. 16 which establishes that here the word Ātman stands for Paramātmān, अम, मरीचि, मर, आपः stand for heaven, mid-region, earth and waters below the earth.

2451 य. पृथिव्या तिष्ठत् पृथिव्या अन्तरो यं पृथिवी न वेद यस्य पृथिवी शरीरं या पृथिवीमन्तरो यमपत्येयं त आत्माऽन्तर्याम्यमृतः । ... अहो दृष्टाऽश्रुतः ओताऽमृतो मन्ताऽविज्ञातो विज्ञाता । एष त आत्माऽन्तर्याम्यमृतः । अतोऽन्यदार्तम् । बृह उप III. 7 3 and 23 ; compare with this last, बृह उप II. 4. 2 कतमो याज्ञवल्क्य सर्वान्तरः । न हृष्टेर्दृष्टारं पश्ये. .. एष त आत्मा सर्वान्तरः । अतोऽन्यदार्तम् and III. 5 2 ईकराचार्य in his *Maṭhy* on the last passage explains अतोऽन्यदार्तम् as 'एतदेवैकमनार्तमविनाशि कूटस्थम्' and so आर्त means liable to sorrow, infatuation, old age and death, as appears from the question and answer in बृह उप III 5. 1 कतमो याज्ञवल्क्य सर्वान्तरः । योऽश्नायापिपासे शोकं मोहं जरां मृत्युमत्येति । After quoting this passage René Grousset in 'Sum of History' tr. into English by A. and H. Temple Patterson (1951) pays a handsome compliment to it (on p. 95) 'what better introduction to Christianity is there than the conception of the sanctity of the human individual and of the universe as temples of God' In ऐ. उप III 2 we are given 17 words that are said to be names of Prajāna (1 e *brahman*) and then ऐ. उप III 3 runs 'एष ब्रह्मा, एष इन्द्रः, एष भजापति, एते सर्वे देवाः, इमानि च पञ्च महाभूतानि पृथिवी वायुराकाश आयो ज्योतिर्वापि, एतानीमानि च छद्मनिष्प्राणीव बीजानीतराणि चेतुराणि चाष्टजानि च जायजानि स्वेदजानि चोद्भिज्जानि चाश्वा गावः सुता हस्तिनो यक्षिचर्चदं प्राणि जलानि च पतत्रि च यत्र स्थारं सर्वे वसन्त्येते भजानि प्रतिष्ठितम् । भजानेत्रो लोकः । यज्ञा प्रतिष्ठा । यज्ञान् ब्रह्म ।' This carries to its logical conclusion the idea in the Puruṣasūktā X 90 6, 8, 10,

antaryāmi-brāhmana has a parallel in Br. Up. II. 5 (Madhu-vidyā). The ordinary man's conception of *brahman* as the creator was not, however, entirely given up by the thinkers in the Upanisads, though it was said that that concept was due to *avidyā* (ignorance about Reality). Brahman conceived as creator was called *Īśvara* (a personal God), though the worshipper might know that *brahman* in essence is above all conditions and limitations of personality. This is theism, which acknowledges three entities viz. a real world, the *Paramātman* (creative *Ātman*) and the individual self dependent on *Paramātman*. But the real thought of the Upanisads is centred round the non-difference of *brahman* and *ātman* and the physical world. This thought that *brahman* entered into what are called individual souls and also the material universe is the third aspect of Vedānta. On V. S II 3 43 Śaṅkarācārya quotes passages from the *Brahma-sūkta* belonging to the *Atharvaveda*²⁴⁵² and from the *Śv. Up.* expressive of the identity with *brahman* of fishermen, slaves, gamblers, of men and women, of boys and girls and old men tottering on a staff. The faith that the same Spirit animates the universe, from the stone, worms and beasts to man, is an elevating one, may make one feel that all creatures are brethren seeking the Creator and may, in a world dominated by egoism and urged to activities for individual prosperity and benefit, introduce some sweetness and consolation. Dausseen in 'The philosophy of the Upanishads' (translated by A. S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1906) pays a glowing tribute to the sages of the Upanishads in the following eloquent passage 'It was here that for the first time the original thinkers of the Upanishads, to their immortal honour, found it (key) when they recognized our *ātman*, our inmost individual being, as the *Brahman*, the inmost being of universal nature and of all her phenomena' (p. 40). Vide also J. Royce in 'The world and the individual', First series of Lectures, particularly pp. 156-175 for the exposition of Chān. Up. III. 14 and VI. 2-15 and the Br. Up. dialogue between Yāj. and Maitreyī

The Upanisads are full of theories of creation and of the nature of the First Principle. A few passages may first be cited

2452 एके शाण्विनो दातृकितवादिभावः ब्रह्मण आमनन्त्याथर्वणिना ब्रह्मवृत्ते-ब्रह्म दाक्षा ब्रह्म दाक्षा ब्रह्मैवेति कित्वा-इत्यादिना । इति हीनजन्तुदादरणेन सर्वपात्रेण नाममप्युक्तकार्यकरणमङ्गातयविद्याना जीवानां ब्रह्मत्वमाह । तद्यान्यत्रापि ब्रह्ममक्रियागिवायमर्थप्रपञ्चयते । त्वं श्री त्वं इमानसि त्वं कुमार उत वा कुमारी । त्वं जीर्णं दण्डेन वञ्चसि त्वं जातं भवति निवृत्तौ तुल्य । इति । The last is अर्थः X. 8 27 and श्वेता च. 4 3

about creation The Br Up. I. 4 (in 3-4, 7) has an original and significant passage on creation. Some part of it is set out here 'In the beginning this was Ātman alone in the form of Purusa; He (being alone) found no pleasure; he desired to have a second (a companion), he became of the extent of a male and a female in close embrace, he made this very Ātman fall aside in two parts that became husband and wife; from them were born men and he produced lower animals up to ants; this (universe) was then undeveloped (or not unfolded), it was then developed in names and forms, that (Ātman) entered into this up to the finger tips, just as a razor remains hidden in a sheath or just as the all supporting (fire) is not seen in wood'. In this passage the popular idea of the creation of the world is taken up and related to the one reality, Ātman, and the emphasis appears to be placed on the theory that the sole reality is Ātman, under the phantasmagoria of world phenomena. In Ch. Up VII. 10. 1 it is said 'this earth, mid regions, heaven, gods and men, beasts and birds, grass and herbs, animals including insects, butterflies, ants. These are all nothing but waters in solid form.' The Chān. Up. (VI. 2. 3-4 and VI. 3. 2-3) states "in the beginning *Sat* alone was existent, one without a second; it thought 'I shall become many, I shall have progeny'; it created heat (*tejas*), from *tejas* waters were produced, from water food; that divinity proposed 'I shall enter into these three divinities (heat, water and food) with this living self and unfold name and form'. Here reference is made to three elements only viz *tejas*, water, and earth (*anna* is produced from plants which spring from the earth). It is not, however, proper to hold that only three were then recognized, these three were the most obvious and the other two Vāyu and Ākāśa mentioned in Ait. and Tai. Up. are elusive. The Ait. Up. (quoted in note 2451) begins "In the beginning there was here this *Ātman* alone, there was nothing else that was active (lit. that opened and closed eyes); He reflected 'I shall create worlds'. He created these worlds, the *ambhas* (water above heaven), *marīci* 'rays' (i e.) atmospheric region, death, waters". Then the Up. proceeds: He created guardians of worlds and proposed to produce food for them. Then he reflected 'how can this frame subsist apart from me? Then he reflected 'by what way shall I enter into it?' Then it is stated that he split open the crown of the head and entered by that door. The Tai Up. II. 6 says "He (the Ātman) desired 'May I become many, I shall have progeny'; having practised *tapas*, he created all this (universe) whatever it is; after having created it he

entered into it" and again in II. 7 'in the beginning this was *asat* (not unfolded), then it became *sat* (developed), it unfolded itself'. This is the basis of V. S. I. 4. 26 (*ātmakṛteḥ parināmāt*) which establishes that brahman is both *kartr* (agent) and *karma* (object) of creation. The same Up. in II. 1 speaks of the creation of *ākāśa* from the *Ātman*, of *Vāyu* from *ākāśa*, of *Agni* from *Vāyu*, of waters from *Agni* and of the earth from waters. Here we have five elements instead of three (as in the *Chān Up.*). The *Ait. Up.* III. 3 names the five elements and calls them *Mahābhūtāni* (though the usual order is not followed), so do *Prāśna VI. 4*, *Śv. Up. II. 12*, *Katha III. 15* (where the five *gunas*, *śabda*, *sparsa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha*, each peculiar to the five elements from *ākāśa* to *prthvī*, are mentioned).²⁴⁵³

2453. Prof. George Sarton in 'A History of Science' (Harvard University Press, 1952) states (p. 247) that Empedocles born about 490 B. C. (in Greece) postulated only four elements, fire, air, water and earth and that a fifth, ether, was added by Plato and Aristotle. Vide also Introduction (p. 11) to Plato's *Timaeus* (in Loeb's classical library, Vol. VII, ed. of 1952) translated by Rev. R. G. Bury. Plato's exuberant imagination constructed the physical world on the pattern of geometrical figures most familiar to him and assigned the cube to earth and different kinds of triangles to fire, air and water (vide Jowett's translation of *Timaeus*, Vol. III pp. 638-639). The Greek philosophers relied on reason and not on ancient texts (as Indian sages did) and Plato's philosophy and cosmology were looked upon as the acme of wisdom even up to the 19th century, but Sarton (on p. 420 of the above work) remarks that modern men of science can regard it only as a monument of unwisdom and recklessness (rather a harsh judgment). Dr. W. M. Smart in 'Origin of the Earth' remarks that in probing into the mystery of creation science has not been more successful than the poetic Hebrew expounders of cosmology (pp. 8-9). For comparison of ancient Indian ideas on cosmology with those of ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Hebrews, and Greeks one may read a small book in the 'Corridors of Time' Series' Vol. I on 'Apes and men' by H. Peak and H. J. H. Fleure pp. 6-8 (Oxford, 1927), on p. 7 there is a figure of a Babylonian tablet recording part of the creation story. On p. 56 it states that the probable place of the origin of man and the period at which human story began are matters of great speculation. The principal questions that arise in cosmology are: (1) when were the earth and planets produced, (2) what is the process that accounts for the present state of the earth and the solar and other systems. Sanskrit works from the *Rgveda* down to the *Purāṇas* tried to answer these questions in their own ways. During the last one hundred years or so the theories of Lemaitre and Darwin and the developments in the sciences of Geology, Biology, Physics and Astronomy have revolutionized the whole conception of cosmology. Even the work of Sir A. Eddington 'The expanding Universe' (Cambridge, 1933) has become

(Continued on next page)

It has already been shown that in the Tai. Up and the Chān. Up (vide note 2430) it is stated that the bhūtas spring from and are absorbed in *brahman*. The order of dissolution is the reverse of that of creation. This is stated by the Vedāntasūtra II 3 14 ('*viparyayaṇa tu kramoṣa upapadyate ca*'). Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya quotes a verse of the Śāntiparva in support of this.²⁴⁵⁴

The theory of yugas, mahāyugas, manvantaras and kalpas has already been dealt with in vol. III, pp. 885-896 and above pp. 686-692. The dissolution of the world was called *pralaya* which was said to be of four kinds (vide above pp. 693-95), two of which are *naimitika pralaya* (which occurs at the end of a day of Brahmā, that is equal to 1000 mahāyugas) and *Prākṛtika* (when everything including Prakṛti is dissolved in Paramātman). The Gītā (VIII. 17-18) and Manu I 73 state that the day of Brahmā is equal to one thousand yugas and the night is also of the same duration, that all manifested things spring from the unmanifested (First Principle) at the beginning of the day (of Brahmā) and at the coming of the night (of Brahmā) they merge in the same unmanifested (Principle). The present author does not like the disagreeable task of comparing Sanskrit cosmology with the theories in other religious scriptures such as the Bible, but will only refer to some Western writers on that subject. About these ideas of creation and dissolution of the universe René Grousset in the work mentioned above observes (p. 96) 'the same power of synthesis appears in the ancient Indian cosmogonies which transcend in their breadth all that the Ionian philosophers or Lucretius have left us. In them the

(Continued from last page)

somewhat outmoded by recent discoveries. The present author does not know much of science. But from what little he has read in a few scientific works he may say that the history of science makes it clear that the actual state of man's scientific knowledge is provisional, that scientific theories are always subject to corrections and modifications. For instance, Newton's laws of motion were regarded for over two hundred years as absolutely correct enunciations of fundamental and universal laws of physics, but in recent times they have been found to be mere approximations.

2454. स्मृतावप्युत्पत्तिक्रमादिपर्ययेणैवाप्यस्तत्र तत्र भवति । 'जगत्पतिर्वा देवो
प्रथित्यस्तु प्रतीयते । जगतिष्यप्य प्रतीयन्ते जगतिर्वायौ प्रतीयन्ते ॥' इत्यादि । This verse is
found in par. 340 29 (= 326. 28 of cr. ed.). The three following verses (which
occur in both editions) may be cited here: खे वायुः प्रलयं याति मनस्याकाशमेव
च । मनो हि परमं भूतं तदव्ययं प्रतीयते ॥ अमरं ह्यव्ययं निष्क्रियं संमतीयते । नास्ति
तस्मात्परतः श्रुपादौ सनातनात् ॥ नित्यं हि नास्ति जगति भूतं स्थावरजङ्गमम् । धृते तमेकं पुरुषं
ब्रह्मदेवं सनातनम् ॥

world alternates between periods of creation (which correspond to the activity of the Demiurge) and of dissolution (which correspond to the slumber of the God)'. Similarly, Gerald Heard remarks (in 'Is God evident' Faber and Faber, London, 1950) 'Final and most helpful fact is that Sanskrit cosmology not only gets rid of intellectual difficulties such as the crude Hebrew Geology and Astronomy fossilized in the Christian dogmas, but it gets rid likewise of those more serious moral difficulties such as eternal damnation, pre-destination and that this life is man's only chance' (p. 51).

The high metaphysical conception that in reality there is no universe outside *brahman* (i. e. *brahman* is one and is unqualified, *nirguna*) and the popular empirical conception that there is a personal God who creates (*saguna brahma*) and real universe, often run together in the Upanisads. The Praśna Up. V. 2 asserts that *Om* is both *para* (highest) *brahma* and *apara* (other, lower) *brahma*. Śāṅkarācārya on V S. I. 1. 12 (ānandamayoshhyāsat) states that in the Upanisads *brahman* is described in two ways, (firstly) as qualified by various adjuncts such as name and form and created objects and meant to be worshipped and (secondly) as devoid of all adjuncts (as meant to be mystically realized). As instances of the 2nd way (*nirupādhiḥ* or *nirguna brahman*) he instances several passages viz. Br. Up. IV. 5. 15 ('where there is as it were duality, there one sees the other ... one touches the other or knows the other, but where one has come to realize that all is only Ātman, whom will one see, with what will one understand the knower himself'), Br. Up. III. 9. 26 = IV. 4. 22 and IV. 5. 15 (this self is to be spoken of as 'not this, 'not this'), Br. Up. III. 8. 8 (it is that imperishable one that the brāhmanas speak about as neither coarse nor small, neither short nor long, neither red nor fluid, neither wind nor ether ..neither as having an inside nor outside &c.); Chāṇ. Up. (VII. 24. 1 'where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else that is the Infinite, where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is small (finite), the Infinite is immortal, the finite is mortal, the Infinite rests in its own greatness, or does not rest in greatness); Śv. Up. VI. 19 (who is without parts, without activities, tranquil, faultless, without taint, the highest bridge to immortality, like a fire that has consumed its fuel). There are also other passages of the same import e. g. Br. Up. IV. 4. 19 (*naha nānāsti kiñcana*, there is no diversity in it), Kaṭha Up. IV. 10-11 (*mṛtyoh sa mṛtyum-āpnoti ya iha nāneva*

paśyati). The 4th aspect of Upanisadic thought is concerned with the destiny of the self after the death of the body and the matters that govern it (i. e. Ethics and Eschatology).

These passages emphasize that it is impossible to describe what *brahman* is and that we can only say what it is not. Śāṅkarācārya²⁴⁵⁵ on V. S. III. 2. 17 refers to the dialogue of Bāskali and Bādhva where Bādhva declared the characteristic of *brahman* by his silence. Bāskali said 'Sir, tell me about *brahma*'; then Bādhva remained silent; when Bāskali asked a second and a third time Bādhva replied 'we have been telling you indeed, but you don't understand; this self is still (without any activity)'. J. Royce in 'The world and the individual' vol. I. p. 148 is just like this episode of Bāskali and Bādhva "Believe not those prattlers" says one often quoted mystical work 'who boast that they know God' 'Who knows Him is silent'. Śāṅkarācārya puts the distinction between *para-brahma* and *apara-brahma* (personal God) as follows: Where texts reject the connection of *brahma* with names and forms that are the product of *avidyā* (nescience) and speak of *brahma* in negative expressions such as 'asthūla' (not gross or big), there it is *parabrahma* (that is meant), but where in such passages as 'He is mind, has *prāṇa* or body, the form of light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like *ākāśa* (present everywhere), who creates everything' &c, *brahma* is mentioned for worship and it is *apara*.²⁴⁵⁶

2455. बाष्कलिना च बाध्वः पृष्ठः सत्यवचनेनैव ब्रह्म गोवाचेति श्रूयते। 'सहोवाचापीहि भो इति स शृण्वीं यथूच तं ह द्वितीये वा तृतीये वा वचन उवाच ब्रूमः खलु त्वं तु न विजानासि। उपशान्तोऽयमात्मा' इति। शङ्कराचार्य on वे सू III 2. 17. This is a Vedic Text acc. to Śāṅkara, but it has not yet been identified.

2456 किं पुन परं ब्रह्म किमपरमिति। उच्यते। यत्राविद्याकृतनामरूपादिविशेषमति-
वेधादशुभलादिशब्दैर्ब्रह्मोपदिश्यते तत्परम्। तदेव यत्र नामरूपादिविशेषेण केनचिद्विशिष्ट-
रुपासनायोपदिश्यते 'मनोमय माणझरीरो भास्वरः' (छा III 14. 2) इत्यादिशब्दैस्तदपरम्।
भाष्य on वे. सू IV. 3. 14, एवमेकमपि ब्रह्मापेक्षितोपाधिसम्बन्धं निरस्तीपाधिसम्बन्धं
चोपास्यत्वेन ज्ञेयत्वेन च वेदान्तेरूपदिश्यत इति। शङ्कराचार्य on वे सू I. 1. 12. It should
be noted that the words 'netai netai' occur four times in the great exposition
of Yājñalkya on *brahman* in Br Up. IV. 2. 4. IV 4. 22, IV. 5. 15, III. 9
26 The highest *brahman* is conceived as beyond space, time and indepen-
dent of the law of causality. We may compare the conceptions of *para-*
brahma and *apara-brahma* with what Plato postulates (in *Timaeus*,
Introduction p. 6 to Bury's translation) as the distinction between Being and
Becoming viz Being is changeless, eternal, self-existent and apprehensible
by thought only, Becoming is the opposite, ever changing, never truly
existent and the object of sensations, and the perceptible universe belongs
to the latter

The description of the creation of the universe and its dissolution are valid only on the practical plane. In *Advaita* Vedānta, *Sattā* (reality) is said to be of three kinds, viz. *Pāramārthiki* (the highest, the absolute), *vyāvahāriki* (of practical life) and *prātibhāsiki* (apparent or illusory). The first is the province of *parā-vidyā* which teaches that only the *Ātman* exists, that the cosmos exists within the *Ātman* and nothing else has intrinsic reality apart from it. From this high metaphysical standpoint there is in reality no creation nor dissolution, the individual self is not really in bondage, therefore none is liberated. The 2nd kind of reality is empirical and practical and the dogmas of the creation and dissolution of the world, of the individual self, its bondage, transmigraton and final liberation are valid only for the *aparā-vidyā*. Most religions postulate three fundamental entities viz. God, individual self and the external world. These three are true but only up to a certain limit (only so long as a man holds his own ego as a separate reality) but these three are not the ultimate Truth. Even in this lower kind of reality, a man who is in deep sleep becomes (for a time) united with (or absorbed in) the True as stated by the *Chān. Up.* VI. 8. 1 (*yatraitat puruṣaḥ svapitī nāma satā somya tadā sampanno bhavati*). The third kind of reality pertains to dream states. One may have experience of pleasure and pain and misery from what one sees in a dream, which are real as long as the dream lasts, but all this that is seen in a dream vanishes the moment the man is awake. As stated above (p. 1485 and note 2434) the descriptions of the creation of the world have only this in view that there is non-difference between cause and effect and that they all lead to a correct understanding about *brahman*. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S II. 3. 30 extends the same reasoning to individual selves (to be quoted later on under 'Karma and transmigration').

In the Upanisads there is apparent discrepancy as regards what was created and the order of the things²⁴⁵⁷ created. The

2457. It may be noted that the creation of the universe is put in the Upanisads in the distant and dim past, not at a definite date as fixed by Biblical chronology (4004 B. C.). Vide Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of God' (ed. of 1917) p. 299. H. D. Anthony in 'Science and its background' (MacMillan, 1948, p. 2) states that James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in the 17th century introduced into the Anglican Church the year 4004 B.C. as the date of creation. On the medieval Christian doctrine, creation is only an incident in God's existence and man is made in the image of God and it is by the breath of God that man became a living soul (Genesis I 27 and II. 7). There is another point that distinguishes Christian doctrine about man from the Vedānta doctrine, according to the former man is conceived and born in sin, according to the latter the human soul is divine.

Br. Up. (V. 5. 1) states 'in the beginning there were only waters; the waters created *satya*, which' is *brahma*, brahman created Prajapati, who created the gods'. In Chān. Up. VI. 2. 3 the thing expressly mentioned as the first creation is *tejas* (heat), *ākāśa* not being mentioned at all, while in the Tai. Up. II. 1 *ākāśa* is said to have been first created and then *Vāyu* (was created from *ākāśa*), then *Agni* from *Vāyu*. Similarly, in the Chān. Up. IV. 2 where the creation of *tejas*, waters and food (i. e. the earth) is expressly mentioned, nothing is said about the creation of *Vāyu*, which is set out in Tai. Up. II. 1. This matter about the creation of the elements and their order is discussed in V. S. II. 3. 1-11. The reply of Śāṅkarācārya is that a *Śruti* passage like the one in Ch. Up. is concerned only with the creation of some elements like *tejas* and cannot be also interpreted as having a second purpose, viz showing that the creation of *ākāśa* in Tai. Up. is wrong and should be discarded.²⁴⁵⁸

On the subject of creation, the question arises whether the individual Self is also a creation like that of the earth, trees and shrubs. The Upanisads have a good deal to say on this. Here also two kinds of texts have to be considered. In the first place, some texts seem to state that the individual selves spring from the Supreme Spirit. A few passages that are sometimes relied upon for this last matter may be cited here.²⁴⁵⁹ The Br. Up. states 'just as tiny sparks spring forth from fire, in the same way from this Ātman spring up all *prāṇas*, all worlds, all gods and all creatures'. The Mundaka Up. expands this same idea as follows. As from a well-kindled fire sparks of the same nature spring forth in thousands, so from the Imperishable various living beings issue and return into it. The Smṛti of Yāj. cites the same illustration of fire and sparks. Another and perhaps apter illustration is in the Katha Up 'just as pure water poured in (other) pure water becomes like it (i. e. not distinguish-

2458. न हीयं शुक्तिस्तेजोजनिप्रधाना सती शुत्यन्तरमसिद्धामाकाशशरीरत्वमिति वारायिहं शङ्कोति, एकस्य वाक्यस्य व्यापारद्वयासम्भवात् । भाष्य on वे च् II. 3. 6.

2459. यथाग्नेः शुद्धा विस्फुलिङ्गा व्युच्चरन्त्येवमेवात्मनादात्मन सर्वे प्राणाः सर्वे लोकाः सर्वे देवा सर्वाणि भूतानि व्युच्चरन्ति । बृह लप. II 1 20, यथा सुदीप्तात्पावकाद्विस्फुलिङ्गा. सप्तश प्रभवन्ते सख्या । तथाक्षराद्विविधा सौम्य भावा. प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापियन्ति । मुण्डकोप० II. 1 1 Compare कौपीतव्युप० 'यथाग्नेर्ज्वलत सर्वा दिशो विस्फुलिङ्गा विप्रतिष्ठेरणेरमेवैतस्मादात्मन प्राणा यथायतन विप्रतिष्ठन्ते । प्राणेभ्यो देवा देवेभ्यो लोकाः । IV 18 and also मैत्री VI. 26 and 31 for a similar verse. याज्ञ III. 67 is नि सरन्ति यथा दीहपिण्डात्तत्तात्फल्लिङ्गका । सफाशादात्मनस्तद्वद्वात्मान प्रभवन्ति हि ॥; यथोदकं मुने शुद्धमामिर्क तादृगेव भवति । एवं मुनेर्विजानत आत्मा भवति गौतम ॥ कठोप० IV 15.

shable), so the self of the wise sage becomes (indistinguishable from the Supreme Essence).¹ On the other hand, there are numerous Upanisad²⁴⁶⁰ passages which categorically state that the individual self is unborn, undying, is not a product, that the Supreme Spirit enters as individual self, that there is non-difference between the one Supreme Spirit and the individual self. Some of these passages are set out in the note below. All those passages are cited by Śāṅkarācārya on V. 8 II. 3. 17, which states two propositions viz the individual self is unproduced and that it is eternal according to Śruti passages (nātmāśruter-nityatvācca tābhyah). How the one Supreme Spirit expands into and pervades the manifold universe of plurality is a great mystery and can only be explained by illustrations. The few passages in which the texts seem to mention the creation or dissolution of individual selves are to be understood as referring to the Upādhis (such as body and mind) by which the self is affected. Yājñavalkya gives this answer in finally winding up his exposition to Maitreyi²⁴⁶¹ 'this self is imperishable and indestructible; but (when one speaks of death what is meant is) that the self has no longer any contact with material elements'. The Śāntiparva²⁴⁶² and the Gītā (II. 20, 21, 24, 25) say the same thing.

The highest metaphysical standpoint can be realized by only a few. For millions of men, the empirical standpoint alone remains and it is for them that texts speak of a personal God, ritual and sacrifices; they are only on the first rung of the ladder

2460. जीवापेत वाव किलेदं श्रियते न जीवो श्रियत इति । छा उप I. 11. 3; स वा एष महानज आत्माऽजरोऽमरोऽमृतोऽमयो ब्रह्म । (बृह. IV 4 25), न जायते श्रियते वा विपश्चित् .. अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे । कठ 2. 18, तत्संष्ट्वा तदेवाव-प्रविशत् । तै उप II. 6, अनेन जीविनात्मनाहप्रविश्य नामरूपे व्याकरवाणि । छा उप. VI. 3. 2, स एष इह प्रविष्ट आ नखाग्नेभ्यः । बृह I 4. 7; तत्त्वमसि (छा उप VI 8. 7), अहं ब्रह्मास्मि (बृ उप. I. 4. 10); अयमात्मा ब्रह्म सर्वोल्लभः । बृह उप II 5-19.

2461. अविनाशी वा अरे आत्माऽनुच्छिद्यच्छिधर्मा मानात्सर्गस्त्वस्य भवति । बृह. उप. IV. 5 14. This is quoted by शङ्कराचार्य on वे सू II. 3 17.

2462. न जीवनाशोऽस्ति हि देहभेदे मिथ्यैतदाहुर्मुत इत्यबुद्धाः । जीवस्तु देहान्तरित. प्रयाति दशार्धतैवात्य शरीरभेदः ॥ एवं सर्वेषु भूतेषु गृह्यते संचत । हृदयते त्वयया बुद्ध्या सुहमया तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥ तं पूर्वापररात्रेषु युजानः सततं बुध । लज्जामहरो विभुऽत्मा पश्यत्या-त्मानमात्मनि । शान्ति 180 26-28 (=187 27-29 Ch. ed) दशार्ध means five and दशार्धतैवा means पञ्चत्वं With न जीवनाशोऽस्ति compare छा उप VII. 11. 3 जीवापेतं वाव किलेदं श्रियते न जीवो श्रियत इति and the verse एवं सर्वेषु भूतेषु is almost the same as कठ III 12 एष सर्वेषु भूतेषु गृह्यते न प्रकाशते । हृदयते त्वयया बुद्ध्या सुहमया सुहमदर्शिभिः ॥ The verse एवं सर्वेषु ... दर्शिभिः occurs again in शान्ति chap. 246. 5: (=cr. ed. 238. 5),

to enlightenment and are only dimly aware of God; there is a much smaller class of people other than the preceding, who pray, seek God and come to realize that God is both immanent and transcendent; there is a third class of a very few people, the great sages and masters, the spiritual elite such as Śāṅkarācārya, who reach the peak of pure monism, who lose the sense of the ego and who are ripe for entering into union with the One and they cannot and should not say that the individual soul and the physical world are all unreal (or *Māyā*). Both Bādarāyana (V. S. II. 2 29 'Vaidharmyāc-ca na svapnādivat') and Śāṅkarācārya are agreed that the ordinary physical world is entirely different from dreams and that the impressions in the waking state are not independent of existing objects. Apart from the question whether the word '*Māyā*' used in V. S. III. 2. 3 (*Māyāmātram tu &c.*) is used by Bādarāyana in the sense in which Śāṅkarācārya understands it, it cannot be denied that Upanisad passages like Katha Up. II. 4. 2, Prasna I, 16, Chān Up. VIII. 3. 1-2, the prayer in Br. Up. I. 3. 28 (*asato mā sadgamaya &c*) could easily suggest the doctrine of *Māyā* and lead to it as an intelligible development. Hence the proper language for almost all men is not to speak about the world as *Māyā* (illusion). If the individual soul and the world are unreal, then it may be argued by one who does not subscribe to the doctrine of *Māyā* as against those who hold it that you are teaching that an unreal soul has to escape from an unreal *Samsāra* and secure what you call *moksa* by means which are themselves unreal (such as Upanisad study) and that therefore *moksa* itself is unreal. How the one Reality becomes many and expresses itself in the ever-changing physical world is really an inexplicable mystery, but that does not entitle all of us to say that the world is unreal or a dream. The few highly philosophical men may say that what is real is the one Absolute, that all else is only an appearance of that Absolute. Common men may, however, complain that explanations offered by these philosophers do not satisfy them or are beyond them.

When one has to emphasize what the Reality behind the world is in itself, one speaks of the Absolute *brahman*, but when one has to speak about the relation of the one Reality to the individual selves and the physical world one speaks of a personal God. When the Vedāntasūtra (II. 1. 14) states²⁴⁶³ that the

2463. On तद्वत्त्वं त्वमात्रं भगवद्वादिभ्यः. (वे. सू II 1. 14) शङ्कराचार्य says 'मात्रं चात्मैकत्वावगतेरपवादतः सर्वः सत्त्वावृत्तत्पदद्वारे लौकिको वैदिकश्चेत्येवोच्यते', सर्वज्ञ-
(Continued on next page)

world is non-different (*ananya*) from *brahman*, what is meant is not that the two are identical, but only this that the selves and the world are not entirely different from *brahman*. When it is said that *Mokṣa* results if one realizes *brahman*, there is no question of the destruction of the world but all that it comes to is that the false idea or outlook in that case is displaced or sublated by a true one. How the finite world arises from the Infinite is a mystery, for which Śankarācārya employs the word 'Māyā'. But he is positive that till a person realizes the one *Ātman* all religious and worldly courses of life, real-unreal, go on unobstructed. The concept of *Māyā* as postulated by Śankarācārya (on V. S. II. 1, 14 and other places) is one of the most misunderstood elements of Vedānta. Further, it should not be forgotten that a very large number of philosophically minded Hindus do not advocate the doctrine that the world is an illusion; all that is said by advaitins is that the world is not as real as the Absolute is. The passages quoted below from Śankarācārya's *Bhāṣya* clarify his position, which is this. There is the physical world with its manifold distinctions, but it must rest on something else; that something is called the *absolute brahman*. The relation between the two is inexplicable and therefore it is spoken of as *Māyā*. In that way Śankarācārya is agnostic, while other religious philosophers are not willing to admit the futility of theories or their helplessness to put forward a generally acceptable and reasonable theory of the relation of the universe and the Eternal Spirit behind it.

It should not be forgotten that, according to our śāstras the goals of human life are four, *Dharma* (an ethical life of doing what is right), *Artha* (a life of acquisition of wealth i. e. economic life based on justice), *Kāma* (a life of the enjoyment of innocent pleasures and right desires) and *Mokṣa* (liberation), this last being the highest goal to be attained only by a few people (it is called *Paramapuruṣārtha*). Even in the Rgveda (I. 89. 8) the sage prays for physical health,²⁴⁶⁴ happiness and

(Continued from last page)

इश्वरस्यात्मभूते द्वाविद्यात्मनि नामरूपे तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यामनिर्वचनीये सत्सारण्यधोऽधीनवृत्ते सर्वज्ञस्येश्वरस्य माया शक्तिः प्रकृतिरिति च श्रुतिस्मृत्योरभिलष्यते । तदेवमविद्यात्मकोपाधिपरिच्छेदादिपक्षमेव श्वरस्येश्वरत्वं सर्वज्ञत्वं सर्वशक्तित्वं च न परमार्थतो विद्ययापास्तसर्वापाविस्वरूपे आत्मनीशिञ्जीवितस्य सर्वज्ञादिव्यवहार उपपद्यते । वाचस्पतिमिश्र in the भावमी on वे. सू. II. 1, 14 makes the laconic remark 'न स्वल्पनस्यत्वमित्यभेदं ब्रूमः किन्तु भेदं व्यासेधामः'.

2464 भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवा भद्रं पश्येमाक्षभिर्यजत्रः । स्थिरैरङ्गैस्तनुद्वयं सस्तनूभिर्हृदोऽहं देवहितं यदायुः ॥ ऋ. I. 89. 8 = षाज. सं. 25. 21.

a life of hundred years in the words "O Gods, may we be able to hear words of welfare (i. e. we may not suffer deafness till our death), may we see with our eyes pleasing sights, may we, engaged in praising you and possessing strong limbs and bodies, enjoy (long) life as fixed by God (i. e. 100, 116 or 120 years)'. Vide also Rg. VII. 66. 16. The Manusmṛti, after referring to several views about the number of the goals of human life, states its own final conclusion (in II. 224) that there are three goals²⁴⁵⁵ (Dharma, Artha and Kāma) for all men and condemns premature resort to sannyāsa in the following words (VI. 36-37) "Having studied the Vedas as laid down in śāstras, having produced sons and having performed sacrifices according to one's ability, one should fix his mind on Mokṣa (liberation); if a man desires Mokṣa without having performed these duties he falls into hell'. Manu emphasizes that a man must discharge his duties (i. e. pay off the three debts) as laid down in Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 (quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 270 n. 621) before he can renounce the world. The experience of sexual life and other pleasures not opposed to righteousness was not condemned by Manu and other Śāstras and in the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma that is not in opposition to righteousness. In the three goals²⁴⁶⁶ of ordinary human life there is hardly anything that should cause surprise. The Gītā demands a life dedicated to active work and regards doing one's duty as worship (III. 8, 19, 20, 25, IV. 18, XVIII. 65-66). The 4th goal (mokṣa) is in a way opposed to the first three. But the first three goals enable a man to attain liberation, after he has discharged his duties. It was not meant for everybody but only for a selected few.

The 4th goal can be attained only by a few men. The theory in the Upanisads is that in order to secure correct knowledge of the Self, Reality behind everything, the study of the Veda, sacrifices, charity, austerities and fasts are necessary

2455. For the three views about the four āśramas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 424-425.

2466. तमेत वेदाद्यवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाश्रयेन । बृह. उप IV. 4. 22; तस्मादेवविद्वान्वा दान्त उपरतस्तिष्ठु समाहिनो भूत्वात्मन्येवात्मानं पश्यति । सर्वमात्मानं पश्यति ... विद्यायां विरजोऽविचिकित्सो ब्राह्मणो भवति । एष ब्रह्मलोकः सम्राट् । एवं प्रापितोऽस्ति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः । बृह उप IV. 4. 23. These two passages of Br. Up. are the basis of वे च III 4 26-27.

as preparation (Br. Up. IV. 4. 22). Because the Upanisads often employ the words "Brahma veda brahmaiva bhavati" (as in Mundaka III 2. 9) one should not run away with the idea that mere knowledge of *brahma* (from books or a teacher) is enough. Though the verb "vid" (to know) is employed, the Upanisads are emphatic that before one attains realization of *brahma* one must have lived a life of detachment, peace, self-restraint etc. For example, in Br. Up. IV. 4. 23 Yājñavalkya says to Janaka "Therefore, one who knows this (under tarka quoted above p. 1478) evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil and hence he becomes free from evil, free from *rajas* (desires), free from doubts, he becomes a (true) Brāhmaṇa. This is the Brahma-world. O king! you have been made to reach the world. So said Yājñavalkya." This passage clearly emphasizes three stages, firstly, verbal knowledge about *brahma* (evam-vid), secondly he becomes *sānta*, *dānta* &c., thirdly, he realizes the non-differences of himself and the world from the Supreme Self. In this text the indeclinable past participle²⁴⁶⁷ (bhūtva) in "tvā", acc. to Pāṇini III. 4. 21, is used and so clearly conveys that (as Sanskrit grammar and usage require), in order that a person may realize the Self in his own self, he must have been already endowed with all that precedes the word "bhūtva".

Similarly, in the Mundakopanisad it is provided^{2467a} 'After carefully examining all the worlds that are collected (gained or brought about) by actions, a brāhmaṇa should reach a sense of disgust or disregard with the thought that by actions (which are all impermanent) nothing that is imperishable (lit. unmade) can be attained, he should, for the special understanding of that, approach with fuel in hand a teacher who is learned in the Veda and who solely dwells in *brahman*, that wise (guru) declared *brahma-vidyā* to the one who thus properly (respectfully) approaches and whose mind is quiescent (not perturbed by vanity &c.) and whose mind has ceased to hanker after objects of sense, whereby the disciple would realize the immutable Reality, the Puruṣa (Self).' Here also the word "parikṣya" shows that

2467. Vide Śābara on Jaimini X. 3. 48 'ktvā tāvat pūrvakāla eva smaryate'

2467a परीक्ष्य लोकान्कर्मचिन्तात् बाह्यतो निर्वेदमायाकास्त्यकृतं कृतेन। तद्विज्ञानार्थं स शुकमेवाभिगच्छेत् समित्पाणि. ओजिष्य ब्रह्मनिष्ठम्॥ तस्मै स विद्वाद्युपसन्नाय सन्त्यक् प्रज्ञानं चित्ताय शान्तिचिन्ताय। येनाक्षरं पुरुषं वेद सत्यं शेषाच्च ता तत्त्वतो ब्रह्मविद्याम्॥ शुण्डकोप I. 2. 12-13, नाविरतो दुश्चरिताज्ञानान्तो नासमाहितः। नाज्ञा. नसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनामाद्य-यात्॥ कट 2 24

brahmavidyā can be attained only by him who already has become tired of the world of senses. It is further provided that²⁴⁶⁸ when a man becomes freed from all hankerings that cling to the heart of man, he becomes immortal and attains *brahma* in this very life. The Br. Up (iv. 4. 6) states that of him who does not desire, who, not desiring, is freed from desires, who feels that he has obtained all desires in that he desires only the Self, the life-breaths do not depart towards higher worlds (heaven etc.) as he, being (in reality) *brahma* only, becomes absorbed in *brahma*.

The Katha Up. (2. 24) remarks 'He, who had not ceased from evil conduct, whose mind is not serene, who does not practise concentration, would not be able by mere knowledge to find the Ātman.'

The unalloyed Upaniṣad doctrine appears to be that, even when a man does good actions, they produce good results, to enjoy which the soul would have to undergo the bondage of fresh good births and thus liberation will be put off. Therefore, complete renunciation of all actions and their rewards was inculcated for the sannyāsin, who was to give up all desires for wealth, progeny and higher worlds and beg for alms as long as the body lasts. As no other course of conduct for the sannyāsin is specified here, it would have to be deemed that the Upaniṣad teaches only this mode of life for the sannyāsin. This view is further strengthened by other passages of the Upaniṣads, where it is said that the liberated are beyond *sukṛta* (good deeds and their consequences) and *duṣkṛta* (evil deeds and their consequences). The Chāndogya says²⁴⁶⁹ "the self is a bank (a dike or ridge) so that these worlds are kept asunder and are not confounded, day and night do not pass beyond (over) bank, nor old age, death and misery, neither good deeds nor evil deeds; all evil deeds turn away from him, for the world of *brahma* is free from all evil'. Similarly, the Kausītaki Up. says "being freed from good actions and from evil ones, this knower of *brahma* moves towards *brahma* (i.e. becomes one with or is absorbed in *brahma*)'.

2468. यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि भ्रिताः । अथ मर्त्योऽस्मृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥ कठोप VI. 14 and हृद. उप IV. 4. 7 (which latter quotes it as a śloka).

2469. अथ य आत्मा स सेतुर्विधुर्विरेषा लोकानामसम्भेदाय । नैनं सेतुमहोरात्रे तस्मै न जरा न मृत्क्षुर्न क्षीणो न सुक्षुर्न दुःक्षुर्न मृ । सर्वे पाप्मानोऽनो निर्वर्तन्ते । अपहृतपाप्मा शेष क्षीणो न । छा. उप VIII. 4. 1, न नप निमुक्षुतो विमुक्षुतो ब्रह्म विद्वान्ब्रह्मैवाभिधीते । कौडी उप I. 4.

In this way the Upanisads appear to inculcate that the sannyāsin should completely give up all actions except living till the body lasts. The Jābĕlopanisad²⁴⁷⁰ (4) provides that the very day on which a person becomes disgusted (with worldly life) he should become a wandering ascetic (a sannyāsin). This emphasizes that not mere knowledge but disgust with worldly life is necessary before one becomes a sannyāsin. Vide Kathopanīsad (II. 24) quoted above in note 2467a. The Prāśnopanīsad emphasizes 'to them alone comes the pure world of *brahman*, in whom there is no crookedness, no untruth and no duplicity' (I. 16). The Upanisads sometimes do say that 'one who knows *brahma* becomes *brahma* itself' (Mundaka II. 3. 9), but the same Upanisads (e. g. Mundaka I. 2. 12-13 quoted in n. 2467a) require great moral and spiritual attainments besides mere knowledge of *brahma*.

It is not necessary to set out more Upanīsad passages to exhibit the proper relation between mere knowledge of *brahma* and Realization of *brahma*.²⁴⁷¹

In classical Sanskrit several words are employed to describe the state of liberation. The Amarakośa regards *mukti*, *kaivalya*, *nirvāṇa*, *śreyas*, *niśreyasa*, *amṛta*, *mokṣa* and *apavarga* as synonyms. *Mukti*, *mokṣa*, and *amṛta* (or *amṛtatva*) are frequently employed in the Upanisads and the Gītā. They refer to the state of Salvation or Liberation from different points of view. Man is liable to have hankerings and to birth and death, therefore when the soul becomes free from that cycle and realizes *brahma* it is said that he becomes immortal or secures immortality. Vide Br. Up. VI. 4. 7 and 14, V. 15-17 (Vidyayāmṛtam-aśnute), Chān. Up. II. 23. 2 (he who is firmly grounded in *brahma* attains immortality), Katha Up. VI. 2 and 9, Śvet. Up.

2470. यद्दहरेव विरजेत्तदहरेव प्रयजेत् । जाबालोप० 4, नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशानो नासमाहितः । नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैतमाप्नुयात् । कठोप II. 24, तेषामसौ विरजो ब्रह्मलोको न येतु जिह्ममृदं न माया चेति । प्रश्नोप. I 16

2471. So much had to be said because Prof. Edgerton in his paper 'Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian culture' in J. A. O. S. Vol. 62 (for 1942) pp 151-156 appears to suggest that the Upanisads carry forward the idea of the Atharvaveda that knowledge of a matter was supposed to have magic power. It is not possible for limitations of space to examine his arguments at length. With great respect for such a veteran scholar, it has to be said that, so far as the Upanisads are concerned, mere knowledge of *brahma* is only a first step, and that one who desires liberation has to live life on a high moral and spiritual level. Vide Gītā XIII. 7-11 for definition of *jñāna*.

IV. 17 and 20, III. 1, 10, 13, Gītā 13. 12, 14. 20. Mukti and mokṣa are both derived from the root 'muc' (to be free) and the verbal forms of 'muc' are frequently used along with 'immortality' as in Katha Up. VI. 8 (yam jñātvā mucyate jantur-amṛtatvam ca gacchati) and 14, Br. Up. IV. 4. 7, Śv. Up. I. 8 and IV. 16 (jñātvā devam mucyate sarvapāśaiḥ). The word mokṣa occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 16 and Gītā 5. 28, 7. 29, 18. 30. Nihśreyasa (mokṣa, than which there is nothing better) occurs in Kaus. Up III. 2, Gītā V. 2. Vide p. 1037 n 671 for 'nihśreyasa'. The word 'śreyas' often means 'better' in the Upanisads (Tai. Up. I. 11 and Chān. Up. IV 6.5) and Gītā II. 7, 31, III. 35, XVIII. 47 &c., but in Katha Up II. 1 and 2 śreyas (as opposed to *preyas* i. e. pleasure) really means 'nihśreyasa' (salvation).²⁴⁷² Kaivalya does not occur in the principal Upanisads, but *kevalaḥ* (not affected by guṇas or isolated as pure consciousness) occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 18 and VI. 11 (śakṣī cetā kevalo nirguṇaśca) Nirvāṇa occurs in Gītā VI. 15 (the yogin, that has subdued his mind and always practises yoga, secures peace, centred on me that is highest nirvāṇa); in Gītā II. 72 and V. 24-25 we find 'brahmanirvāṇam' which means 'bliss in brahma'. Apavarga occurs only in the Maitri Upanisad VI. 30 and was the goal laid down by the very first sūtra of the Nyāyadarśana.

It should be noted that cosmology whether in the Upanisads or later works is based on the geocentric theory and is concerned mostly with the earth, the elements, the Sun, Moon, planets and stars in general (without details).

The Manusmṛti has several theories on creation. In I. 5-19 we have the first theory: this (universe) existed in the form of darkness, was unperceived, destitute of distinctive signs, not subject to reasoning, unknowable, immersed in deep sleep as it were. Then the divine Self-existent appeared with irresistible power, dispelling darkness and making all this including the great elements discernible; he shone forth of his own (will); he, desirous of producing beings of various types from his body, first produced water only after reflecting (over the idea of creating) and planted therein his seed; the seed became a golden egg, equal in brilliance to the sun and in that egg he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of the whole

²⁴⁷² नि.श्रेयस is one of twenty-five words mentioned by Pāṇini in V, 4. 77 as irregular and the Mahābhāṣya explains it as निश्चित श्रेय.

world. He is called Nārāyaṇa,²⁴⁷³ since waters, designated as *nā, ūs* (offspring of Nara), were his first place of residence. From that first cause, not yet unfolded, which can neither be called *sat* nor *asat*, was produced a *puruṣa* (a male) who is called by people Brahmā. In that egg the divine one resided for one year, he divided the egg into two parts after reflecting on that matter; out of those two halves (of the egg) he created heaven and earth, between these two middle region, the eight directions and the abode of waters (the sea) From himself he drew forth mind which is neither *sat* nor *asat*, from mind Ahankāra (self-consciousness), and the *maḥat-ātman*, all products produced by the combinations of three *gunas*, the five organs of sense which perceive the objects of sense; He created all beings by joining the subtle particles of the six (*ahankāra* and *tanmātrās*) with portions of himself, the five great elements enter the framer of all beings. This theory combines the ideas contained in Rg. X. 129 (particularly verses 1-3) with those in the Śat. Br. XI. 1. 6. 1 and Chān. Up. III. 19. 1-2 (about the golden egg) and with the Sāṅkhya theory of *tattvas* and *gunas*, though Manu differs from the standard Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā as regards the order in which Mahat, Ahankāra and the five subtle elements arise. In I. 21 Manu states²⁴⁷⁴ that Hiranyagarbha in the

2473. आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूतवः । ता यदस्यायन पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥ मनु I. 10 शान्तिपर्व 342 40 (=cr. ed. 328. 35) has first half and the 2nd half is अयनं मनसस्तुष्टमनो नारायणो ह्ययम् ; विष्णु I. 4. 5-6, ब्रह्माण्ड I. 5. 5-6, कूर्म I. 6. 4-5 इमं चोदाहरन्त्यत्र श्लोके नारायणं प्रति । ... आपो नारा.. सूतवः । अयनं तस्य ता. पूर्वं . स्मृतः । It is obvious that the two Purāṇas borrow from some work probably from मनु मार्कण्डेय I. 4. 4-5 (Venk. ed.) has the same verses as विष्णु viz. इमं चोदा० and आपो.. सूतवः । तासु शेते स यस्माच्च तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥ ; बराह I. 2. 25-26 are the same as विष्णु I. 4 5-6. ब्रह्म I. 38-39 has आपो नारा... सूतवः । अयनं तस्य ता.. स्मृतः ॥

2474. सर्वेषां तु स नामानि कर्माणि च पृथक् पृथक् । वेदशब्देभ्य एवादौ पृथक्संस्थश्च निर्ममे ॥ मनु I. 21. The वै सू I 3 28 is 'शब्द इति चेक्षात् प्रभवात्म्यज्ञानानुमानाभ्याम् On this the bhāṣya is "कथं पुनरवगम्यते शब्दाद्यभवाति जगदिति । प्रत्यक्षादुमानाभ्याम्' प्रत्यक्षं श्रुतिः प्रामाण्यं प्रत्यनपेक्षत्वात् । अनुमानं स्मृतिः प्रामाण्यं प्रति सापेक्षत्वात् । ते हि शब्द-पूर्वा स्मृतिं दर्शयतः । 'एते इति वै प्रजापतिर्वैद्वानसृजत, असृष्टमिति मनुष्यान्, इन्द्रव इति पितृन्, तिरः पवित्रमिति ग्रहान्, आश्व इति स्तोत्रं विश्वानीति शस्त्रम्, अभिसौभोत्यग्याः प्रजाः' इति श्रुतिः, . . स्मृतिरापि । अनादिनिधना नित्या वायुत्पृष्टा स्वयम्भुवा । आदौ वेदमपि दिव्या यत सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः । ... तथा । नामरूपं च सूतानां कर्मणा च प्रवर्तनम् । वेदशब्देभ्य एवादौ निर्ममे स महेश्वरः ॥ इति' The śruti text cited is Tāndya-mahābrāhmaṇa VI 9. 15, explains the words of Rg. IX, 62 1, the mantra being 'एते असृष्ट-मिन्द्रवस्तिरः पवित्रमाश्वः । विश्वान्यभि सौभगाः' The verse अनादिनिधना is शान्तिपर्व 233. 24 (=cr. ed. 224 55 which has the first half) and the verse नामरूपं च occurs in विष्णुराण I 5. 62, वायु I. 9. 63 (reads प्रपञ्चनं) and कूर्म I. 7. 67-68 (reads प्राकृतानां प्रपञ्चनं).

beginning of creation assigned names, peculiar activities and conditions to all created beings by means of the words of Veda. In this it follows a śruti text (explaining Rg. IX. 62. 1) quoted by Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. I. 3. 28) who quotes a verse in support from the Mahābhārata and another verse also (the source of which is not mentioned but which is found in some purāṇas).

Another theory of creation is stated in Manusmṛti I. 32-41. Brahmā divided his own body into two halves, one half a male and the other a female and from that female he created Virāj, who practised *tapas* and created a male who was no other than Manu (promulgator of Manusmṛti). Manu desirous of producing created beings, first created ten great sages as Prajāpatis, who created seven Manus, Gods, classes of gods, great sages, yakṣas rākṣasas, gandharvas, apsarasas, snakes, birds classes of pitṛs, lightning, clouds, large and small stars, monkeys, fishes, cattle, deer, men, lions, worms, insects, flies, immovable things (trees etc.). This account appears to be inspired by the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90), particularly verses 5, 8-10.

A third theory of creation by Brahmā after he awakes from his sleep is briefly noticed in Manusmṛti I. 74-78, viz. he creates (or appoints) his mind which impelled by Brahmā's desire to create, produces ākāśa (ether), of which sound is the (peculiar) quality; that ether modifying itself creates Vāyu possessing the quality of touch; from Vāyu arises refulgent light, from which arises water and from water arises the earth of which the special quality is smell. This theory is a modification of the Sāṅkhya doctrine, according to which (kārikā 25) all five elements proceed from *ahankāra* and God Brahmā is thrown in (who has no place in standard Sāṅkhya). The Manusmṛti is in the habit of stating opposing views on the same topic one after another; e. g. note on the use of flesh in Manu V. 27-46 as compared with V. 48-56, Manu III. 13 as compared with III. 14-19 (on brāhmaṇa having a śūdra wife), Manu IX. 59-62 as opposed to IX. 64-68 on the practice of *Niyoga*.

Accounts of creation occur frequently in the Mahābhārata, mostly in the Śāntiparva. All cannot be set out here, but a few would be described. Chap. 175. 11-21 (= Ch. ed. 182. 11-21) states that from God known as *Atyaktā* all beings were born, he first created mahān also called ākāśa, from ākāśa water was produced, from water were produced fire and vāyu, from the combination of these two the earth was produced. Then the

self-existent created a lotus, from which arose Brahmā, known as Ahankāra and he produced the whole world. In chap. 176 (183 of Ch. ed.) it is stated that Brahmā first created water, from water arose Vāyu, from the combination of water and Vāyu arose Agni and earth was produced from the combination of Agni, Vāyu and ākāśa. Chap. 177 (=184, Ch. ed.) explains that the Mahābhūtas (great elements) are five viz vāyu, ākāśa, agni, water and earth, that all bodies are made of these five, that there are five *indriyas*, five objects of sense and five qualities, śabda, sparśa (touch), rūpa (colour), rasa (taste) and gandha (smell); subdivisions of each of these five are mentioned. Chap. 178 (=189 of Ch. ed.) speaks of the five prānas and the spheres of their activities. Chap. 179-180 (=186-187 of Ch. ed.) deal with jīva (individual self) and states at the end that the body is perishable, that the self passes from one body to another and that by yoga one can see the self in the Highest Self. Chap. 200 (=207 Ch. ed.) states that Purusottama created the five elements, that he reclined on waters, that from his navel sprang a lotus brilliant like the sun, from which arose Brahmā, who created from his mind seven sons, Dakṣa, Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu. Dakṣa had many daughters (the eldest being Diti), from these daughters Daityas, Ādityas, the other gods, Kālā and its parts, the earth, the four varṇas, all kinds of men, Andhras, Pulindas, Śabaras and others in Dakṣināpatha and in the Uttarāpatha, Yavanas (Yavanas), Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Kirātas, Barbaras and others were produced. Chap. 224 (=231 Ch. ed.) starts by saying that in the beginning there was *brahma*, beginningless and endless, unknowable and proceeds to divisions of time from *nimesa* to the yugas and their characteristics. Herein occur verses that are the same as in Manusmṛti I. 65-67, 69-70, 75-77, 81-83, 85-86. It is difficult to say who borrow as even the Manusmṛti (in X. 44) mentions Paundrakas, Odras, Dravidas, Kāmbojas and Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cinas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas, as having been originally sub-divisions or sub-castes of Kṣatriyas (Kṣatriya-jāṭayah) but reduced to the position of sūdras, because of losing all contact with brāhmanas (X. 43) and because of the cessation of religious rites (like Upanayana &c.). In Śānti 311 (=cr. ed. 299) creation is described in Sāṅkhya terms with Brahmā thrown in. Brahmā (identified with *mahān*) was born in the golden egg, he remained inside the egg for a year, then he created within the two parts of the egg (heaven and earth), antarikṣa, from ahankāra five elements were produced and their

five qualities are mentioned. Āśvamedhika (Chap. 40-42 is similar to Śānti 311) states the order of creation as avyakta-mahat-ahankāra-five elements, the only peculiarity being that in verse 2 mahān is identified with Visnu, Śambhu, buddhi and several other words are given as synonyms thereof.

The Smṛti of Yājñavalkya (III. 67-70) states that from the one Self, many individual selves arise just as from a red-hot iron ball sparks go out, that the unborn and imperishable Ātman is said to be born when connected with body, that in the beginning of creation, Paramātmā creates the five elements, ether, vāyu, tejas, water and earth, each succeeding one possessing a rising series of qualities and when appearing as individual self, it receives (for body) the same elements. Then after pointing out how a human being is conceived, how the foetus grows in the womb and describing the anatomy (with number of bones, veins, arteries, muscles &c.) of the human body, the Smṛti avers that the whole world proceeds from the Paramātmā and the individual self appears from the elements (which form the body) The individual self is beginningless²⁴⁷⁵ and is not born, but it comes in intimate contact with a body that is due to acts influenced by false ideas, hankerings and aversions (III. 125) From the several parts (mouth, arms, thighs, feet &c) of the First Principle that assumes numerous forms arise the four varṇas in order, the earth, heaven, prāṇas, directions, Vāyu, Agni, Moon (from mind), the Sun (from His eye), sky and the whole movable and immovable world (III. 126-128). Here the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90 1 and 12-14) is closely followed.

The Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to the theories of cosmology and cosmography. Only a very brief summary is all that can be attempted from the contents of a few among the extant Purāṇas that have been shown above to be the earliest, viz. Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmandā, Visnu and Mārkaṇḍeya. It has been stated above (pp. 838-840) that the topics with which Purāṇas were deemed to be concerned were according to the Amarakośa five and that some of the Purāṇas themselves set out the five topics as creation (*sarga*), recreation after dissolution (*pratisarga*), dynasties (*vamśa*), the vast periods of time (called *Manvantaras*), and history and deeds of the descendants of the

²⁴⁷⁵ अनदितात्मा कथितस्तद्व्यादिद्वि इतीरकम् । आत्मनस्तु जगत्सर्वं जगत्स्वात्म-
नम्भयः ॥ य III. 117.

solar, lunar and other dynasties (Vamsānuvṛta). Thus, many of the Purāṇas deal with creation at some length. A few striking theories and passages alone can be set out or cited.

The Matsyapurāṇa begins the topic of creation in the same way as the Manusmṛti does and some of the verses of the former are identical (or almost identical) with the verses of the Manusmṛti.²⁴⁷⁶ The Matsya (2 27) states; Nārāyaṇa alone appeared first and being desirous of creating the manifold world, produced from his body waters, cast the seed therein and a golden egg emerged; inside that egg the Sun appeared, he is called Āditya as well as Brahmā, he made the two halves of the egg into heaven and earth and produced all directions and the sky between the two (heaven and earth). Then the Meru and other mountains and the seven seas (of salt, sugarcane juice &c.) were produced. Nārāyaṇa became Prajāpati who created all this world including gods and asuras. The 3rd chap. of the Matsya speaks of the Vedas, Purāṇas and Vidyās as proceeding from his lips and states that he created from his mind ten sages, Marici, Atri and others (3. 5-8). Then the Matsya launches on the Sāṅkhya scheme of creation (in 3. 14-29), stating that the three guṇas are *satva*, *rajas*, *tamas*, and the state of their equilibrium is called *Prakṛti*, that some call it *Pradhāna*, others call it *Avyakta*, that this *Pradhāna* produces creation, that from the three guṇas rose Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheshvara; that from *Pradhāna* arose Mahān, from the latter ahankāra, then five Jñānendriyas and five Karmendriyas and the mind as the 11th sense and the five tanmātrās (subtle elements); that ākāśa was produced from the śabda-tanmātrā, vāyu from ākāśa, tejas from Vāyu and water from tejas, that the Puruṣa is the 25th *tattva*. Then the Matsya (3 30-44) tells a fantastic story that Brahmā produced a woman (called Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī or Brahmanī) from himself, felt passion for her and had after a long time a son named Manu (called Svāyambhuva) and also Virāj from her, then Brahmā called upon his sons to create people. The Matsya in chapter four states that Brahmā had from Śatarūpā seven sons, Marici and others (verses 25-26, contradicting chap. 3. 5-8), mentions two sons of Svāyambhuva Manu and also the descendants of those two sons. Some

2476. For example, Matsya 2. 25-27 and 32 echo the phraseology of Manu I 5-6, 13, Matsya 2 28 is the same as Manu I. 8, Matsya 3 23 is same as Manu I, 75, Matsya 4. 55 (one half) is same as Manu IX. 129. The Brahmapurāṇa I. 37-39 are almost the same as Manu I. 6 and 8.

chapters from five onwards describe the descendants of Dakṣa, of Kaśyapa, of Diti, the coronation of Pṛthu, the solar and lunar dynasties and various classes of pitṛs.

The Vāyupurāṇa devotes five chapters (4-9) to creations of different kinds (in over 600 verses). In Chap. 4 verses 22-61 the Sāṅkhya scheme of Pradhāna, Mahat, Ahankāra, Tanmātrās is set out and is combined with the egg theory (verses 56ff). Chap. 6 appears to refer (verses 2-3) to the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-2), explains that Nārāyaṇa is so called because he reclines on waters, refers to the Boar incarnation, to nine kinds of creation, states a (different theory) that Brahmā created in the beginning the mind-born sons and Sanandana and Sanaka (6.65). Chapter 7 refers to re-creation, Chap. 8 (containing 198 verses) refers to the Yugas, their durations, the creation of eight Deva-sons, of animals, metres &c., and different sons of Brahmā.

The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa I (chapters 3-5) deal with the appearance of Hiranyagarbha and various kinds of creations and chapter 4 refers to Pradhāna, the guṇas and states that creation is due to the uneven mixture of guṇas that constitute Pradhāna but these work under Viṣṇu. Chap. 5 speaks of various kinds of creations, and the *mūṇasa* sons of Brahmā. Chapters 8, 11 of the Anusangapāda (2nd section of the Purāṇa) deal with the creation of gods, pitṛs, men and of the great eagles, Bhṛgu &c.

The first three chapters (containing about 240 verses) of the Brahmapurāṇa deal with creation. Chap. 1 (verse 34 ff) puts forward Brahmā as the creator of all *bhūtas* (beings) and as devotees of Nārāyaṇa and then states that ahankāra arose from mahat and from ahankāra the elements were produced. The Brahmā like the Matsya closely follows (in I. 37-41) Manu I. 5-13. It refers to the creation of the seven sages Marici, Atri and others who were seven Brahmāṇah, the creation of Sādhyas, gods, the Rgveda and other Vedas, birds and all sorts of beings; it also states (I. 53) that Viṣṇu created Virāj, who created Puruṣa (this is based on the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 5) and that Puruṣa created people. Chapter 2 states that Puruṣa married Śatarūpā, that Puruṣa is called Svāyambhuva Manu, that a son Vira was born to Puruṣa and Śatarūpā and Virā's two sons were Priyavrata and Uttānapāda; then their descendants are described, that Dakṣa had 50 daughters 10 of whom were married to Dharma, 13 to Kaśyapa and 27 (the nakṣatras) were

married to king Soma. Chapter 3 deals with the creation of gods and asuras. ²⁴⁷⁷

The Visnupurāṇa in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 7 of the first *aṃśa* deals with several kinds of creation. Chapter 2 starts with Visnu and asserts that Pradhāna and Purusa are his forms and in verses 34-50 proclaims the details of the Sāṅkhya system and verse 54 refers to the production of the egg by Mahat and other tattvas. Chap. 3 deals with the question how *brahman*, which is free from gunas, inconceivable, pure and untainted, is the author of creation, the reply being that there are natural powers (Śaktis) in all things that are inconceivable and so *brahman* has the power of creating the universe. Chap. 5 deals with nine kinds of creations viz. of Mahat, Tanmātrās, bhūtas, (elements), Vaikārika (i. e. Aindriyaka), Mukhya (i. e. of immovable objects), of lower animals, of ūrdhvaretas (i. e. divine beings), of human beings, of Kumāras (i. e. Saṅat Kumāra and others).

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa in Chap. 42 speaks of the creation of Pradhāna, Mahat, Ahankāra, Tanmātrās under the aegis of Brahmā. Chap. 44 speaks of the nine kinds of creation as in Visnu. Chapters 45, 46, 47 deal with the creations of Gods, pitrs, human beings, the four varṇas, beasts, birds, trees and plants &c. Passages from other Purāṇas need not and cannot be quoted as they are in the same strain as above and as limitations of space preclude further elaboration.

In the Upanisads the geographical details are very few and are limited to the territory between the Himālayas and Vindhya (the Kausitaki Up. II, 13 speaks of two parvatas, the north and south, the Br. Up. I. 1, 1-2 alludes to the eastern and western seas). Noble steeds were brought from Sindhu country (Br. Up. VI. 1. 13), the country of Gandhāra (Chān. Up. VI. 14. 2) appears to

2477. As a sample of how several Purāṇas repeat the same verses, the following is set out: अव्यक्तं कारणं यत्तत्प्रधानमृषित्तमैः । मोक्षयेत् प्रकृतिः सूक्ष्मं नित्यं सदसदात्मकम् ॥ ... विशुणं तज्जगद्योनिरनादिमभवाययम् । ... वेदवादिनो विद्वत्सिद्धता ब्रह्मवादिनः । पठन्ति चैतेमेवार्थं प्रधानमतिपादकम् । नाहो न रात्रिर्न मो न भूमिर्नासीत्तनो ज्योतिश्च नान्यत् । श्रोत्रादि बुद्ध्यालुपलभ्यमेकं माधानिकं ब्रह्म गुमास्तदासीत् । विष्णोः स्वरूपात्परतो-
द्विष्टे द्वे रूपे प्रधानं पुष्पश्च विप्रः । विष्णुपु. I. 2 19, 21-24. ब्रह्माण्डपुराण I. 3. 1-9
'अव्यक्तकारणं ... दात्मकम् । प्रधानं प्रकृतिं चैव यमाहुस्तत्त्वचिन्तका ॥, the वायु 4. 17
has अव्यक्तं कारणं यत्तु नित्यं सदसदात्मकम् । प्रधानं ..तत्त्वचिन्तकाः ॥. The ब्रह्मपुराण I. 33
has अव्यक्तं कारणं ... समकम् । प्रधानं पुष्पस्तत्त्वचिन्तकैः विश्वमीश्वरः ॥, Mārkaṇḍeya,
Chap. 42, 36-52 and 59-63 are identical almost word for word with Visnu
I. 2, 34-49, 51-55.

have been known and was at some distance from the place where the Upaniṣad was composed; the country Madra is mentioned in Br. Up. III. 3. 1 and III 7. 1. Janaka was a king of Videha at whose court brāhmanas from Kurus, Pāṇcālyā, gather together for argument with Yājñavalkya (Br. Up. JII 1. 1), king Ajātaśatru of Kāśi (Banaras) humbled the vain Bālaki Gārgya (Br. Up. II 1. 1), and Kausitaki IV. 1. 1, which latter mentions also the countries of Vaśa, Uśīnara, Kuru, Pāṇcālā and Videha); Kuru country occurs in Chān. Up. I. 10. 1. IV. 17. 10. Pāṇcālā country by itself in Chān. Up. V. 3. 1, Br. Up. VI. 2. 1; Āsvapat king of Kekaya (in the extreme North-west) imparted knowledge of Vaiśvānara-vidyā to brāhmanas.

The Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to cosmography ²⁴⁷⁸ i. e. description of the divisions of the earth called dvīpas, varṣas, the mountains, the oceans, the rivers and the countries therein and their extent, the motions of the sun, moon, planets, the yugas, manvantaras, and kalpas ²⁴⁷⁹ and Dharmaśāstra works frequently rely on them. Jambudvīpa was known at least before 300 B. C. as Aśoka mentions it in his Rūpanātha Rock Inscription, quoted above on p 1016 n 1649. The word 'dvīpa' occurs in the Rgveda I. 169. 3 and VII. 20. 4 (vi dvīpāṃ pāpatan). Pāṇini derives the word from *dvi* and *āpah*. (VI. 3. 97). A bare outline of these from some Purāṇas may be indicated here. The Maṭṣyapurāṇa starts by saying (in chap. 113. 4-5) that there are thousands of dvīpas, but as it is not possible to describe the whole of the world in order it would expound only the seven ²⁴⁸⁰ dvīpas.

2478. The most systematic and complete work on the cosmography of ancient India as described in Purāṇas is W. Kurfel's 'Die Kosmographie der Inder' (Bonn, 1920, pp. 401) with plates. He deals with Purāṇa material in pp. 1-177, with Buddhist material in pp. 178-207 and with Jaina material in pp. 208-339 and there is an index of proper names in pp. 340-401.

2479. Many of the Purāṇas contain the same questions put by the sages to the Sūta about the dvīpas. ऋषयः ऊचुः । कति द्वीपाः सद्यद्वा वा पर्वता वा कति श्रभो । कियन्ति चैव वर्षाणि तेषु नद्यश्च काः स्मृताः ॥ महाभूमिर्माण्य च लोकादौकस्त्यैव च । पथोऽपि परिमाणं च गतिश्चन्द्रार्कयोस्तथा । एतद् ब्रवीहि नः सर्वं विस्तरेण यथार्थं विदुः । त्वद्भक्त-मेतत्सकलं श्रोतुमिच्छामहे षण्म् । सूत उवाच ॥ द्वीपभेदसहस्राणि सत चान्तर्गताणि च । न शक्यन्ते क्रमेणैव ब्रूतुं वै सकलं जगत् ॥ सतेन तु प्रवक्ष्यामि चन्द्रादिष्वयद्वैः सह ॥ मत्स्य. 113 1-5, वायु 134. 1-3, 6-7, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 15 2-3, 5-6, मार्कण्डेय 51. 1-3

2480. The dvīpas are generally said to be seven, but sometimes they are said to be 16 as in Vāyu 2 15 (aṣṭādaśa samudrasya dvīpān aśnan Purū-ṇarāb) and by Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VI. 38 (aṣṭādaśa-dvīpa-nikhāta

(Continued on next page)

Chapters 121-123 of the same Purāṇa mention by name seven dvīpas viz Jambudvīpa, Śākadvīpa, Kusa, Krauñca, Śālmala, Gomedaka and Puskara, each succeeding one being double of each preceding one and each surrounded by a sea and each having seven *varsas*, seven principal mountains, seven main rivers. The seven oceans surrounding the seven dvīpas are stated to be respectively of salt ²⁴⁸¹ water, milk, liquid ghee, curds, liquor, sugar-cane juice, fresh water. The names and order of the dvīpas differ to some extent in different Purāṇas e. g. the Visṇu II. 1.12-14, II. 2.5, the Brahmapurāṇa (18.11) mention them as Plaksa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka and Puskara. The Vāyu (33. 11-14), Kūrma I. 45. 3, Mārka, 50, 18-20 mention the same seven in the same order.

The descriptions of Kalpa, Manvantara, Yuga in the Purāṇas have already been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 890-91 and above pp. 686-693 and *pralaya* has been treated of in Vol. III pp. 893-895 and pp. 693-695 above. The Purāṇas contain thousands of verses on these topics.

The Visṇu (II. 2. 13-24) mentions the *varsas* as Bhārata (the first among them), Kimpurusa, Hari, Rāmyaka, Hiraṇmaya, Uttara-Kuru, Ilāvṛta, Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla. The Vāmana (13. 2-5) mentions the same except that it substitutes Campaka for Rāmyaka. Visṇu II. (1. 16-17) states, however, that Nābhi, Kimpurusa, Harivarsa, Ilāvṛta, Rāmya, Hiraṇvat, Kuru, Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla were the names of nine kings, sons of Āgnīdhra, son of Priyavrata, a son of Svāyambhuva Manu and that the *varsas* given to the nine sons of Āgnīdhra were respectively Himāhva (i. e. Bhārata), Hemakūta, Naisadha, Ilāvṛta, Nīlācala, Śveta, Śrngavat, a *varsa* to east of Meru, Gandhamādana. Thus there is a confusion of names of kings and names of *varsas*. Vāyu (30. 38-40) states the same names of

(Continued from last page)

yūpaḥ) It is possible to take the word dvīpa in the sense of islands and not in the sense of continents in these cases. From Pāṇ IV 3. 10 (dīpād-
anusamudram yaś) it appears that the word 'dvīpa' was also used about islands near the sea coast. Vide 'Nine dvīpas of Bharatavarṇa' by Sashi
bhushan Chaudhuri in I. A. Vol. 59 pp 204-208 and 224-226.

2481 एते द्वीपाः समुद्रैस्तु सप्त सप्तभिः पृथक्ताः । लवणेषु सुरासिर्दधिदुग्धजले समम् ।
विष्णु II. 2. 6. ब्रह्मसू. 18. 12, मार्क. 51. 7 (लवणे ... दधिसीरजस्तदभिः) शिशुनि-
धुनैर्दध्या सर्वतः परिवेष्टिताः)

sons and in 33. 41-45 mentions the same varsas except Mālyavat, which was given to Bhadrāśva. ²⁴⁸²

The Vāyu (45, 75-81) states that Bhāratavarṣa is to the north of the ocean and to the south of Himavat (Himalaya) and Manu was called Bharata because he supported his subjects and therefore this varṣa is called Bhārata. The Brahmandā (II. 16.7, says the same thing. The same (Vāyu) Purāṇa contradicts itself by stating (in 33. 50-52) that Nābhī's son was Rśabha, whose son was Bharata after whom Bharata-varṣa is so called. Brahmandā (II. 14.60-62) says the same thing; Vāyu also stated (in 99. 134) that from Dusyanta and Śakuntalā was born Bharata and Bhārata is so called ²⁴⁸³ after him. The seven

2482 उत्तरं यस्तद्वत्स्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः ॥ नवयोजनसाहस्रो विस्तारश्च द्विजोत्तमाः । कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गनपर्वणी च गच्छताम् ॥ महेन्द्रो मलयः सद्यः शुक्तिमाद्यक्षपर्वतः । विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तात्र कुलपर्वताः ॥ विष्णुपुर. II. 3. 1-3; ब्रह्मपुर. 19. 1-3, vide अग्नि 118. 1-3 (which reads हेमपर्वतः for कक्षपर्वतः), मार्कण्डेय (54. 10-11), ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16. 5 and 18-19 It is worthy of note that Pāṇini expressly names only Himavat (in IV. 4. 112) out of these mountains, though he knew other mountains like Kimsulukagiri and others (VI. 3. 117). अत्रापि भारतं श्रेष्ठं जम्बूद्वीपं महायुने । यतो हि कर्मभूरेया यतोऽन्या भोगभूमयः ॥ ब्रह्म. 19. 23, विष्णु II 3. 22. In both several verses after this are the same. भीमनपर्व (chap. 9. 11 has the verse महेन्द्रो (but reads कक्षपर्वतः), while in chap. 6 (verses 4-5) only six are mentioned,

2483 The Visṇupurāṇa II. 1. 32 agrees with Vāyu 33. 50-52. In the Śakuntalā (Act. VII) Kālidāsa makes a character state that Śakuntalā's son called Sarvadāmana in the hermitage of Kanva would become known as Bharata (इहारां सत्त्वानां यत्सर्वदमनात्सर्वदमनः पुनर्भोस्त्याख्यां भरत इति लोकस्य भरणम्). It is likely that in Kālidāsa's days Śakuntalā's son had not been probably connected with the name Bhāratavarṣa, otherwise there would have been nothing to prevent the poet from adding another prophecy about him that a varṣa would be named after him Pāṇini speaks of prācyaś and Bharatas (II. 4. 66, IV 2. 113) The Bharatas were an ancient people mentioned several times even in the Rgveda, vide III 33. 11-12 The Bharatas are spoken of as grāma i. e. a group or sangha, to have crossed the confluence of the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī (modern Beas and Sutlej), III. 23. 2 (Bharatas are said to have produced Agni by attrition), III. 53. 12 (where the prayer of Viśvāmitra is said to have protected Bhārata-jana). Agni is styled Bhārata in several verses (as in Rg II. 7. 1 and 5, IV 25. 4, VI. 16. 19 and 45). It is stated in the Ait Brāhmaṇa (39. 9) that Dīrghatamā Māmataya crowned Bharata Daśpanti (Daśyanti) by the Aindra Mahābhīṣaka, that Bharata thereon conquered the earth all round, performed many Asvamedha sacrifices and then five ślokaś are quoted stating that Bharata made gifts of innumerable elephants in Masūāra country, that he performed sacrifices on the banks of the Yamunā river and on the

(Continued on next page)

principal mountains of Bhāratavarsa are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Rksapārvata, Vindhya and Pāriyātra. The Purānas affirm that Bhārata is the best in the varsas of Jambudvīpa (Brahma 19. 23-24, Visnu III. 3. 22, Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 17). Some of them contain fine eulogies of Bhārata (e. g. Brahma 27. 2.9 and 69-79, Visnu II. 3. 23-26.).

In several Purānas nine divisions of Bhāratavarsa are named viz. Indradvīpa, Kāseru, Tāmrāparna, Gabhastimat, Nāgadvīpa, Sahys, Gandharva, Vāruna and a ninth which is 1000 yojanas long from north to south, on the east of which are Kirātas and on the west Yavanas and the four varnas in the middle of it.²⁴⁸⁴ It may be noted that though Bhāratavarsa is only one the divisions of Jambudvīpa, some of the nine divisions are themselves called Indradvīpa and Nāgadvīpa. Another important matter is that Matsya 114. 10, Vāyu 45. 81, Vāmana 13. 11, and Brahmāṇḍa appear to call the 9th dvīpa Kumāra or as extending from Kumāriki to the sources of the Gangā. There-

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Ganges; the last verse (the 5th) says 'महोक्तं भरतस्य न पूर्वं नापरे जनः। दिवं मर्त्यं ह्येव हस्ताभ्यां नोदातुः पञ्चमानवाः॥', Vīdo Śatapatha Br. XIII. 5. 4. 11-13 (for Bharata Dauspanti born of Sakuntalā, where four gāthās are quoted about him, three of which are almost the same as in At. Br. and it is added that he attained the same sway or eminence that belongs to the Bharatas in its times. The Atharvaveda frequently refers to Himavat (as in V. 2. 8, XIX. 39. 1) and it is said that Kushta plant is found in the north and is taken to the east from Himavat and that (Atharva VI. 24. 1 and 3) all rivers flow from Himavat and join the ocean (Sindhu). The महाभाष्य on Pān. II 4. 66 remarks that Bharatas are not found in any countries other than those in the east.

2484 भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नवभेदान् निज्ञामय। इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुश्च ताम्रपर्णो गभस्ति-
मान्। नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वस्तथ चारुणः। अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंयुतः।
योजनाना सहस्रं तु द्वीपोऽयं दक्षिणोत्तरात्। पूर्वं किराता यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवनाः स्मृताः॥
ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रिया वैश्या मध्ये शूद्राश्च भागदा॥ विष्णु II 3. 6-9, मार्क. 54. 5-8 and
Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 8 add one half verse समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते स्वगम्याः परस्परम्
(after भारतस्यास्य .. से), वामन 13.8-11 (reads नागद्वीपः कटाक्षश्च सिंहलो चारुणस्तथा,
and adds कुमारारुच्यः परित्यातो द्वीपोऽयं दक्षिणोत्तरः after अयं ... संयुतः), भाग्य 45.
78-83 (adds आपतो ह्यत्र कुमारिकाया गङ्गामभवाच्च वै and one verse more after
this), ब्रह्मसू (27. 14-17 and 19-20) has also the verses इन्द्रद्वीपः ... यवनाः
स्मृताः but the first verse is ह्यनुष्टुभं भारतं वर्षं नवभेदेन भो द्विजाः। समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते
समाश्च परस्परम् (v 1. दुर्गाया परस्परम्). The मत्स्य (14. 7-12) has some of the
above verses but adds आयतस्तु कुमारतो गङ्गाया प्रवहावाधिः (प्रभवावाधिः ?)। तिर्यग्वर्षं
तु विस्तीर्णः सहस्राणि दशैव तु। Agn. 118 also has similar verses. The ब्रह्माण्ड II.
16. 11 adds आपतो ह्यत्र कुमारो वै च गङ्गामभवाच्च वै। तिर्यगुत्तरविस्तीर्णः सहस्राणि
नैव तु.

fore, it appears that the 9th division of Bhāratavarṣa was held to be a country like modern India and the other eight divisions seem to be countries and islands lying to the south-east of present India. It is probable that early works identified Bhāratavarṣa with what is now modern India, but when Indian culture spread to South-East Asia, Bhāratavarṣa was used to denote India as well as Greater India.

Śabara (bhāṣya on Jai. X. 1. 35) shows that the language of cultured people from the Himavat to cape Comorin was the same (prasiddhaśca sthālyām caruśabdah ā Himavataḥ a ca Kumaribhayah prajuyamāno dr̥stah). Vide also his bhāṣya on Jai. X. 1. 42 for the same words. The snow-capped mountains were known to the sages of the R̥gveda (vide X. 121, 4 'yas-yeme Himavanto mahitvā yasya samudram rasayā sahāhuh). 'Yasya' in the verse quoted refers to Hiranyagarbha. The Atharvaveda (V. 4. 2 and 8) mentions Himavat in the singular. *Parvatas* (plural) occur several times in R̥g. III. 33. 1, IV. 54. 5 and also *parvata* in the singular (R̥g. I. 37. 7, V. 56. 4). The Mahābhārata, Śabara, Purāṇas and the Br̥hat-samhitā show that ancient Indian people identified their culture with Bhārata-varṣa i.e. they identified country and culture, not race with culture.

The Brahmapurāṇa and the Mārkaṇdeya appear to confine Bhāratavarṣa substantially to what has been known for centuries as India when they describe it as 'to its south, west and east there is the great ocean, to its north is Himavat resembling the string of a bow.'²⁴⁵⁵ Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 11-16 for discussion as to the limits of Āryāvarta and pp. 17-18 for Bhārata-varṣa.

The Vāyu devotes about 1000 verses (chap. 36-49) to what is called Bhuvanavinyāsa (arrangement of the universe), the Brahma devotes chap. 18-21 to the same viz. Bhuvanakośa, the Matsya chap. 114 deals with Bhuvanakośa, Kūrma I. 40 is called Bhuvanavinyāsa and deals with dvīpas and varṣas.

The countries²⁴⁵⁶ of ancient and medieval India are enumerated in Viṣṇu II. 3. 15-18, Vāyu 45 109-136, Brahmāṇḍa II. 16.

²⁴⁵⁵ दक्षिणपश्चिमो वरुणं पूर्वे चैव नलोद्दि । हिमवान्नुत्तरेणास्य कार्मुकस्य तथा गुणः । तदेतद्भारतं वर्षं सर्वबीजं द्विजोत्तमा. । बृहत् 27. 65-66, सां० 54. 59

²⁴⁵⁶ For the Janapadas and other geographical data in Pāṇini, vide J. of U. P. H. S. Vol. 16 pp. 10-51 by Dr. V. S. Agravala and IHQ Vol. 21 pp. 297-314 for countries in the Purāṇas and Dr. D. C. Sirkar's 'Text of the Purāṇic list of peoples' in IHQ vol. 19 pp. 297-314. It appears from
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40-68, Matsya 114. 34-56, Mārkaṇḍeya 54, Padma (Ādi 6. 34-59), Vāmana 13. 36 ff. The Bhīmaparva (chap. 9) mentions countries and peoples. In the Naksatrakūrmādhya of the Brhatsamhita of Varāhmihira (chap. 14. 1-33) numerous names and countries in the centre of Bhāratavarṣa and in the eight directions of it are set out. Many rivers are named in the Ṛgveda. In Ṛgveda X. 75. 5-6 eighteen or nineteen rivers are mentioned in order from the Ganges towards the west up to Kubhā (Kabul river), Gomati, Krumu (modern Kurram). Twenty-one rivers, seven in three groups, are referred to in Ṛgveda X. 64. 8 and X. 75. 1 and 99, in Ṛgveda I. 32. 12 and X. 104. 8 seven Sindhus are mentioned and in (Ṛgveda II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, X. 43. 3). Rivers are enumerated as flowing from the principal mountains in Matsya 114. 20-33, Kūrma I. 47. 28-39, Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 24-39, Vāmana 13. 20-35 and 34. 6-8, Brahma 19. 10-14 and 27. 25-40, Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 6. 10-32). The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 165. 19-29) mentions many rivers.

Paṭālas (nether regions) are generally mentioned as seven, but the names slightly vary in the several Purāṇas. Vide Vāyu 50. 11-12, Brahma 21. 2-3 and 54. 20-11, Brahmāṇḍa II. 20. 10 ff, Kūrma I. 44. 15-25, Viṣṇu II. 5. 2-3.

The Bhāṣya of Vyāsa on Y. S. III. 25 (26 in some editions) 'bhuvanañjānam sūrye samyamāt' contains a concise but remarkably detailed summary of the description of the seven lokas (bhūr, bhuvah, svah, mahah, jana, tapas and satya, ²⁴⁸⁷

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Pāṇini that he was well acquainted with the whole of India from the extreme northwest to Kalinga (modern Orissa) and Āśmaka (region about Ajanta and Paithan) and modern Kutch as he expressly names Gāndhāra (IV. 1. 169), Suvāstu (in IV. 2. 77, modern Swat), Kamboja (IV. 1. 175) and Takṣaśilā (IV. 3. 93), Sindhu (IV. 3. 93), Śālātura (IV. 3. 94, the birth place of Pāṇini who is hence called Śālāturiya by later writers like Bhāmaha), Sauvīra (IV. 1. 148), Kaccha (IV. 2. 133), Magadha, Kalinga, Sūramasa (Surma valley?) in IV. 1. 170, Āśmaka (IV. 1. 173). Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' (1872), Nundolal Dey's 'The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927), 'Bibliography of Ancient Geography of India' by Surendranath Majumdar in I. A. Vol. 48 (for 1919) pp. 15-23 and 'the list of Tīrthas' in the author's H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 723-825 may be consulted for ancient Indian Geography.

2487. The words for the three or seven Vyāhritis were supposed to denote lokas. Vide Tai. Br. II. 2. 4. 3 'एता वै व्याहृत्य द्वे लोका' and Tai. Up. I. 5 भूरिति वा अयं लोकः । अथ द्वयन्तारिक्षम् । सुप्रतिपत्तो लोकः । न ह इत्यदित्यः । आदित्येन वाच सर्वे लोका महीयन्ते ।, the Kūrmādhya (I. 44. 1-4) mentions the lokas from mahā to satya.

the seven narakas from Avīci upwards, the seven pātālas, the earth with seven dvīpas, the seven parvatas with Meru in the middle of the earth, varsas, the seven dvīpas, jambu, śaka, kuśa, krauñca, śālmala, gomedha (not gomedaka as in the printed Purānas) and Puskara, the seven seas, the parks of the gods, their assembly hall called Sudharmā and city called Sudarśana and palace called Vaijayanta, the groups of gods in Mahendra-loka, Prājāpatya-loka, in Jana, Tapas and Satya lokas. Many of these details closely agree with the enumerations and descriptions in the Purānas. This shows that the Paurānika cosmography had been established long before the 4th century A. D.

CHAPTER XXXV

The doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma (transmigration or metempsychosis)

This is one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Indian system of religion and philosophy, is an endeavour to answer the question that occurs to all thoughtful persons, viz. what happens to man after the death of the body and has influenced for thousands of years or at least from the times of the Upanisads all Indian thought and all Hindus, Jains and Buddhists. This is a vast subject and has during the last few decades attracted the minds of numerous writers in the West. There is now a voluminous literature in the West on reincarnation.^{2487a} Several countries in historical times believed in transmigration. Herodotus^{2487b} states that some of the Greeks (whose names he knew but did not disclose) had used that doctrine as their own, but that the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul was immortal and that at the time of the death of the body it entered into some other living thing then coming to birth. Pythagoras appears to have believed in it and there are controversies whether he derived it from India. Prof. A. B. Keith (in *J. R. A. S.* for 1909 pp. 569-606) after a lengthy discussion holds that Pythagoras did not borrow it from India. The present writer does not express any opinion on that subject as it is irrelevant for the purpose of this volume. Hopkins and Macdonnell accept the theory of Indian Influence on Pythagoras, but Oldenberg and Keith do not.

Not only Pythagoras, but Empedocles (who is reported to have said that he was a boy, a girl, a bush, a bird and a fish) and Plato believed in the pre-existence and post-existence of the soul, in the idea that the bodies which will accompany the soul in several births would bear similitude to the lives that

^{2487a}. Even so early as 1913, E. D. Walker (Rider and Co., London) devotes to a bibliography of books and articles on 'Reincarnation' 15 pages (pp. 329-343).

^{2487b}. Vide English translation of Herodotus by A. D. Godley, Vol. I. (book II 123).

they had led, that the happiest would be those who had practised the social and civil virtues called temperance and justice and that supersensible thinking would be the only means of disengaging the soul from successive lives of sense. Vide Kenneth Walker's 'The circle of Life' p. 93 (where he says that the doctrine of metempsychosis was probably well-known in India at the time of Christ) and Gough's 'Philosophy of the Upanisads' (London 1882), pp 25-28, where he cites a long passage from Plato's Phaedon on this subject and pp. 29-31 for a long quotation from Hume's Dialogues concerning Natural Religion on the miseries and migration of the soul from body to body. Gough on p 25 of the above work opines that since in the Vedic literature prior to the Upanisads there is no reference to the belief in the passage of the soul into plants and human bodies, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hindus borrowed this doctrine from the indigenes in the course of their absorption of indigenous blood. Vide also 'Studies in honour of Bloomfield' pp. 76-88 for G. W. Brown's views to the same effect. This is a most gratuitous assumption, it is a pure conjecture and without any evidence whatever. If belief in transmigration could exist among Egyptians and many primitive tribes, there is no reason to assume that Indians did not themselves arrive at the doctrine, particularly when there exists nowhere else in the whole world any theory of Karma and transmigration so detailed, so influential and so thorough as in Sanskrit Literature. One may dismiss the conjectures of Gough and G. W. Brown as verbiage (the latter conjectures on pp. 87-88 that even the words Yoga, Sāṅkhya and Upanisad are coined from similar words in some Dravidian tongue now lost). All Scholars (particularly Western ones when writing about the East) should lay to heart the words of Mallinātha 'nāmāṇam likhyate kiñcit'. The present writer is not against conjectures at all but they must not be bold and must always be treated as such. But the danger is that the conjectures of former scholars or men are often treated as valid conclusions by later writers. All scholars must bear in mind Acton's warning 'Guard against the prestige of great names; no trusting without testing'. In the H of Dh Vol. IV. pp 38-40 the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma was briefly discussed in relation to the consequence of sins and their removal and details were reserved for treatment later.

In the present chapter the author proposes to examine the Vedic literature for tracing the origin and the growth of

this doctrine and the vicissitudes and modifications of it and the objections raised against it in modern times. It is a remarkable circumstance that, though the several *darśanas* (such as Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrvaṃmīmāṃsā and Vedānta) severely criticize some doctrines of each other, the doctrine of Karma and transmigration received almost unanimous support except among materialists (like Cārvāka). Prof. Wilson in 'Religion of the Hindus' (London, ed. of 1862) vol. II, p. 112 remarks 'metempsychosis is not only the one point on which all are agreed, it is the one point which none have ever disputed'. The Buddhists and Jains, though they differed on many matters from Vedic and Smṛti literature, adopted this doctrine in their own way. There are some suppositions antecedent to all beliefs in Karma and transmigration viz. (1) man has a soul, eternal and separate from the physical body, (2) that other organisms, animals, plants and probably inanimate objects possess souls, (3) that the souls of men and lower animals can pass from one kind of physical organism to another, (4) that the soul is both doer and sufferer.

It has already been shown at some length (in Vol. IV, pp. 154-171) how ideas of Heaven and Hell were developed from ancient Vedic times and it has been stated (on p. 158 of that volume) that the doctrine of Karma and transmigration modified the doctrine of Heaven and Hell.

The word *karma* occurs in the Rgveda over forty times. In some passages it appears to mean 'exploits' or 'valiant deeds' as in the following: 'Observe the exploits of Viśnu' (Rg. I. 22. 19), 'proclaim by your word (or verses) the ²⁴⁸⁸ ancient deeds of Him (Indra) who is worthy of praise' (Rg. I. 61. 13); 'that deed of his (of Indra), who is wonderful, is most worthy of worship, that deed is most beautiful, that he filled with sweet waters of four rivers' (Rg. I. 62. 6); 'who is firm in each exploit' (Rg. I. 101. 4); 'O Indra! four are your divine and unconquerable names,... under which you performed exploits' (Rg. X. 54. 4); 'O Aśvins! frequent drinkers of delicious Soma and Lords of splendour, you helped (or protected) Indra in his exploits

2488 अस्मैदु प्र ब्रूहि पूर्व्याणि कुरुष्व कर्माणि नव्य उक्थ्यैः । क्र. I 61. 13; तु प्रयक्षतमस्य कर्म दत्तस्य चारुतममस्ति दत्तः । उपहरे यदुपरा अपि नव्य नक्षत्रासौ नराश्वतसः ॥ Rg. I. 62 6; शुर्वं सुरात्ममन्विना नहुचावाहरे सत्ता । विपिपाना शुभस्पती इन्द्रं कर्मस्वावतम् ॥ क्र. X. 131. 4.

against Namuci, son of Asura (or of the Asura breed)' in Rg. X 131. 4. In several other passages of the Rgveda 'karma' means 'religious works' (such as sacrifices or gifts); '(the gods) accept (or like) all works of this poet who brings to you a hymn of praise' ²⁴⁸⁹ (Rg. I 148. 2); (O Indra), give your ear to (the prayer) of Śyāvāśva who offers Soma to you, as you listened to (the prayers of) Atri who performed religious works' (Rg. VIII. 36. 7), O pure Soma! with thy help our ancient and wise forefathers performed works' (Rg. IX. 96. 11). In very ancient times Heaven was believed to be the place for enjoying the rewards of most works. Rewards of this world such as wealth, heroic sons were no doubt prayed for, but it was immortality (*amṛtata*) and the joys of heaven, that were highly valued. In Rg. X. 16. 4 Agni is prayed to take the deceased to the world of those who performed good works (*tābhir-vahainam sukrām u lokam*). The words 'sukrām lokam' occur in the Atharvaveda ²⁴⁹⁰ (III 28 6, XVIII. 3. 71) and in the Vaj. S. 18. 52. In Rg. IX. 113. 7-10 the sacrificer who offers Soma to Indra prays that he may be placed in that world (heaven) as an immortal, where there is never-ending light, where Yama, the son of Vivasvat, is the King, where there are joys and delights and where there are desires and their fulfilment. The prayers for immortality are made in the Rgveda to all gods, e. g. to Agni in I 31. 7, IV 58. 1, V. 4. 10., VI. 7. 4, to the Maruts in V. 55. 4, to Mitra and Varuna in V. 63. 2, to Viśve-Devas in X. 52. 5 and X. 62. 1, to Soma in I 91. 1, IX. 94. 4, IX. 108. 3. But about the fate of evil-doers not much is said in the Rgveda. In the Brāhmaṇa works greater details are offered as to rewards of good works and the retribution for evil deeds. Śat. Br. (XII. 9. 1. 1) puts forth the idea of retribution (cited above).²⁴⁹¹ The same idea is set forth as to flesh-eating in Manu and Viśnu-dharmasūtra, which state

2489. सुपन्त विश्वान्यस्य कर्मोपस्तुतिं भरमाणस्य कारोः। ऋ I 148. 2: इयावाश्वस्य सुपन्तस्तथा हृष्ट यथा हृष्टोऽस्त्रे कर्मणि कुपन्तः। ऋ. VIII. 36 7. the same verse is repeated in VIII 37. 7 (with रेभत. for सुपन्तः), त्वया हि न. पितरः सोमं पूर्वं कर्मणि चक्रुः पवमानं धीराः। ऋ IX. 96. 11.

2490 ताभ्या पतेम सुकृतासु लोके यत्र क्रवयो जग्मुः प्रथमजा. पुराणाः। वाज. स. 18. 52; शरीरमस्य सदाप्येन धेहि सुकृतासु लोके॥ अथर्व XVIII. 3. 71.

2491 एतस्माद्दे यज्ञाद्युर्यो जायते। स यद् वा अस्मिँहोके पुरुषोऽस्ममति तदेनम-
स्मिँहोके मयति। इतपथ XII. 9 1. 1. मा स भक्षयितासुत्र यस्य मासमिहाहम्यहम्।
एतन्मांसस्य मांसत्वं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः॥ मनु V. 55. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 51. 78. मा means 'me'
and स 'that being' and the word मांस (that contains these two) is explained
as above.

"that being whose flesh I eat here would eat me in the next world, the wise declare this to be the origin of the word 'māmsa'." The Śat. Br. in another passage refers to a strange legend ²⁴⁹² Bhṛgu, who had become vain on account of his learning and thought himself more learned than his father Varuna, was asked by his father to go to the four quarters from east to north and report what he would see there. Horrible sights met him in all directions e. g. in the east he saw men dismembering men, hewing off their limbs one by one and saying 'this to you, this to me'. He said 'this is horrible'. They replied 'these indeed dealt with us in yonder world and so we now deal with them in return'. Then in the north he saw that men crying aloud were being eaten by men crying aloud. When he said 'horrible &c'; they replied 'these indeed dealt with us...in return'. This is a long story and it is not necessary to set out the whole. This story probably gives expression to the popular notion of 'tit for tat'. But one thing is clear that the Śat. Br. indicates by this story that a belief had then arisen that one who does evil in one life has to suffer for it in a later life from that being whom he treated badly. The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Br. both several times speak of conquering or casting off '*punarmrtyu*' (renewed death, liability to be born and die again and again). Two passages from the Śat. Br. and Tai. Br. may be quoted. In X. 4. 4 the Śat. Br. tells the story that gods became immortal by means of the proper performance of Agnicayana as Prajāpati advised them viz by laying down 360 enclosing stones, 360 Yajusmati bricks and 36 more thereon, 10800 Lokapṛnā bricks. In X. 4. 4. 9 it is said 'he who is to become immortal through knowledge (*vidyā*)²⁴⁹³ and through sacred works (*karma*) shall become immortal after separating from the body', and then X. 4. 4. 10 asserts that 'those who know this or those who do this holy work come to life again after dying and coming to life they secure immortal life; but those who do not know

2492. स तत एव माङ्ग मवव्राज । एदु पुरुषैः पुरुषान्पर्वण्येषा पर्वणः संवत्सर्वको विभजमानानिदं तवेदं ममेति । स होवाच भीष्म वत भोः । पुरुषान्वा एतत्पुरुषा. पर्वण्येषा पर्वणः संवत्सर्वको पर्वणो व्यभक्षतेति ते होचुरित्थं वा इमेऽस्मान्मुष्मिर्लोकेऽस्यन्त तान्प्रयमिदमिह मतिस्तथा मह इति । स ह तत एवोदङ्ग मवव्राज । एदु पुरुषैः पुरुषानाक्रन्दयत आक्रन्दयद्भिरयमानान् । स होवाच । भीष्म वत भोः पुरुषान् वा एतत्पुरुषा. आक्रन्दयत आक्रन्दयन्तोऽद्वन्तीति । ते होचुरित्थं वा इमेऽस्मा ... सचामह इति । शतपथ XI 6, 1. 3-6.

2493. ते य एवमेतद्विदुर्येवै तत्कर्म कुरुते मृत्वा पुनः सम्भवन्ति ते सम्भवन्त एवास्तत्त्वमभि सम्भवन्त्यथ य एवं न विदुर्येवै तत्कर्म न कुरुते मृत्वा पुनः सम्भवन्ति त एतरेषाञ्च पुनः पुनर्भवन्ति । शतपथ X 4 3. 10.

this or do not perform this sacred work come to life again when they die and they become the food of him (Death) time after time.' In the Tai. Br. III. 11. 8 the story of Naciketas is narrated just as in the Kathopanisad (some of the verses are the same in both). Death grants Naciketas three boons in the Tai. Br., the third being different in the Kathopanisad. The third boon asked by Naciketas in Tai. Br. is 'Declare to me how to cast off *punararmṛtyu*.' Death declared to him the Naciketa fire, thereby he (Naciketas) cast off or kept off *punararmṛtyu*.²⁴⁹⁴ The words '*apa punarmṛtyum jayati*' occur in Kausitaki Br. 25. 1 and several times in the Br. Up. I. 2. 7., I. 5. 2, III. 2., 10, III. 3. 2.

From the ancient popular idea of retribution for evil deeds probably arose the idea of the setting of good deeds against the evil deeds of a person and weighing them as if in a balance. The Śat Br. states²⁴⁹⁵ 'Now this one is the balance, viz. the right side of the vedi.²⁴⁹⁶ Let him sit down touching the right edge of the vedi, for indeed they place him on the balance in yonder world and whichever of two will rise he will follow, whether it be good or evil. And whosoever knows this mounts the balance even in this world and escapes being placed on the balance in yonder world, for it is good deed that rises and not his evil deed'.

The Śatapatha had arrived at the idea that man's will (and corresponding deed) governs what world he will reach after death. It says 'Let him meditate on truth as brahma. Now man here is mostly will and, according as his will is when he departs from this world, does he on departing become of similar will in the yonder world'.²⁴⁹⁶

There is a curious passage in the Śatapatha (X. 1. 5. 4) about the powers conferred by sacrifices in the yonder world. It states that he who had regularly performed Agnihotra eats food

2494 तुनीयं वृणीष्वेति । पुनर्मृत्योर्मर्त्यचितिं ब्रवीति होवाच । तस्मै हेतुमार्तिं नाचिकेत-
यवाच ततो वै सोऽथ पुनर्मृत्युमजयत् । अप पुनर्मृत्युं जयति योऽति नाचिकेत चिदुने य उ चैनमेव
वेद । तै ब्रा III. 11. 8 6.

2495 अथ ऐषैव तुला पदक्षिणो वेद्यन्तः स यत्साधु करोति तदन्तर्द्वयं यदसाधु तद-
हिमंति । तस्मादक्षिणं वेद्यन्तमधिरुद्रमेवासीत् । तुलाया ह वाऽधुर्मिह्लोके आदधति पतर्यंरयति
तदन्त्येवपति यदि साधु वाऽसाधु वेति । अथ य एवं वेदास्मिन्नेव लोके तुलामारोहयत्यधुर्मिह्लोके
तुलापानं सुच्यते । साधुकृतया ईश्वरस्य पच्यति न पापकृतया । ज्ञापय XI 2 7. 33. Here the
edge of the right side of the Vedi is spoken of as the beam of the balance.

2496 तस्यं ब्रह्मरुपासीत् । अथ गृह्यं ब्रह्ममयोऽयं पुरुषः स यावत्कतुरसमाहोकादित्येवं
पुनर्दाय लोकं वेत्त्याभिसम्भनति । ज्ञापय X 6 3 1.

in the evening and morning in the yonder world, the performer of Darśa and Pūrnamāsa sacrifice eats food every half month; the performer of Cāturmāsya (seasonal sacrifices) eats food in the yonder worlds every four months, the performer of animal sacrifice every six months; the Soma sacrificer once a year; the builder of the fire after (agnicit) eats food every hundred years at his will or may not require it at all after once taking it, for a hundred years are as much as immortality, unending and everlasting.

The Śat. Br. had arrived at the conclusion that every man is born in a world fashioned by himself. It also asserted that he who sacrifices to the gods does not win such a place as the one who sacrifices to the Ātman and the latter frees himself from the mortal body, from sin, as a snake frees itself from its slough ²⁴⁹⁷.

It must be conceded that a clear statement about the doctrine of karma and punarjanma is absent from the whole of the R̥gveda. R̥g. VII. 33 is an important hymn. The first nine verses are spoken by Vasistha about his sons. Verses 10-14 refer to Vasistha ²⁴⁹⁸ himself and are either attributed to his sons or according to another view are part of a dialogue with Indra. The verses are mythological, mystical and rather difficult to explain. Verse 10 refers to one birth of Vasistha when the gods Mitra and Varuna saw him reaching the refulgence of lightning and it is said that Agastya brought him (Vasistha) to the people. Here the words 'ekam janma' indicate that another janma of Vasistha is intended in this hymn. Verse 11 refers to Vasistha as born of Mitra and Varuna from Urvaśī and states that all the gods placed him in *pūskara* (either antariksa or lotus); verse 12 is important for the metaphorical and mystical statement that

2497. तदाहुः । आत्मयाजी अयाच देवयाजी ३ ... इत्यात्मयाजीति ह ब्रूयाद् । ... स यथादिस्वचो निर्मुच्येतैवमस्मान्मर्त्यच्छरीरात्पाप्मनो निर्मुच्यते स ... स्वर्गं लोकमभिसम्भवति । अथ ह स देवयाजी ... न तावन्तं लोकं जयति यावन्तमितरः । शतपथ XI. 2. 6. 13-14.

2498. विद्यतो ज्योतिः परि संजिह्वानं मित्रावरुणा यदपश्यत स्वा । तत्ते जन्मेतिकं वसिष्ठा-
गस्त्यो यत्त्वां विशा आजभार ॥ उत्तासि मैत्रावरुणो वसिष्ठोर्वइया ब्रह्मन्मनसोधि जातः । द्रुपं स्पर्शं
ब्रह्मणा दैव्येन विश्वे देवाः पुष्करे त्वाददन्त ॥ स प्रकेत ... सदान्तः । यमेन ततं परिधिं वणिष्प-
क्षप्तरसः परिजज्ञे वसिष्ठः ॥ सत्रे ह जाताविपिता नमोभिः कुम्भे रेत. सिपिचद्रु. समानम् । ततो
ह मान उदिषाय मध्याक्षतो जातद्वयिमाहुर्वसिष्ठम् ॥ अ. VII. 33. 10-13. The verse
उत्तासि is explained in the Nirukta V. 14. मानः is explained as इमीयमाण or
शम्पायमाण (of the measure of a yoke-pin) For इम्पा (ordinarily 32 āṅgulas),
vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1112 n 2487.

wishing to weave the cloth stretched by Yama, Vasistha was born from Uryasi. Verse 13 refers to the seed cast in a pitcher by the two (Mitra and Varuna) from the midst of which arose (Agastya) and from which also Vasistha was born. Verse 14 is addressed to Pratyids (the Tritsus according to Sāyana) and calls upon them to wait upon (or honour) Vasistha who would be coming to them (for performing sacrifice. This, it seems, is the second birth of Vasistha.

Prof R. D. Ranade²⁴⁹⁹ in his 'Constructive survey of the Upanishadic philosophy' (pp. 145-166) relies upon certain mantras of the Rgveda for stating that there is evidence for holding that an approach to the idea of Transmigration was being made by the vedic sages (p. 147), though he concedes (on the same page) that in the major part of the Rgveda the idea of transmigration is conspicuous by its absence.

Among the texts on which he relies are Rg. I. 164. 3, 4, 16, 17, 20, 30, 31, 38. The whole hymn has several riddles, has highly imaginative descriptions of the year, the path of the Sun, questions and answers and is a late hymn, as he him self admits (p. 150). Verses 3 and 17 contain nothing suggestive of punarjanma. Verse 4 is really concerned with the first creation, as it literally means 'who saw that one that *was first being born*, when the boneless (prakṛti) bears a body possessing bones; where was the life (prāṇa) of the earth, or its blood or its

2499. All verses on which Prof. Ranade relies are set out here in one place. को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानमथन्मन्तं यदन्स्था विभक्तिं । सृष्ट्या अहुरचुरात्मा क स्त्वि को विद्वांसमुप गात्र्यन्दुमेतत् ॥ ३ ॥ I. 164. 4; स्त्रियः सतीर्त्ता उ ने पुंस आहु पश्यदक्षणाक वि चेतदन्ध. । कविर्ये. पुत्रः स ईमा चिकेत यस्ता विजानास पित्रुषितासत् ॥ 16. अ. परेण पर एनावरेण पदा वस्तं विभ्रते गौरदस्थात् । स कञ्चीची क स्विदर्थ परागात् क स्विस्तुते नहि धूये अन्तः ॥ 17; इा सुपर्णा सयुजा सन्तानं वृक्षं परि पश्यजति । तयोरेत्यः पिप्लवं स्वाहस्यनङ्गलान्यो अग्निं चाकशीति । 20. अनश्नुये तुरगात् जीवमेजह् ध्रुवं मध्य आ पश्यानाम् । जीवो मुतस्य चरति स्वधाभिरमर्थो मर्त्येना सयोजि. ॥ 30, अपश्यं गोषाननिषद्यमानमा च परा च पथिभि- श्वरन्तम् । स मधीची स विदूचीर्वसान आ वरीवति ध्रुवनेध्वन्त ॥ 31; अपाङ्ग भाङ्गति स्वधया रुभीतोऽमर्थो मर्त्येना सयोजि. । ना ज्ञश्चन्ता विदूचीना विपन्ता स्यन्त्यं चिक्वुर्न नि चिक्वुरन्यम् ॥ 38, the word जीव occurs only in I 164. 30. In I. 164. 38 the word जीव does not occur. At the most there is a contrast between the immortal part i. e. soul) and the mortal part (the body) in the verses 30 and 38. These two (soul and body) are always bound together, one of them (the body) is well known to people, the other (the soul) is not so known. The verse अपश्यं गोषां (I 164. 31) is repeated in X. 177. 3. The आश्वमेधिकपर्व 47. 16 द्वाविनां पथिजो नित्यो is an echo of इा सुपर्णा सयुजा etc.

self? Who (a pupil) approached a wise one (a guru) to ask this?'. Verse 16 means 'they declare to me the women that exist and the men; one possessing eyes (the light of true knowledge) may see (the Reality); the blind (the ignorant) will not know; the wise son may know this; he who knows these would be the father's father'. Sāyana gives several meanings of this verse. The present author fails to understand how the words 'father's father' indicate any reference to transmigration in this verse, as Prof. Ranade asserts. Why he presses this verse of I. 164 into service the present author cannot understand. After referring to I. 164. 32 (which doubts whether he who created all this knows its real nature) he states 'it sets such a high price on the mystical knowledge which it glorifies that any one who comes in possession of this knowledge may be said to be his father's father.' To whom does 'his' refer?

The verse 20 'dvā suparnā' also occurs in the Mundakopanishad III. 1. and ŚV. Up. IV. 6 and refers to the individual soul and the Supreme Self and tells us that the former is bhoktr (taster of worldly pleasures), while the latter simply looks on. But so far as the present writer can see there is absolutely nothing about a former or future life in the verse. Verse 30 draws a sharp distinction between the self which is immortal and the body which is mortal and states that the two are bound together to the same place. Verse 31 is a description of the movements of the Sun who is called 'gopā' (protector, guardian) and speaks of his coming to the worlds again and again. Prof. Ranade sees too much in the words 'gopām', which is applied to Agni (Rg. I. 1. 8, I. 96. 7), to Soma (in Rg. VI. 52. 3), to Varuna (in Rg. VIII. 42. 2), to Viṣṇu in Rg. I. 22. 18. In Rg. III. 43. 5 the words 'gopām janasya' (protector of the people) occur. Prof. Ranade translates (p. 151) 'he saw the guardian returning frequently to mundane regions'. Why should we not translate (particularly when we have the words 'bhuvanesvantah') 'I saw the guardian Sun again and again returning to the worlds and moving towards me and away from me by different paths'? Prof. Ranade also²⁵⁰⁰ relies on Rg. X. 16. 3 and particularly on the

2500 सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा सां च गच्छ दुषिषा च धर्मेणा। अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते दितमोषधीषु प्रति निष्ठा करिरेः॥ अ. X. 16. 3. धर्मेणा means सुकृतेन (good deeds or sacrifices). In Rg. X. 85. 24 we have अतस्य योनो सुकृतस्य लोकेशिरा त्या

word 'dharmanā' in it which he renders as 'his qualities'. Rg. X. 16 has 14 verses, is one of the funeral hymns and the cremation fire (as Agni or Jātavedas) is expressly mentioned in eleven verses. Verse 3 (addressed to the deceased) may literally be translated as 'may thy eye go to the Sun, ātman (prāna) to wind, go to heaven or the earth by dharman or go to the waters if you find your benefit in them; be firmly established in the plants with the limbs of the body.' The express mention of 'heaven' shows that this is only one of the numerous verses of the Rgveda in which heaven is referred to as the abode of those who perform good works and that there is nothing more in it than that. Vide above pp. 20-21 for the meaning of dharman (which is the only form of the word employed in the Rgveda) viz. 'religious rites or sacrifices' (in most Rgveda passages) or rarely 'fixed principles of conduct'. The very next verse (X. 16. 4) contains a prayer to Agni to carry the deceased to the world of people of good deeds (tābhīrvahainam suktām-u lokam). There is no reason to suppose that in Rg. X. 16. 3 anything more is meant than what is prayed for in verse 4. Besides, the basic idea of punarjanma is that future existence is regulated by the good or evil deeds of a person and he has no option whatever. In Rg. X. 16. 3 the departed spirit is told that he may go to heaven or earth or waters or plants. This is not the doctrine of punarjanma at all. In X. 16. 5 the cremation fire is addressed 'O Agni! send forth the departing man who is offered as an oblation into thee and who will move on with the food offered, again to (the world of) pitre; the remainder (left after the body is burnt) putting on a new life may go near (pitrs) and be connected with (a new) body in that world.' This verse contains the same idea as in X. 16. 4 in different words and refers

(Continued from last page)

महत्त्वा दधामि Compare with ऋ X. 16. 3, शतपथ X. 3. 8, स यदैवं विदमहोकार्यैति वाच्येगमिष्यति चक्षुषादित्यं मनसा चक्षुः श्रोत्रेण दिशः प्राजेन वायुं स एतन्मय एव भूत्वितस्तं देवतानां या या कामयते सा भूवेत्यति, and यत्ते यमं वेदस्वत मनो जगाम इत्येकम्। तत्त आनर्तयामसीत् क्षयाय जीवसे॥ ऋ X. 58. 1. The words underlined occur in all twelve verses of the hymn, which must be supposed to have been addressed to the man who is moribund. The first verse means 'thy mind that has reached far away to Yama, the son of Vivasvat, we bring back for the purpose that it may reside and live here'. The remaining eleven verses refer to the dying man's mind having gone to (i.e. as having the dying thought of) heaven and earth, to the earth with four points, four intermediate quarters, the sea, rays and high hilly tracts, waters and plants, to the Sun and Dawn, the big mountains, this whole world, most distant regions, past and future.

only to the other world (pitṛe) and not to transmigration. Prof. Ranade refers (p. 148) to Rg. X. 58 and translates one of the verses as meaning that the sage will recall the soul and make it live again by his song. It is not clear what verse or verses he has in view. He has probably only the first verse in view. That hymn has twelve verses in each of which a quarter is different but three quarters are the same. None of the verses contains any express word for song. Besides, mind is different from the soul even in the Rgveda (vide Rg. X. 57. 5 where both words 'manah' and 'jivam' occur). Moreover, the man is not yet dead. The composer uses the present tense (ā vartayāmasi) and means to say that he will try to prevent his dying. In the present author's opinion there is not even a distant reference to transmigration in this hymn or in any of the four hymns (Rg. X. 57-60) which are assigned to brothers Bandhu, Śrutabandhu and Vipra-bandhu, who are called Gauṇpāyana in the Anukramanī. In Rg. X. 60. 7 Subandhu who appears to have been a brother of the three is addressed 'O Subandhu' here comes your mother, your father, your very life' etc., and in X. 60. 10 it is said 'I have brought the mind of Subandhu from Yama Vaiśvasvata in order that he may live and not die.'

In Rg. X. 14. 8 there is no reference (as some suppose) to return to this world after enjoying the fruits of good deeds in the company of pitṛs. The first half of the verse expresses that the newly departed spirit will be united with pitṛs, with Yama and with his good deeds. The 2nd half asks the departed to leave behind his sons and be united in heaven with a new and brilliant body.

Rg. IV. 42 (in ten verses) is a hymn of a sage-like king Trāsadaśyu, son of Purukutsa, who identifies himself with Indra and Varuna in verse 3²⁵⁰¹ 'I who have become enlightened about the worlds am Indra and Varuna and by my greatness am the two worlds (heaven and earth) that are wide, deep (spacious) and well-fixed. I sent forth heaven and earth like Tvastṛ (Prajāpati) and support them.' Here by virtue of true knowledge he identifies himself with Indra and Varuna but there is no conception of transmigration. Similarly, Vāmadeva

2501. अहमिन्द्रो वरुणस्ते महिष्वीर्यो गभीरे रजसी हृदि मे। लब्धेव विन्वा शुवनानि विद्वान् समैरयं रोदसी धारय च॥ ऋ IV 42.3. The निरुक्त IV. 19 gives several meanings of the word 'rajas', one of which is लोका रजस्युत्पत्ति.

having attained knowledge of Reality asserts²⁵⁰¹ 'I have become Manu and the Sun, I am the wise sage Kaksivat; I reached Kutsa, the son of Arjuni, I am the seer Uśanas; look upon me (as identifiable with all)'. This verse is quoted in Br. Up. I. 4. 10 (which would be set out later on and explained). In this also there is no express reference to a past birth as Manu or as the Sun. In Rg. IV. 27. 1 Vāmadeva declares 'while still staying in the womb (of my mother) I learnt all the births of these gods; if a hundred fortresses of *ayas* (copper or iron) had guarded me, I would have still escaped like a hawk with swiftness' (another meaning is also possible which may be set out later). This is quoted in the Ait. Up. II. 5 (to be quoted and explained later). Prof. R. D. Ranade understands (pp. 49, 153) Rg. IV. 26. 1 as saying that Vāmadeva makes an unconscious utterance that he was in a former life Manu or the Sun. In that verse Vāmadeva identifies himself with five persons, Manu, Sūrya, sage Kaksivat, Kutsa and Uśanas. There is no word like 'janmā'. On Prof. Ranade's view Vāmadeva would have to be held to state five previous births at least (and if so in a confused order). Besides, the following verses clearly show that Vāmadeva makes a claim to be identical with the Supreme Principle by giving the earth to the Āryas, sending rain to those who give offerings, making the gods follow his desire or will. The utmost that can be said is that he claims identity with the Godhead. Deussen in 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' (p. 318) holds that both the verses (Rg. IV. 26. 1 and IV. 27. 1.) have nothing to do with the doctrine of the soul's transmigration. The present author respectfully agrees with Deussen and thinks that Prof. Ranade is wrong. Śaṅkarācārya²⁵⁰² on V. S. I. 1. 30 explains that Indra looking upon himself as *brahma* according to the Vedāntasāstra gives the instruction 'know me alone', quotes Br. Up. I. 4. 10, and on V. S. III. 4. 51 reiterates that in Rg. IV. 27. 1 the Veda expressly asserts that Vāmadeva, while still in the mother's womb, realized his identity with *brahma* and then remarks that this vedic

2502 अहं मनुष्यं सूर्यश्चाह कक्षीर्वा कक्षिरस्मि विप्रः। अहं कुत्समार्जुनेषु नृकेऽहं कविरुदना पश्यता मा॥ ऋ. IV. 26. 1 गर्भेऽसु सक्तन्वेयामवेदमहं देवानां जनिमानि विश्वा' इति मा. पुर. आपसीरक्षकथ इत्येनौ जवत्ता निरदीयत्। ऋ. IV. 27. 1.

2503 शास्त्रहृदया रूपदेशो वामदेववत्। वे. सू. I. 1. 30, भाष्य-इन्द्रो नान देवता-त्मानं स्वमात्मान परमात्मनेनाहमेव परं ब्रह्मेत्यादिषु दर्शनेन यथाशास्त्रं पश्यन्नुपदिशति इमं-मानेन विजानीति-इति। यथा 'तद्वैतव्यपकृष्टविबोधेन अनिपेदेऽहं मनुष्यं सूर्यश्च' इति तद्वत्। This is ऋ. उप. I. 4. 10

assertion indicates that correct knowledge of Reality may arise in a succeeding life owing to the means (or efforts) made in a previous life or lives. It may be noted that Śāṅkarācārya draws a distinction between what Śruti (Veda) expressly declares (*vadanti*) and what it indicates or what is to be inferred from it (*darsayati*).²⁵⁰⁴

Mr. J. S. Karandikar of Poona (a staunch disciple and follower of Lokamānya Tilak) in his learned work 'Gitātattva-mañjarī' (in Marathi, Poona 1947) asserts (on pp. 775-776) that the doctrine of transmigration is as old as the Vedic age (i. e. the Samhitās) and relies for this proposition on only four verses of the R̥gveda viz. X. 14. 8, X. 16. 3 and 5 and X. 135. 6. The first three of these four have been explained above in dealing with Prof. R. D. Ranade's views. Mr. Karandikar summarises Rg. X. 16. 5 as a prayer to Agni that the latter should take the departed to the world of *pitr*s and should send him back to his relatives after endowing him with a new brilliant body. There are no words for 'back to his relatives' nor for 'brilliant' in the verse at all. The word 'punah' occurs in the first half and refers to the deceased's coming to *pitrloka* after the body is burnt on the earth and the second half refers to the new body to be had in the world of *pitr*s (and not to relatives). Rg. X. 14. 8 on which Mr. Karandikar relies has nothing to do with returning to the earth. After leaving his bad deeds (*avadya*) behind the deceased is asked to go to the home of the *pitr*s with a brilliant body. The brilliant body is not earthly but of the *pitr* world. Rg. X. 135. 6 is quoted in the note below.²⁵⁰⁵ That verse is an extremely vague one and is a riddle or is metaphorical. That hymn of seven verses is addressed to Yama and the Anukramanī says that the *rs*: of it is Kumāra of Yama's family.

2504. गर्भस्थ एव च वामदेव प्रतिपेदे ब्रह्मभावमिति वदन्ती जन्मान्तरसञ्चित्तास्ताथना-
जन्मान्तरे विद्योत्यन्ति दर्शयन्ति । न हि गर्भस्थस्यैवेदिकं किञ्चित्साधन सम्भाव्यते । शाङ्करभाष्य
on वे सू III 4 51.

2505. यथाभवदुद्देयी ततो अग्रमजायत । पुरस्ताद् बुध्न आततः पश्चाच्चिरयण कृतम् ॥
Rg. X. 135. 6 The word *अुद्देयी* occurs only thrice in the Rg viz. in this hymn twice (in verses 5 and 6) and once in Rg. X. 85. 6 where it is in the feminine gender, means a friend of the newly married bride who goes along with her to the bridegroom's house to keep her company' (*रेम्यासीदुद्देयी*). *अुद्देयी* literally means 'what is given after the principal gift'. Even in these days when a substantial gift is made to a brāhmana, another small gift is added to it. The word *निरयणं* occurs only here in the whole of the R̥gveda. *अग्र* and *बुध्न* are contrasted as top and bottom in Rg. X. 111. 8 'क स्विदग्रं क स्विद् बुध्न आसात्'

The first verse of Rg. X. 135 refers to Yama who is said to drink (Soma) along with the gods under a tree (i. e. in a garden) with fine foliage, where our (my) father, lord of people, desires to send (me) to the ancient fathers. It is possible that this refers to Naciketas as Sāyana, following the story of Naciketas in the Tai. Br. III. 11. 8 and in the Kathopanishad, holds. This verse may be taken as containing the words of Naciketas, sent by his angry father Vājaśravasa to the world of Yama as donation in the Viśvajit sacrifice. The 2nd verse also contains what Naciketas said viz that he (at first) looked upon his father in anger, since he (the father) desired to send him (the son) to the ancient pitrs in that evil way, but that he (on further consideration) liked (what the father did). He liked the idea of facing Yama himself. Verses 3 and 4 are addressed by Yama to the boy Naciketas who approached Yama with prayer (or metaphorically in a chariot). Verse 3 says 'O boy! the new wheel-less chariot (viz. rk prayer) with only one beam that you created by your intellect soars up in all directions and that you mount it without seeing (without considering the result of your action).' In Rg. a prayer to (and a laud of) gods is often compared to a chariot (as in V. 73. 10, VIII. 3. 15). Therefore, verse 3 suggests two meanings viz. Naciketas went to Yama in a chariot or that he sent up a prayer to Yama. Verse 4 is spoken by Yama 'O boy! that chariot (i. e. prayer which you sent up from the learned priests on the earth) was followed by Sāman (a melody) from this place (the earth) as if it were placed in a boat.' Almost all the verses of the Sāmaveda except about 75 are taken from the Rgveda and therefore the Chān. Up. says ²⁵⁶ 'therefore Sāman is sung as resting on the rk'. As the melody (Sāman) is sung on a rk verse, the Sāman is said in this verse (4) as placed in a boat. Verse 4 may also convey another meaning. Sāman also means 'reconciliation' and the verse may be taken as referring to the legend that Yama gave the boy a boon that the boy's father would become well-disposed to him. Verse 5 contains a question (supposed to be asked by Yama). It means 'who is the father of this boy' (meaning probably that the father must be a bad man as he sent his own son to Yama)? Who sent up the chariot? Who would tell me to-day how (this boy) became *anudey*? (a small gift accom

2506 ।दे ता उप । 6 4 'नक्षत्राण्येव चन्द्रमा साम । तदेतदेतरयामुच्यते
साम । तस्मादुच्यते साम गीयते । नदाद्याप्येव सा । चन्द्रमा अम । तस्मान् । 7. Vide H. of
Dh. vol II. pp 1181-1184 for Sāman, Stotra and Sastra, particularly
notes 2606-9.

panying the large principal gift)?' Then follows the verse on which Mr. Karandikar relies as expressing Karma and rebirth. That verse literally means 'as it or he became an *anudeyi*, it stood in front (or on top); the bottom (or base) was spread in front (or first or to the east), the coming out (or end) was behind (or afterwards or to the west).' This conveys no clear sense. But it is possible to explain it in this way, viz. though the boy was sent by his father as an *anudeyi* (as a subsidiary gift) still he came on top of all (in that Yama was pleased with him and bestowed on him three boons); he was in front of all though he (boy) was at the bottom of all gifts (i. e. though he came last of all gifts). There is another possible way of explaining this verse. Each *Sāman* in a *stotra* has five parts called *Prastāva*, *Udgītha*, *Pratihāra*, *Upadrava* and *Nidhana* (finale), vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 1169 note 2589. *Naciketas* (who was a subsidiary donation following the donation of all his father's property and designated '*anudeyi*') is deemed here to have chanted a *Sāman*; when he began that, the *rk* verse on which the *Sāman* rests went forth. The bottom of a *Sāman* is a *rk* verse. Therefore it is again said that the base or bottom went forward and the '*Nirayana*' (i. e. the *nidhana* of the *Sāman*) came last. Mr. Karandikar explains verse 6 as 'the cremation rite of the body of a deceased person shows the two-fold path; by the front path he should go to the highest world or by the hind path he should return to this world' (p. 776). It passes the present author's understanding how this translation follows from the words of verse 6. Verse 7 of the hymn presents no difficulty; it means 'this is the house of Yama that is called the palace of gods; here is played (or blown) the flute (or tube or trumpet) for him (Yama), he (Yama) is embellished with songs (of praise).'

An interesting passage of the *Taittiriya-samhitā*²⁵⁰⁷ may be cited here. "Whoever threatens a *brāhmaṇa*, he shall atone for

2507. योऽप्युराते क्षतेन यातयाद्यो निदन् सद्भ्येण यातयाद्यो लोहितं करवायानां प्रकथं पाशं संयुक्तात् तावत् संपत्सरान् पितृलोकं न प्रजानादिति । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणाय नापयुरेत, न निदन्त्यात् लोहितं कुर्यादेतानता हेमसा भवति । ते स ॥ ६. १०. २, अभियुद्धा वगोरणं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्षशतमस्वर्ग्यम् । निपाते सहस्रम् । लोहितदर्शने यावत्तत्त्वत्परकस्य पाशं संयुक्तीयात् । गौ. घ. सू. २१. २०-२२; शंयौ च सर्वपरिदानात् । जै. III. ४. १७, शपर 'किं प्राप्तम् । अकरणाद् दर्शपूर्णमासयोरवगोरणादिभित्तिषु । ... एष प्रति ब्रूमः .. सर्वोपर्यस्य "ब्राह्मणस्यायं प्रतिषेध उक्तः, न दर्शपूर्णमासेनैव नागगोरणादि कर्तव्यमिति"; तन्नास्तिक (p. 950) 'क्षतेन यातयाद् सद्भ्येण यातयाद्' इति शतशुण सद्भ्येणमद्वभेदित्वर्थः । अथवा संरूपे-यान्तराष्ट्रपादानुपपरि संवत्सरग्रहणादिहापि संवत्सरक्षतेन यातनां निस्तरेतदक्षेणैव सम्पश्यते ।"

It with a hundred years; he who strikes him (shall atone) with a thousand years; he who sheds the blood of a brāhmana would not know the world of the Fathers for as many years as the number of the particles of dust that would be moistened into a ball by the stream of blood. Therefore a person should not threaten a brāhmana or strike him or draw blood from his body, since (in doing so) so much (sin) is involved." This does not mean that only the world of Fathers had been conceived at the time of this passage (as Deussen supposes on p. 325 of his *Ph. Up.*). It will be shown below that even the *Rgveda* was well aware of both *Devayāna* and *Pitryāna*. Most men would go to *pitrloka* presided over by Yama according to the *Rg.* and only the blessed would go by the *Devayāna* to the world of gods. This passage is important as conveying that for a very mortal sin the offender would have to suffer for a thousand years or even several thousand years and, therefore, would have to be born for several lives, since one human life was held to extend to one hundred years only (*Rg. X. 161. 4 = Atharva III. 11. 4, Rg. 1. 89. 9 = Vaj. S. 25. 22*). Following the above *Tai. S.* passage, the *Gautama Dh. S.* provided that threatening a brāhmana in anger would bar going to heaven for a hundred years (or lead to hell for &c), striking him would bar for a thousand years and on drawing blood there would be bar for as many years as the number of the particles of dust that would be made into a ball by the stream of blood. *Manu* (*XL 206-7*) understands that the several acts against a brāhmana mentioned therein would lead to the offender being consigned to hell for 100, for 1000 or for thousands of years. *Jaimini* (*III. 4. 17*) discusses this passage and holds that the prohibition is not restricted only to *Darsapū-rnamāsa*, but it applies to all brāhmanas in all conditions. It is possible to understand by the words 'śatena' and 'sahasrena' as a hundred or a thousand cows (or money). The *Tantravārtika* refers to this meaning but seems to prefer the idea of connecting the two words with years. Vide *H of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 151-152* where the first meaning was put forward and also *A. B. Keith's tr. of the Tai. S. in the H. O. S. vol. I pp. 216-217* 'him who reviles him (a brāhmana) he shall fine with a hundred' &c.

The doctrine of how a man's own works and conduct fashion his future life is taught as follows in the ²⁵⁰⁸ *Br. Up. IV. 4. 5-7*:

2508. स या अयमात्मा ब्रह्म विज्ञानमयी मनोमय ... इति । यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति इत्य. इत्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन ।
(Continued on next page)

"so truly according as he works and according as he behaves so will he be, a man of good deeds will become (be born) good, a man of evil deeds will become (be born) evil; he becomes holy by holy deeds, evil by evil deeds. Here they say 'a person only consists of desires (or is fashioned out of) desires and as his desire is so will be his (determination or) will and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will become (reap).'"²⁵⁰⁹ On this there is a verse 'To whatever a man's mind and subtle body are attached to that he goes together with (the fruits of) his deeds and after having obtained the end

(Continued from last page)

अथो खल्वगुहः। काममय एवार्थं पुरुष इति। स यथाकामो भवति तत्कृतुर्भवति यत्कृतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुरुते यत्कर्म कुरुते तदभिसम्पद्यते। तदेव श्लोको भवति। तदेव सक्तः स एव कर्मणेति लिङ्ग मनो यत्र निष्कृतमस्य। प्राप्यान्तं कर्मणस्तस्य यत्किंचिद करोत्यस्य। तस्माद्वोकाद्युनैत्यस्मै लोकाय कर्मणे। इति ह कामयमानः। अथाकामयमानो "योऽकामो निष्काम आसकाम आत्मकामो न तस्य प्राणा उत्क्रामन्ति ब्रह्मैव सन्मद्भाष्येति। तदेव श्लोको भवति। यदा सर्वं प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः। अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते॥" ह्य उप. IV. 4. 5-7; the verse यदा सर्वं occurs in कठोपनिषद्, the भाष्य of शङ्कराचार्य on this begins: स वा अयं य एवं ससरत्यात्मा ब्रह्मैव पर एव। He distinguishes यथाकामो यथा चारी as 'यारण नाम नियता क्रिया विधिप्रतिषेधादिगम्या चरणं नामानियतमिति विशेषः'। On कृतु he says कृतुर्नोमाध्यवसायो निश्चयो यदनन्तरा क्रिया प्रवर्तते। आत्मकाम is explained as यस्य आत्मैव नान्यः कामयितव्यो वस्त्वन्तरीभूतः पदार्थो भवति. With कामयमानः and अकामयमानः, compare सुष्टुकोष III. 2.3 (कामान्यः कामयते). The affix स्य as in कामस्य is employed in two senses viz. प्राचुर्य and विकार ace, to पाणिनि 'तत्पठ्यतश्चने मयद्' (V. 4. 21 and IV. 3. 134 and 143). The word कृतु by itself and in compounds like इतकृतु and कुरुकृतु occurs hundreds of times in the Rgveda. It is an Indo-European word, as in Greek we have 'Kratos' meaning power. Several meanings have been assigned to कृतु, Indra called 'Satakratu' is invoked to bestow *ojas*, courage, an heroic son and stated to be the father and mother of the devotee (in Rg. VIII. 98 10-12). With the Br. Up. passage, we may compare ह्य. उप. III. 14. 1 'सर्वं स्वस्मिन् ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति ज्ञान्त उपसीत। अथ खलु कृतुमय पुरुषो यथा क्रतुरस्मिन्लोके पुरुषो भवति तथेत्येव भवति। स कृतुं कुर्वीत।'

2509. Compare Epistle to Galatians by Apostle Paul 6. 7 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap'. Even in the Old Testament we find in the Book of Job, chap 4. 8 'they that plough iniquity and sow wickedness reap the same'. From the question of the disciples of Jesus as regards a man blind from birth 'Master I who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind' (St. John IX. 2), it appears that the idea of Karma was prevalent among the Jewish people in the time of Jesus. From Matthew XI. 14 and XVII. 12-13 it appears that John the Baptist was declared to be an incarnation of 'prophet Elias'. Shaw Desmond in 'Reincarnation for every man' points out (on p 63) that the doctrine of reincarnation was taught in the Christian Church in the early centuries and that the 2nd Council of Constantinople in 551 A. D. made the doctrine of reincarnation an anathema.

(the last results) of whatever deeds he does in this world, he returns again from that world (where he temporarily went by way of reward) to this world of action, so much with regard to him who is consumed by desires; now concerning the man who has no desires (*akāmayamāna*); he who is without desire, free from desire, in whose case desires are laid to rest, who is himself his own desire, his vital spirits do not withdraw elsewhere but he, being *brahma* itself (here), is absorbed into *brahma* (or attains to *brahma*). On this point there is a verse: 'When all hankerings that found an abode in a man's heart vanish, then he who was liable to death becomes immortal, here (in this body itself) he attains to *brahma*.' In the above passage the sequence is: desire, will and act.

About the grandeur of this passage it is enough to quote what Deussen (in 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' p 348) says 'there follow words than which deeper, truer, more noble were never uttered by human lips.' Vide also remarks of Gerald Heard in 'Is god evident' (Faber and Faber, London) p. 34 'Here (in Vedānta and Mahāyāna) is spirituality showing its full fruits; freedom from physical craving, from economic possessiveness, from social desire for recognition and that triple freedom removing all fear' and he hopes that the Vedānta picture, far from being contradicted, is being increasingly confirmed by modern science.

This sublime passage is preceded and followed by illustrations two of which may be cited for explaining the conception of the passage of the soul from one body to another: 'Just as the caterpillar, having reached the tip of one blade of grass, makes an approach to another blade, draws itself towards it and establishes itself thereon, so this (individual) self, casting down this body in death, dispelling *avidyā* (ignorance) and making approach to another body draws itself to another body and establishes (or identifies itself) therein.' This is Br. Up. IV. 4. 3. Another illustration (in Br. Up. IV. 4. 7) is 'just as the skin (flough) of a snake lies dead and cast-off in an ant-hill, in the same way the body lies (dead and cast-off) and then the self is bodiless, immortal spirit, is *brahma* only and is light only.'

This whole passage (Br. Up. IV. 4 5-7) is the leading, the oldest and the clearest passage on the doctrine of transmigration in the Upanishads. There are several others of similar import. At the end of the story about Yājñavalkya and Ārtaśhāga referred to above (where Yājñavalkya discussed with Ārtaśhāga alone in private the question as to what happens

to a man when the body dies) the Upanisad states 'what they said was Karma alone, what they praised was Karma alone viz. ²⁵¹⁰ that a man becomes good by good works and evil by evil works.' These two are the fundamental passages which express the reason and motive that lie at the basis of the doctrine of transmigration.

The gist of these two passages is that works and conduct done in this life fashion a man's future life and that the present birth of a man depends on his actions and conduct in a past life or lives. But works and conduct are the result of volition or will and this last is due to desires. A man may have several desires, he may curb some of them, but may make a resolve to consummate some of his desires. Therefore, desires (*kāma*) are the root of volition, of works and conduct and ultimately of the cycle of birth and deaths (that is called 'samsāra'). Hence Śankarācārya, following the idea of the verse 'yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā' (in Br. Up. IV. 5. 7) says 'Kāmo mūlam samsārasya' (Kāma is the root of samsāra).

Then there is another important passage in the Br. Up. VI. 2. There the story is told of Śvetaketu, son of Āruni, who being proud of his learning, came to the assembly hall of the Pañcālas and saw there Pravāhana Jaivali (a ksatriya or prince) being waited upon by servants. When the prince saw him he asked Śvetaketu 'have you been taught by your father'? When Śvetaketu replied 'yes', the prince put to him five questions viz. (1) do you know how men when they depart from this world go in separate (different) directions; (2) Do you know how they come back to this world; (3) Do you know how the yonder world does not become full with many men going there again and again; (4) Do you know at the offering of which oblation waters become endowed with human voice and rise and speak; (5) Do you know the access to the path called 'Devayāna' ²⁵¹¹

2510. तौ ह्येकस्म्य मन्त्रयोचकाते । तौ ह यद्वचतः कर्म ह्येव तद्वचतु । अथ यत्प्रज्ञासतः कर्म ह्येव तत्प्रज्ञासतः । पुण्यो वै पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेनेति । बृह. उप. III. 3. 13.

2511. The question about देवयान and पितृयान is put in the Br. up. VI. 2.2 in the following form: वेद्यो देवयानस्य वा पथः प्रतिपदं पितृयानस्य वा । यस्तुता देवयानं वा पन्थानं प्रतिपद्यन्ते पितृयानं वा । अपि हि न ऋषेर्वचः क्षुत्तम्—हे सुती अक्षुण्व पितृयानमहं देवानां सुत मर्त्यानाम् । तान्यामिदं बिम्बमेजस्तमेति यदन्तरा पितर मातरं च । इति । The verse हे सुती etc. is ऋ. X. 88. 15 (which reads हे सुती अक्षुण्वं etc.) and ते. भा I 4. 2-3 (which reads सुती...अन्तरापूर्वमपरं च केतुम्). द्यौः (heaven) and पृथिवी are respectively called father and mother in Rg. I. 164. 33 and I. 191. 6.

and to the path called 'Pitṛyāna' (i.e. the deede by which men gain access to the paths called Devayāna and Pitṛyāna), for we have heard the saying of a sage 'I heard two paths for men, one leading to the Fathers and the other leading to the Devas; on those two paths all the world that is active moves on, whatever exists between father (sky) and mother (earth).' To all these five questions Śvetaketu replied that he did not know any one of them. The prince offered hospitality but Śvetaketu ran to his father and demanded how the latter could say that he had been thoroughly taught by him and that he could not answer even one of the five questions that the fellow of a Rājanya asked. Then the father replied that he had taught all that he knew but he himself did not know the answers to those questions. He went to the prince (Kṣatriya) who honoured him with offerings. Āruni did not want wealth but the replies to those questions. The prince said 'come as pupil.' Āruni (Gautama) stated he came as a pupil. The prince stated that the *vidyā*²⁵¹² that he would teach was never before with any brāhmaṇa. Then he propounds to Śvetaketu the answers to the five questions (to be brief) viz. that the five fires are (figuratively) heaven, god of rain, the earth, man and woman, and the five *āhūtis* (oblations) are *sraḍdhā* (faith), Soma (Moon), rain, food and seed. This answers the 4th question. The first and fifth questions are answered by the statement 'Some go by the path of Devas, others by that of *pitrs* and others (like flies and worms) know no path (they merely live and die)'; vide Br. Up. VI. 2. 15-16. The 2nd and 3rd questions are answered by the same viz. those that go by the path of *pitrs* return to the earth and others that go to *brahman* do not return and therefore the world does not become full.

In the Ch. Up. V. 3. 2 the questions are put in a slightly different form: (1) do you know to what place men go from here, (2) how they return, (3) do you know where the path of devas and the path of the fathers diverge, (4) why the world never becomes full, (5) why in the 5th oblation water is called 'man.' The answers to these in Br. Up. and Chān. Up. are not identical, though very similar. A fire has five constituents, fuel, smoke, flame, live coals, sparks. In both Chān. Up. V.10.4-9 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 9-13 the fires are the same, but the constituents of

2512. This *Vidyā* is called *Pañcāgnividya*. 'Rājanya' in this Upanisad passage should mean only Kṣatriya as in the *Puruṣasūta* (Rg X. 90. 12) and not king.

each of these five differ slightly; compare, for example, Br. Up. VI. 2. 11 with Chān. Up. V. 3. 6. The first question in the Ch. Up. is answered by the mention of the two paths. The 2nd is answered in Chān. Up. V. 10. 3-5.²⁵¹³ The paths diverge (3rd question) after reaching the moon (Chān. Up. V. 10. 2 and 4-5), the 4th is answered in Chān. V. 10. 8. The fifth is answered by means of the statement on *pancāgnividyā*.

Before proceeding further some remarks are called for about what might possibly happen when a man's body dies. There are mainly three possibilities, viz. (1) annihilation, (2) endless retribution in heaven or hell and (3) *punarjanma* (transmigration). Those who do not believe in an individual immortal self, including some most eminent²⁵¹⁴ men such as G. B. Shaw, hold the first view and even in ancient India (as the Kathopaniṣad I. 20 testifies) there were people who had doubts about survival after death. Those who hold that there is no survival after death are not troubled by other questions. Therefore, the most vital question is the one about survival after death. The very first verse of Śv. Up. puts forward four problems, is *brahma* the cause, whence do we come, what sustains us and whither we are going? Many of those who believe in God, heaven and hell do not admit pre-existence of the soul but only post-existence. They believe that if a man leads a virtuous career in this life (and virtue according to them consists in obedience to the will

2513. छा. उप. V 10. 4 'आकाशाच्चन्द्रमसमेव सोमो राजा तद्वैवानामर्जं त देवा भक्षयन्ति' and बृह. उप. VI. 2. 16 ते चन्द्रं प्राप्यान् भवन्ति तास्तत्र देवाः. भक्षयन्ति are dealt with in वे. सू. III. 1. 7 (भक्तं वानामविच्चात्तथाहि दर्शयति), which states that the words (gods eat them) are not to be taken literally but metaphorically and what is meant is that Gods like the company of those people (who perform sacrifices), since the Chān. Up. itself says elsewhere (in III. 8. 1) that the Gods do neither eat nor drink but they feel satisfied by seeing nectar.

2514. In 'In search of faith', a 'symposium' edited by E. W. Martin (London, 1943) G. B. Shaw states (pp 9-10) that he may be described as a creative evolutionist, that he does not believe in personal immortality and abhors it, that he does not believe in the Resurrection of Jesus. It is difficult for a non-Christian to state definitely the doctrine as to what happens after death, there being many varying interpretations accepted by the Christian Church at various times and in different countries. But the general traditional scheme is a particular judgment immediately after death, the general judgment at the general Resurrection—the ultimate issue of judgment being consignment to Hell or admission to Heaven eternally.

of God as disclosed to their intellect in Revelation such as the Bible or the Koran) he would have an eternal life of bliss in heaven and that if one led a life of sin and evil, he would after death remain for ever in hell. Very few accept the first possibility (annihilation) because it is in conflict with man's cherished desires and with deep-rooted emotional certitude that efforts made in a long life, the mental and spiritual equipment acquired cannot have been meant to be dissolved altogether without leaving any trace behind. The 2nd possibility also leads to the prospect of eternal reward or eternal damnation for acts done during a life of a few years' span and becomes unacceptable to many by the unparalleled disproportion between deeds (as causes) and their endless rewards or retribution (as effects). Therefore, to many people the third possibility of transmigration appeals, since it allows continued existence of the soul after physical death in some other forms and environments.

The above Upanisad passages are enough to show how the doctrine of transmigration was being moulded in the Upanisad period. The Rgveda knows the two paths of Devayāna and Pitryāna and also that in heaven there were joys and delights but the Rgveda does not say how long the joys of Heaven were to last and makes no clear and definite statement on the doctrine of transmigration. In the Brāhmana period the two paths were often referred to and the conception had dawned upon the minds of thinkers that man might have to pass through death several times (*punarṁṛtyu*). But even then there is hardly any definite theory of punarjanma based on good or bad deeds. The clearest statements (and probably earliest) of the origin of the doctrine of transmigration are the two passages (Br. Up. III. 3. 13 and IV 4. 5-7) in which Yājñavalkya is concerned and is the instructor and emphasizes that it is man's own works and conduct that lead a man to new births. In both those passages the Devayāna and Pitryāna paths are not mentioned at all. But the Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 and Chān. Up. V. 10 relate the two paths to transmigration and speak of a third place for those born as worms and flies. This is an addition to the doctrine of the two paths, but they make a further departure. The Chān. Up. V. 10. 5 states that those that perform sacrifices, works of public utility and charity go to the moon and when the results of their actions are exhausted after staying in the moon they have to return to this world by the path they went (i. e. from the Moon to ether, then to Vāyu, smoke, mist, cloud and rain

and they may be born from a mother's womb.²⁵¹⁵ This shows that a double retribution awaits those who perform sacrifices &c. viz. stay in the moon for a time and their rebirth on this earth. Other Upanisads follow the Chān. Up. in the theory of double retribution e.g. the Praśna has the following passage in prose ²⁵¹⁶ "The year indeed is Prajāpati, there are two parts thereof, the southern and the northern. Now those who believe in sacrifice and gifts for public utility as work that must be done, secure the moon only as their (future) world and it is they who return to this world. Therefore, the rsis who desire offspring resort to the southern (path). That path of the Fathers is indeed treasure (or wealth). But those who, after having sought the Ātman by austerities, (sexual) abstinence, faith and knowledge go by the northern path to the Sun. This is the home of the vital spirits, it is immortal, free from fear, it is the highest (or final) end. Thence they do not return, that is a check to other things. On this there is a verse (Rg I. 164. 12) 'some call him the father with five feet (the five seasons) and with twelve forms (twelve months), the giver of rain in the highest of heaven; others again say that the sage is placed in the lower half, in the chariot with seven wheels (horses or rays of sun) and six spokes'". This verse of the Rgveda is probably quoted here in support of the conception of the two paths symbolically represented as two parts of the year, as the Rg. vers 3 (first half) appears to refer to the Sun, placed in highest half of heaven and as the second half seems to refer to a lower (*upare*) half of heaven with six spokes (i. e. the six months of Dakṣināyana). Deussen (Ph. Up. p. 338) is positive that Rg. I. 164. 12 has nothing to do with

2515. अन्नं भूत्वा नेषो भवति नेषो भूत्वा प्रवर्षति। त इह व्रीहियया शीपयिवनस्तव-
स्तिलमाया इति जायन्तेऽतो वै खलु दुर्निष्पत्तयः। यो यो ह्यकनन्ति यो रेतः सिञ्चति तन्नृप एव
भवति। छा उप. V. 10 6, and 8 is अथेतयोः पथयोर्न कतरेण च न तानीमानि धुद्राण्य-
सल्लदावर्तानि भूतानि भवन्ति जायन्त प्रियस्वेति। एतज्जुतीयं स्थानम्। तेनासौ लोको न सन्नुपेतः।
Compare सुण्डक II, 1. 5 शङ्कराचार्य has a very long and interesting note on
this passage. He explains दुर्निष्पत्तयः in two ways viz. 'दुर्निष्कमणं दुर्नि.सरणम्।
and again says the word is निष्पत्तयः (one is being lost) 'तकार एको छुतो
द्रष्टव्यः। व्रीहियवादिभावो दुर्निष्पत्तयः। तस्मादपि दुर्निष्पत्तयताद्वा त सिद्धे हस्तस्वस्थो दुर्निष्प-
त्तय इत्यर्थः। यस्मादूर्ध्वरेतोभिर्वाले ईस्वरहितै स्थविरेषां भक्षिता अन्तराले शीप्यन्ते अनेक-
त्वादादानाम्। कदाचित्काकवालीपुत्र्या रेतसिग्निर्भक्ष्यन्ते।'.

2516. संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिस्तस्यापने द्वे दक्षिणे चोत्तरं च। तयो ह वै तद्विद्यायुतं कृ-
मिच्छुपासते ते चान्द्रनक्षत्रेभ्यः लोकमभिजयन्ते। त एव पुनरावर्तन्ते तस्मादेतं ज्ञापय. प्रजाकामाः
दक्षिणं प्रतिपद्यन्ते। एष ह वै रथिर्यः पिबुपाण. ॥ अधोत्तरेण तपसा ब्रह्मचर्येण अद्रवा विद्याया-
श्नातमन्विष्यादित्यमभिजयन्ते। एतद्वै प्राणाशानापतनमेतदमृतमभयमेतत्परायणमेतत्साक्ष इतरा-
वर्तन्ते इत्येय निरोधस्तदेष श्लोकः। पञ्चपादं पितरं ... यद्वर आहुरपितमिति। प्रश्नोप I, 9-11.
पञ्चपादं is क्ष. I. 164. 12 (उपरं as one word, while प्रश्नोप. reads उ परं
separately)

with the subject (of the two paths). But what is there to prevent an ancient sage of the Upanisadic times from holding that the verse in its two halves refers (figuratively or symbolically) to two paths, particularly when even in the Rgveda times paths called Devayāna and Pitryāna were well-known as shown below? It should be noted that in the preceding verse (I. 164. 11) the wheel of rta (the year or the sun) is Dvādaśāra (with twelve spokes, viz. months) and therefore when *saḍare* (with six spokes) is mentioned in I. 164. 12 a period of six months could well have been intended or could very well be got by interpretation.

The Kausītaki Up (I. 2-3), however, speaks only of Devayāna and Pitryāna and has no third place for worms and birds &c. and statss (vide n 2520 below) that worms &c. also come to the same world to which men return. Further, the stations of the Devayāna path (Agni, bright half of the month etc.) had been given a counterpart in the Pitryāna path in the Br. Up. and Chān. Up. which made the moon the point of divergence for the two paths. The Kausītaki Up. omits all the preliminary stations up to the moon and brings all transmigrating beings to the moon (in I. 2). There are some other variations also that need not be dwelt upon here.

Deussen (in Ph. Up p. 318) argues that in the Rg verse (X 88. 15) the two ways are really to be understood as day and night and he translates that verse as 'I have heard from my forefathers that there are two ways alike for gods and men', thus giving to the word 'pitṛnām' the sense of the ablative and holding that 'my' is to be understood before pitṛnām, though not to be understood before the other two words in the genitive in the same verse. The meaning which the Upanisad reads in the Rg. verse is proper and also the original meaning of the verse. The path called Pitryāna²⁵¹⁷ is mentioned in Rg. X. 2.7 (Agni knows well the path called pitryāna) and Rg. X 18 1 runs 'O Death! Follow another path which is your own and different from Devayāna.' These two verses clearly show that the Rgvedic sages had arrived at the conception of paths called Devayāna and Pitryāna. Therefore, the express mention of two paths in Rg. X. 88. 15 in connection with Pitṛs and Devas should be deemed to refer to Pitryāna and Devayāna paths and it is far-fetched to take them as day and

2517 पन्थामसु भविद्वात् पितृपार्श्वं द्युमदग्रे समिधानो वि भाहि । ऋ X 2 7, परं मृत्योः अत्र परेति पूर्णा पत्ने स्व हस्तो देवयानात् । ऋ. X. 18. 1.

night, which are hardly ever referred to in the R̥gveda as paths. This verse is explained in the Śat. Br. XII. 8. 1. 21²⁵¹⁸ (quoted below) which says that the two ways are those of the gods and pitrs and the commentary of Dvivedaganga explains the first half in the same way. Vide also Śat. Br. I. 9. 3. 1-2 Devayāna is sometimes used in the plural in the R̥gveda (as in III. 58. 5, VII. 38. 8, VII. 76. 2, X. 51. 5, X. 98. 11). In R̥g X. 15. 8 Yama is said to enjoy offerings along with the ancient forefathers of the sage and in X. 154. 4 Yama is requested to be united with ancient pitrs, righteous and full of austerities. The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8 1. 5) states that the door to the world of the Fathers is in the southwest, while Northeast is the direction of Gods and men (I. 2. 5. 17 and XII. 4. 2. 15). The Atharvaveda (XV. 12. 5.) mentions both Pitryāna and Devayāna paths. Soma, rain, food, *retas* (semen) may be described as watery, but the question is how the first āhuti 'śraddhā' (faith) can be described as an āhuti offered in Agni (viz. the yonder world) by the Gods from which king Soma arises (in Chān. Up V. 4. 2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 9). This is answered by V. S. 2519 III. 1. 5 and (and at some length) in the Śāṅkarabhāṣya thereon.

The Kausītaki Up (I)²⁵²⁰ sets out rather obscurely the doctrine of the two paths as part of the Pañcāgnividya taught

2518. हे सुवी । इमिति द्वे वाव सृती इत्यष्टौ देवानां चैव पित्राणां चेति । इतपथ XII. 8. 1. 21, मर्यानां मनुष्याणां हे सुवी द्वौ मार्गौ श्रुतवानस्मि तयोर्मध्ये एका पितृलोकयापिका द्वितीया तु देवलोकयापिका । Com. of द्विवेदगङ्गा (Weber's ed p. 1165), यो पञ्चमे सोऽस्यैव यज्ञो देवलोकमेवाभिधेति तदन्वयी दक्षिणा या ददाति सैति । दक्षिणामन्वारय यजमानः । स एष देवयानो वा पितृयानो वा पन्था । इतपथ I. 9. 3 1-2.

2519 प्रथमेऽश्वनादिति चेन्न ता एव ह्युपपत्तेः । वे स III 1 5, भाष्य 'यदि नाम पर्जन्यादिवृत्तरेषु चतुर्ष्वदिश्वया हौम्यद्रव्यता परिकल्प्येत परिकल्प्यता नाम । तेषु होतव्यतयोपात्तानां सोमादीनामव्यहृलत्वोपपत्तेः । प्रथमे त्वशीं श्रुता अज्ज्ञा परित्यज्याश्रुता आपः परिकल्प्यन्त इति सादृशमेतत् । ... नैव दोषः । अज्ज्ञाकार्यं सोमवृद्ध्यादि स्थूलभिवद-व्यहृलं लक्ष्यते । सा च अज्ज्ञाया अपत्ये युक्तिः । कारणानुरूप हि कार्यं भवति । अज्ज्ञाशब्दश्चाप्युपपद्यते वैदिकप्रयोगदर्शनात् - अज्ज्ञा वा आपः - इति । तद्वत् अज्ज्ञासारूप्य गन्तव्य आपो देहधीजघृता इत्यतः अज्ज्ञाशब्दा' स्य । It may be noted that V. S. III. 1. 1-7 are explanatory of Chān. Up V. 3 9 and Br Up. VI. 2 9-13 and the whole of V S. III 1 explains on the basis of Pañcāgnividya how the self passes through various stages of samsāra.

2520. स होवाच ये ये केचास्माह्लोकां न्ययन्ति चन्द्रमसमेव ते सर्वे गच्छन्ति । तेषां प्राणैः पूर्वपक्ष आप्यायते । तानपरपक्षेण यजन्तवति । एतद्दे स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य द्वार यजन्मया । तं यः प्रत्याह तमतिरुज्जति । अथ य एन न प्रत्याह तमिह इष्टिर्वैत्या वर्पति । स हह कीदो वा पतङ्गो वा शकुनिर्वा झगृहो वा सिंहो वा मत्स्यो वा परस्वा वा शुक्रो वाग्धो वेतेषु स्थानेषु प्रत्याजायते यथाकर्म यथाविद्यम् । कौपी उप I 2. स एष देवयान पन्थानमायापितिलोक-मामच्छति । स वायुलोकम् । जललोकम् । ... ibid I. 3, स एष विहङ्गते विहङ्गते बह्विहङ्ग जलैवाभिधेति । ibid I 4.

by Citra Gārgyāyani (v. l. Gārgyāyni) to Śvetaketu, son of Āruni. It is passed over here for reasons of space and as not of material importance except one passage which runs 'He (Citra) said that all those that depart from this world go to the moon; in the bright half the moon is increased by their spirits, in the dark half the moon sends them on to be born again. The moon is verily the door of the heavenly world. Now if a man disowns the moon (i. e. is dissatisfied with life there) the moon sets him free. But if a man is not dissatisfied then the moon sends him down as rain here (on the earth). And according to his deeds and according to his knowledge he is born again here as a worm, a locust, a bird, a tiger or a lion or a fish, or a snake, as a man or as something else in different places.' Then I 3 begins by referring to Devayāna and I 4 ends by saying, 'being freed from good deeds and from evil deeds, he, the knower of brahman, (neuter) moves towards brahman alone'

In the Kathopanishad ²⁵²¹ Yama tells Naciketas 'the secret about Brahmanvidyā and what the self becomes on the death (of the body) viz some men go to a mother's womb for an embodied existence while others are transferred into stumps (of trees) according to their deeds and knowledge.

The Br. Up VI 2 15-16 and Chān Up V. 3. 10 ff deal with the question of those who go by Devayāna and by the Pitryāna paths. First ²⁵²² the Br. Up 'Those (even householders) who know this (Pāncāguividya) and also those (hermits and ascetics) who, in the forest being full of faith, worship Truth (Brahman, Hiranyagarbha) go to arcis (light), from arcis to day (ahan) from day to the increasing fortnight (i. e. sukla-paksa), from the increasing half to the six months during which the Sun moves in the north, from those six months to the world of the Devas (Devaloka), from the Devaloka to the Sun, from the sun to lightning. When they have reached the place of lightning a

2521 ह्यत न इदं प्रवक्ष्यामि यत्तुं ब्रह्म ज्ञातव्यम् । यथा च मरणं याप्य आत्मा भवति यौतम ॥ योनितन्मे प्रपद्यन्ते क्षीरत्वाय देहिन् । स्थाणुमग्रेऽनुमंयन्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम् ॥ कठोप. V 6-7

2522 ते य एवमेतद्विदुर्मे चामी अरण्ये ब्रह्म । सत्यमित्युपासने तेऽचिरमित्युभवन्ति । अचिरमिदम् । अह्ना आधूर्यमाणपक्षान् । आधूर्यमाणपक्षाद्यान् पञ्चासानाद्बृहदादित्य एति । मासेऽपि देवलोकम् । देवलोकादादित्यम् । आदित्यार्ह्यश्रुतम् । तान् वैद्युतान् पुनरपि मानस एव ब्रह्मलोकान् गमयति । ते तेषु ब्रह्मलोकेषु परा. परावर्त्तते सन्ति तेषां न पुनरावृत्तिः । बृह उप. VI. 2 15 Compare यज्ञ स्मृति III. 193-94, which closely follow the above in verse.

person born of the mind (of Brahṁā) comes to them and leads them to the worlds of Brahṁā. In these worlds they being exalted, dwell for ages and there is no return (to *samsāra*) for them. But they who conquer (attain) worlds by sacrifice, charity and austerities go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to decreasing half (of the month), from decreasing half month to the six month during which the Sun moves in the south, from these months to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the Moon, having reached the Moon, they become food and then the Devas feed on them there as sacrificers feed on king Soma as it increases and decreases (in a sacrifice). But when this (the result of their works done on earth) is exhausted they return to either (ākāśa), from that to Vāyu, from Vāyu to rain, from rain to the earth; on reaching the earth they become food. They are then again offered into the fire called man, from that (i. e. man) they are born in the fire called woman. These, making efforts to secure worlds (by sacrifices &c), again and again repeat coming to this world. Those, however, who do not know both these paths, they become (are born as) worms, locusts (or birds) and flies.'

The Chān. Up. V. 10. 1-2 are almost in the same words as Br. Up. VI. 2. 15 with a few slight changes viz. Chān. Up. reads 'Śraddhā tapa ityupāsate' and 'from months in the north to the year, from year to the Sun, from the Sun to the Moon, from the Moon to lightning; there is a person who is not human (*amānavaḥ* for '*mānasah*' of Br. Up.) who leads him to *brahman* &c.; then Chān. Up. V. 10. 3-4 are again the same as Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 except that Chān. Up. reads 'those who living in a village practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility (called *pūrta*) and almsgiving, go to smoke', but adds 'these do not reach the year,' and proceeds 'from the months to the world of fathers, from that world to ether, from ether to the moon, this is king Soma that is the food of Gods (i. e. the gods like or love them). Having dwelt there (in the moon) till their works are exhausted, they return by the same way by which they came i. e. to ether, from ether to Vāyu, smoke, mist, cloud. (The persons that had performed sacrifices &c) having become clouds come down as rain, are then born as rice and barley, herbs and trees, sesame and māsa beans. Escape from that state (to that of human beings) is beset with extreme difficulties. Whoever the beings (cattle or other animals or man) may be that eat the food (into which one has been transformed) and beget offspring he (the transmigrating entity) becomes most like them.'

One of the most important passages in the Upanisads on conduct fashioning the life that would follow is the Chān. Up. V. 10. 7-8 which may be rendered as follows:²⁵²³ Those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmana, of a ksatriya or of a vāisya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāṇḍāla. Those that do not go by either of the two paths become those small creatures (worms, flies &c) that are continually returning and whose destiny may be said to be 'to live and die'. Theirs is a third place (apart from the two paths). Therefore the yonder world does not become full. Hence one should be disgusted (with this Samsāra).

It may be stated here that the Bhagavadgītā (VIII 23-27) also refers to the two paths following one of which a yogin does not return to this world and following the other of which he returns to this world. These are called *śukla* (bright) and *kṛṣṇa* (dark) *gatā* (in VIII. 26) and *śrīti* (in VIII. 27). The former is fire, light,²⁵²⁴ day, the bright half of the month, the six months of the northern path of the sun; those men who have realized *brahman* when going from this world go to *brahman* (the absolute). The latter path is 'smoke, night, the dark half (of the month), the six months of the southern path of the Sun; the yogin reaching the moon-light by that path returns to this world. The Śāntiparva²⁵²⁵ of the Mahābhārata refers to the northern and southern paths, the latter of which is attained by gifts, study of Veda and sacrifices (as in Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 and Chān. Up. V. 10. 8). The Yājñavalkya-smṛti²⁵²⁶ also refers to those

2523 तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अग्न्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीया योनिमापद्येरन् ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाय य इह कर्तव्यचरणा अग्न्याशो ह यत्ते कर्तव्यं योनिमापद्येरन् श्रम्योनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा। अथैतयोः पथोर्न कतरेणचन तानीमानि शुद्राण्य-सकृदावर्तन्ति भूतानि भवन्ति जायन्ते स्त्रियस्त्वेतन्महीयं स्थानं तेनासी लोको न सम्पूर्यते तस्माज्जुहोसेत्। छा. उप. V. 10 7-8. अग्न्याशो ह is explained as क्षियमेव by शाङ्कराचार्य.

2524 It is better to read 'agnir-jyotir' (in Gītā VIII 24) as one word instead of 'agnir jyotir' (as in most editions), because both the Br. Up. VI. 2 15 and Chān. Up. V 10. 1 start the Devayāna path with *arcis* and omit Agni.

2525 अवाप्यतानि कर्माणि वेदोक्तानि धनंजर। दानमदप्यर्चनं यज्ञो निग्रहश्चैव दुर्महः। दक्षिणेन च पन्थानमर्थगो ये दिव्यता। गतान् क्रियावता लोकास्तुक्तवान् पूर्वमप्यहम्। उत्तरेण तु पन्थान नियमार्थं प्रदर्शयति। शान्तिपर्व 26 8-10 (Ch. ed = Cr. ed App 1, no. 4, Lines 15-19)

2526. एतयो न विजानाति नार्णहितरमात्मगान्। दग्धशूक. पनङ्गो वा भवेत्कीटोऽथवा छुमि। वाङ् 111, 197. compare छुद्र उप. VI. 2 16 'अथ य एतो पन्थानौ न विदुस्ते कीटा पतङ्गा यद्विदं दग्धशूकम्.' and छा. V 10. 8 अथैतयोः... तृतीयं स्थानम् quoted in the note 2523.

paths. In III. 195-196 it mentions the Pitryāna path, which is very like the one described in Br. Up. VI. 2. 16 (except that Yāj omits akāśa) and Chan. Up. V. 10. 3-7 (which mentions more stages than in Br. Up.). Yāj III. 197 also states that those who do not know any one of these two paths (i. e. do not perform the acts peculiar to those who go by these paths) become snakes, locusts, creeping insects or worms.

The Vedāntasūtra frequently refers to the doctrine of transmigration, but owing to the limits imposed by available space only a few important sūtras and their explanations will be set out here. The three sūtras of V. S II. 1. 34-36²⁵²⁷ are of great importance for the theory of transmigration. An objector says 'to hold that God is the cause of the world does not stand to reason, for, if it be so, God would be liable to the charges of unequal treatment (or dispensation) and cruelty. He creates some that enjoy extreme happiness (like gods and others), some lead an extremely miserable life such as beasts (of burden &c.) and some like men, who enjoy an intermediate position, secure a modicum of enjoyment. So God may be charged with acting through hatred and love (like ordinary men). God also produces misery and finally destroys all persons. This aspect (of great cruelty) appears abhorrent even to evil men. To this the reply is: if God had created inequality in the world at his sweet will and without regard to any other matter, he might have been liable to the two charges of unequal treatment and cruelty. But God has regard to the righteousness (merit) or otherwise of beings when he produces inequalities among creatures. The position of God should be looked upon like that of rain, which is the common cause (or factor) in the production of crops of rice and barley, but the difference (in quality) between rice and barley is due to the varying potentialities of the seeds. God is the common cause in the creation of beasts, men and gods but the inequalities in these are due to the special potentialities of each. Śāṅkarācārya relies expressly on two Upanisad passages viz Kaus. Up. III. 8 and Br. Up. III. 2. 13 'punyo vai punyena karmanā bhavati pāpah pāpena'. The Kaus. Up. passage means 'He²⁵²⁸ (the Absolute Ātman) is not

2527 वैषम्यनैर्बुधये न सावेकत्वात् तथाहि दर्शयति । न कर्माविभागादिति चेन्नाना-
दित्वात् । उपपद्यते चाप्युपलभ्यते च । वे. सू. II 1. 34-36

2528. स एव प्राण एव प्रज्ञात्माऽऽनन्दोऽजरोऽमृतः । न साधुना कर्मणा दूषणं नो एषा-
साधुना कर्मापादः । एष एवैतं साधु कर्म कारयति तं यमेव लोकेभ्य उक्षिणीयते । एष उ त्वेवम-
साधु कर्म कारयति तं यमो निनीयते । एष लोकपालः । एष लोकाधिपतिः । एष सर्वेशः । स न
(Continued on next page)

exalted by good works nor degraded by evil works, but it is He indeed who inspires (a person) to do good works, whom he wishes to lead high over those worlds and it is he who inspires one to do evil deeds whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds'. It will be noticed that the Kausitaki bases the attainment of a higher life (or birth) or a lower life on the quality of men's deeds (just as in Br Up. III. 2. 13, IV. 4. 5, Chān Up. V. 10. 7, Prasna 3. 7). The Gītā states 'I treat them the same way (with appropriate fruits) in which they come to (or approach) me.'

Another objection is raised to the above proposition contained in V. S. II. 1. 34. The Upanisads often state 'In the beginning there was that only which is one without a second (Chān. Up. VI. 2. 1 *sad-eva somyedam agra āsīd-ekam evādvītiyam*). Therefore, before creation there was no difference between deeds and so there could have been no inequality among the first created beings dependent on difference in deeds. You may say that after difference in deeds arose God has regard to deeds of men, but all beings created in the beginning must have been alike. To this the reply is that *samsāra* is without beginning (*anādi*) and that such a conception of the beginninglessness of *samsāra* stands to reason and is supported by (Śruti) texts.

Another discussion on the working of Karma occurs in V. S. II. 3. 41-42.²²⁹ According to the highest metaphysical doctrine the Ātman is one and all individual selves are really free but they are affected in the empirical state by the *Upādhis* of *buddhi*, *mind* &c and in that state they are controlled by Īśvara (as *Antaryāmin*, as Br. Up. III. 7. 23 or Kaus Up. III. 8 says) and they

(Continued from last page)

अस्मेति विद्यात्। औदी उप. III. 8 ने refers to हृद् who in this *adhyāya* (chapter) expounds *Vidyā* to Prataṛdāsa, so of Divodāsa, and asks him to meditate upon Prāṇa who is immortal. The Br Up and Chān. Up passages are quoted above. The Prasna Up passage is III. 7 'अथैकवोर्ध्वं उदान. पुण्येन पृथक् लोके नयति पापेन पापम्। उभाभ्यामेव बहुल्यलोकम्'। एकया refers to नाडी. Theगीता passage quoted by Śaṅkara is 'ये यथा मा प्रपद्यन्ते तान्मयैव भजाम्यहम्' IV. 11.

2529 परान्तु तच्छ्रुते। कृत्वपयत्नापि कस्तु विहितमतिपि सुखं विद्ययादिभ्यः। ने च II 3 41-42, कृत्वो च प्रपन्नो जीवस्य धम्मनिर्मलक्षणतद्वत्त एतेनमीश्वर कारयति ततश्चैते चोदितस्तोदा न प्रमज्जन्ते। जीवकृतप्रतिधर्मवैयर्थ्यापेक्ष एव तत्कलानि विषयं विभजेत्तर्जण्यवदीश्वरो निमित्तत्वमात्रेण। . अपि च पूर्वप्रपन्नमपेक्षेयानी कारयति पूर्वतरं च प्रपन्नमपेक्ष पूर्वप्रकारय-दिग्यनादिग्यासंसारवैयर्थ्यनयम्। शाङ्करभाष्य

receive the fruits of their good and bad actions through Īśvara who does not act at his sweet will but has regard to good or bad conduct.

A few passages about *kaṁma* and transmigration and stories illustrating how people's minds were affected by them in ancient times may be cited here. The Āp. Dh.²⁵³⁰ S. provides 'Members of all varnas (classes) reap (in heaven) highest and measureless happiness by carrying out their prescribed duties; thereafter (i. e. after enjoying happiness in heaven) they return (to this world) on account of the (unenjoyed) residue of the results of their actions and secure birth in an (appropriate) caste (or family), beauty of form, charming complexion, power, mental ability, wisdom, wealth, the (blessing of the) performance of duties and this results in happiness only in both worlds like a wheel. A similar rule applies to the increase of the results of evil acts. The thief of gold, one guilty of brāhmana murder, according as he belongs to the brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya class, after undergoing torments in hell for a limited time becomes respectively a *cāṇḍāla*, *paṇḍaka* or *vaina*' The Gautama Dharma-sūtra has a passage in very similar words: 'Members of the varnas (brāhmana and others) and of āśramas (brahmachārin &c) who are devoted to performing the appropriate duties (of their class or stage in life) enjoy the fruit (heaven) of their actions after death and then by virtue of the residue (of their actions) they attain a (new) birth (in this world) endowed with a good country, caste, family, life, learning, character, wealth, mental ability and happiness. Those who act contrary to this are ruined by having to resort to many (evil) births.' On V. S. III 1. 8 Śāṅkarācārya after quoting Gautama XI 29 states 'there is no possibility of the destruction of the effect of an evil deed except by some of the methods prescribed by śāstra (such as expiations and realisation of the Absolute) and that it is possible that a good deed may begin to yield its reward

2530 सर्ववर्णाणां स्वधर्महिताय परमपरिमितं सुखम् । तत् परिवृत्तो कर्मफलशेषेण जातिं रूपं वर्णं बल मेधा मज्जां द्रव्याणि धर्मास्तुष्टानमिति प्रतिपद्यते तच्चकवदुभयोर्लोकयोः सुख एव वर्तते । ... एतेन दोषफलवृद्धिरुक्ता । स्तेनोऽभिशास्ते ब्राह्मणो राजान्यो वैश्यो वा परस्मिन्लोकं परिमिते निरये वृत्ते जायते चाण्डालो ब्राह्मण पौलकसो राजान्यो वैश्यो वैश्यः । आप ध द् II 1 2 2-3, 5-6, वर्णाश्रमाः स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठाः मेल्य कर्मफलमनुभूय तत् शेषेण विशिष्टदेशजाति-कुलरूपाद्यभ्युत्थित (वृत्त) वित्तसुखमेधतो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते । विष्वञ्चो विपरीता नश्यन्ति । गौ ध. द्. XI 29-30.

after a long time because it is hampered by the results of an evil deed and quotes a *smṛti* (Mahābhārata) in support.²⁵³¹

The principle of the doctrine of Karma is that every act, whether good or bad, produces a certain result or return which cannot be escaped. In the physical world there is the universal law of causation. The doctrine of Karma extends this inexorable law of causality to the mental and moral sphere. The doctrine of Karma is not a mechanical law; it is rather a moral or a spiritual necessity. It cannot, however, be said that this doctrine is an induction from observed facts nor can it be asserted that it is experimentally verifiable, but it is only a hypothesis or supposition; it is, however, far better than other naïve and childlike theories. In the absence of the theory of karma and rebirth it would have to be assumed that the world is arbitrary, that the Creator is not bound to regard the nature of men's actions but may distribute rewards as he pleases or by caprice. This doctrine of Karma emphasises three things, firstly it regards an existence as a sort of expiation for the doings of a previous existence or existences; secondly, an evil deed cannot be expiated by works of merit but its punishment must be borne; thirdly, the punishment for wrong is automatic and personal. Under the doctrine of Karma there is no such thing as chance or luck. When we use those words they correspond to no reality and are a tacit confession of our ignorance or inability to state the cause or causes of what has happened. This doctrine of Karma leads on to the doctrine of transmigration. The results of a man's actions may not happen at once or in the present life. The *Ādiparva* and *Manu* say²⁵³² 'an evil deed does not yield its retribution immediately like a cow (that yields plenty of milk immediately after she is well fed) but returning slowly it cuts off the very roots of the perpe-

2531. न हि श्रयश्चित्तादिभिर्हेतुभिर्विना कर्मणा सुखेदं सम्भाष्यते । स्मृतिरपि विकल्पा-
कलेन कर्मणा प्रतिपन्नस्य कर्मान्तरस्य चिरमवस्थानं दर्शयति — कदाचित् सुकृतं कर्म कृदर्थमिदं
विद्वति । भजमानस्य संसारे यावद् दुःखात्मसुच्यते ॥ इत्यर्थजातीयका । (शाङ्ख्यभाष्य on वे.
३ III. 1 8) The verse कदाचित्सुकृतं is शान्तिपर्व 290 18 (Ch ed. = cr. ed.
279. 17).

2532. नाधर्मव्रतितो ढोके सद्यः फलति गौरिद । शनैरावर्तमानस्तु कर्तुर्मूलानि कुन्तति ॥
भाष्यपर्व 80. 2, मनु IV. 172 गौ. may also mean 'the earth' But in that case the
meaning would be 'when you sow seed in the earth it takes time before the
crops are ready.' If गौ. means 'an ox' (or cow) here, then it would mean an
ox is immediately useful for carrying loads unlike adharma or 'a cow
yields milk immediately after she is fed well'.

trator.' Man's actions in past existences determine or fashion the nature of the present existence and the actions in the present existence taken along with the residue of past actions will determine the future existence. This, in short, is the basis of the doctrine of *punarjanma*. The modifications introduced by texts or popular notions will be briefly dealt with later. The theory of rebirth is as logical as any of the hypotheses that hold the field about what happens after physical death of the body. It is certainly as satisfactory as (or rather more satisfactory than) the theory of absolute annihilation after physical death (held by atheists) or the theory of eternal reward or retribution in heaven or hell (for confirmed criminals of one life). The leaders or exponents of almost all religions hold that God is with them and they generally have never seen (up to at least the 19th century A. D.) any good outside their respective Churches. Hinduism of the Upanisads and Gītā is the only religion and philosophy that proclaimed thousands of years ago that the man of good deeds is nearest to God on account of his goodness and the man of evil deeds cannot secure divine grace and fellowship, whomsoever he may regard as a prophet or messiah sent by God.

The Vedāntasūtra in III. 1 examines the passages of the Chān. Up. and of the Br. Up. dealing with Pañcāgnividyā. It is not possible to set out in detail the discussions in the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on the sūtras in V. S III. 1. Some of the important final conclusions are: The individual self, while passing from one body to another, is accompanied or surrounded by subtle elements (*bhūtasūkṣma*), that the āhuti is spoken of as 'āpah' (in Chān. Up. V. 9 1) because the human body is full of fluids in the form of chyle, blood &c., because sacred works like Agnihotra &c. are the causes of a new body after death and in those works the principal materials used (such as Soma juice, ghee, milk) are mainly fluid. In the statement that those who perform sacrifices &c. go to the moon by the Pitr̥yāna path and that śraddhā is offered as oblation from which Soma that is the food of gods arises, the words 'food of gods' are used in a metaphorical sense (and not in the sense of eating). The souls of sacrificers and the like, after reaching the moon and enjoying the fruits of their good deeds that can be enjoyed in the moon, return to the earth by the way they went but in reverse order of stations for enjoying the fruits of their actions that can only be

enjoyed on the earth.²⁵³³ This combines the idea of a life beyond (often referred to in the Rgveda) with the notion of rebirth and offers two prizes for good deeds (viz reward in heaven and then a rebirth with material well-being and cultural environment, as in Gautama Dh. S. XI. 29 and Gītā VI. 37-45 and there is a double penalty for evil deeds (viz. hell torture and then a despised or low life).

The V. S. (III. 1. 13-17) further explains that all men do not go to the moon, but only those that perform sacrifices &c. and those that do not perform sacrifices or works of public utility but are guilty of evil acts go to the abode of Yama for undergoing tortures of hell²⁵³⁴ (which are seven, according to V. S. III. 1. 15) and after that they come to the earth. Those who follow the path of faith and austerity go by the Devayāna path (Chān. Up. V. 10. 1 and Mundaka I 2. 11) and those who perform sacrifices, charity and works of public utility go by the pitryāna path (Chān. Up. V. 10. 3 and Mundaka I 2. 10)²⁵³⁵ and those that do not follow any one of the two have to go to a third place and be born as worms &c. (Chān. Up. V. 10. 8), that when a śruti text like Kausītaki Up. (I 2) states that all those that depart from this world go to the moon, what is meant by 'all' is all those that have the *adlukāra* (capability or fitness) to go to the moon.

There is one word, namely 'samsāra', which occurs frequently in the comparatively later literature on Vedānta and Dharma-śāstra but rarely in the Upanisads. It means 'passing through a succession or a round or a cycle of births and deaths'. The

2533. कृतात्पयेऽश्वशयवान् हृदस्तृतिभ्या यथेतननेवं च । वे. सू. III. 1. 8. अश्वशय is explained by शाङ्कराचार्य as 'आहुत्मिकफले कर्मजाते उपभुक्तेऽवशिष्टमैहिकफलं कर्मान्तर-जातमश्वशयस्तद्वन्तोऽवरोहन्तीति ।'. अश्वशय means 'residue' here, compare नेचद्वृत्त (पूर्व १०) स्वस्तीभूते सुचरितफले स्वर्गिणा गां यतानां जेयैः पुण्यैर्हन्तव्यं दिवः कान्तिमत्त्वण्ड-नेकम् ॥ This is a fine fancy (उत्प्रेक्षा) based on the doctrine stated in V. S. III. 1. 8.

2534. नपमने त्वदभूयेतरेयानारोहावरोहौ तद्विद्वानात् । वे. सू. III. 1. 13, on which शाङ्कराचार्य quotes कटोप. II 6 'न साम्पराय. प्रतिभाति चालं मनायन्तं वित्तमोहेन मूढम् । अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुनः पुनर्वक्षामापद्यते ते ॥'

2535. विद्याकर्मणीरिति तु महत्त्वात् । वे. सू. III. 1. 17; 'तद्य इत्थं विदुः' (छा. V. 10. 1.) इति विद्या तथा मनीषस्तयो द्वेवपान. पन्थाः प्रकीर्तितः । 'दृष्टापूर्ते' दत्तम् । (छा. V. 10. 3.) इति कर्म तेन मनीषस्तस्य. पितृयाज. पन्थाः प्रकीर्तितः । शाङ्करभाष्य.

Kathopanishad says ²⁵³⁶ 'that person who has no understanding, who has not controlled his mind, who is always impure, does not attain that (highest) state and undergoes *samsāra* (births and deaths)'. The Śv. Up. VI. 16 speaks of the Supreme Spirit as the 'creator and knower of the universe, as self-born, the knower, the destroyer of time, possessing (all) qualities, knowing everything, Lord of Pradhāna, individual souls and the *gunas* (*sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*) and as the cause of release from *samsāra*, of sustaining it and of bondage.' The Maitrāyaṇi Up. I 4. says 'such being the nature of *samsāra* what is the use of the enjoyment (of pleasures)'. The Muktikā Up. (II 37) states 'mind is established as the root of the tree of *samsāra*'. The word '*samsāra*' occurs in the Vedāntasūtra ²⁵³⁷ IV. 2. 8. The Bhagavadgītā mentions the word several times e. g. 'men who have no faith in this way (of life) do not attain to me (Lord Kṛṣṇa) and return to the path of death and transmigration (IX. 3); those whose minds are fixed on me I deliver in no time from the ocean of death and transmigration' (XII. 7). The Manusmṛti employs the word *samsāra* frequently e. g. in the table of the subjects to be treated in the Smṛti 'the passing through *samsāra*' is mentioned (in I 117) and the 12th chap. uses the word often. It is said (in XII. 51) 'the entire *samsāra* of three kinds due to three sorts of Karma affecting all beings has been expounded'. After describing the various characteristics of the three *gunas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* (in XII. 26-29), and the effects of these *gunas* (XII. 30-38), Manu states that those in whom *sattva*, *rajas* or *tamas* preponderates respectively become gods, men or lower animals and again divides each of these three classes into lowest, middling and highest (XII. 40-50). Manu uses the word '*samsāra*' in the plural (in XII. 52, 54, 70) in the sense of '*gati*' or '*yoni*'. In chap. VI 40-60 Manu first dilates at length on the daily routine of one who has entered on the stage of *sannyāsa*, what he should wear and carry, how he should maintain himself, how he should restrain

2536. यस्त्वविज्ञानवान्भवत्यमनस्कः सदाऽशुचिः । न स तत्पदनामेति संसारं चाधि-
गच्छति ॥ कठ III 7; the words तत्पद refer to कठ II. 15-16, स विश्वकृद्विश्वविवान्
भोनिर्ज्ञः कालकालो ह्यपि सर्वविद्यः । प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतियुगेष्टः संसारमोक्षस्थितिव्यवहृतः ।
श्वेताश्व VI. 16.

2537. तदापीतेः संसारव्यपदेशात् । वे. सू. IV. 2.8; the शाङ्ख्यभाष्य on this
quotes कठ V. 7 as the basis of the use of the word संसार 'चोनिमस्ये ... यथा-
कर्म यथाशुक्ले' ॥ q. above in n. 2521.

his senses and give up love and hate and practise *ahimsā* and then proceeds 'he should ponder over the destinies of men due to bad deeds, falling in hell and the tortures of hell, separation from loved ones and contact with undesirable persons, the ravages of old age and the pains of diseases, the departing from the body and again lying in the womb and the passage of the soul through thousands of crores of births of all sorts.' It is entirely wrong to suppose (as done by Mr. Sanjana on p 10 of his 'Dogma of reincarnation') that Manu prescribes that 'each ego has to go through ten thousand millions of existences.' Manu nowhere says so. All that he means is that the Sannyāsin desirous of liberation should revolve in his mind the possibility of some souls having to migrate through millions of births. Yāj (in III. 169) employs the verb 'samsarati' in the sense of 'undergoes births' and states 'The fruition of actions done by aome men results after death (in other bodies) or in this very life (as in the case of Kārīri sacrifice) and in some cases either in this world or the next (i. e. there is no hard and fast śāstra rule that fruits of actions result immediately after they are done); it also states in a fine simile²⁵³⁸ 'just as an actor, when acting different parts, colours his body in different colours (fair, dark, brown), so the soul assumes various forms (as short, hunchback, &c.), assumes different bodies due to the various acts done by it. In Yāj III. 140 the word *samsāra* itself occurs 'The soul affected by (or under the influence of) *rajas* and *tamas*, wandering in this world and coming in contact with undesirable objects (or mental attitudes) goes through transmigration (i. e. assumes various bodies)'. This is in reply to the question in Yāj. III. 129 (Īśvarah sa katham bhāvairanistaiḥ samprayujyate). The Śāntiparva²⁵³⁹ remarks 'there is no doubt that in life there is far more misery than happiness'. The Purāṇas often harp on the theme that *samsāra* is impermanent, abounds in sorrows and is fragile like a plantain leaf (e. g. vide the Brahmapurāṇa 'samsāre..., antye dukkhabahule kadālidalasannibhe' (178. 179) The present writer cannot help feeling that this view of the thorough miserableness of life has been so much and so persistently dinned into the ears of common people not only by

2538 विपाकः कर्मणा मेत्य वेपाचिदिह जायते । इह बाहुज वैकेपा भावस्तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥ यथा हि भरतो वर्णवर्णपर्यात्मनस्तद्वत् । नानारूपाणि कुर्वाणस्तथात्मा कर्मजातम् ॥ याज्ञ. III. 133. 162, the words नानारूपाणि कुर्वाणः may be construed with भरतः also

2539. सुगद्वहतरं दुःखं जीविते नास्ति संशयः । दिनमथ च चेन्दिवाधेयं मोहान्मरणमपि यम् ॥ आन्तिपरं 205 6 (= Cr. ed. 198 lines 11-12)

much of Sanskrit literature but also by medieval saints like Tukaram (who says 'happiness is as little as a grain of barley while misery is as big as a mountain') that people have lost zest in life, are unable to put their heart and soul and serious efforts for improving their own lot and the lot of others. It cannot be denied that in India the doctrine of Karma, instead of being a powerful means of urging all men to put great efforts in doing good deeds and a gospel of hope, became in the minds of many confused with fatalism, which led men to become feeble, submissive and disinclined to work hard.

All the above discussion in the Upanisads about transmigration of the individual self are valid and concerned with the empirical or phenomenal world (*samsārāvasthā* or *vyavahārāvasthā*) but considered from the highest metaphysical standpoint of thorough-going *advaita* (the *parā vidyā* of Mundaka I. 1. 5-6 or *amūrta brahma* of Br. Up. II. 3. 5-6) it falls to the ground, since the individual self is non-different from the Absolute *Brahman*. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. II. 3. 30 emphasizes this point. He states: As long as the individual self is in *samsāra* state and has not attained perfect knowledge and brought the empirical or phenomenal state to an end, so long the connection of the self with *buddhi* does not cease. As long as this connection with *buddhi* (a limiting adjunct) lasts, so long lasts the state of being an individual self merged in *samsāra*. But the real truth is that there is no entity called *jiva* by itself except in so far as it is fictitiously hypostatized by *buddhi*, the limiting adjunct. For, when we determine the real meaning of Vedānta texts, we find no intelligent substance other than the one omniscient Lord whose nature is eternal freedom. Then Śaṅkarācārya cites certain texts (viz. Br. Up. I. 4. 7, III. 7-13, Chān. Up. VI. 1. 6, VI. 8. 7²⁵⁴⁰) and remarks that there are

2540 यावदात्मभावित्वाच्च न दोषस्तद्दर्शनात् । वे सू. II. 3. 30, यावदवधारणा संसारी भवति यावदस्य सम्यग्दर्शनेन संसारित्वं न निवर्तते तावदस्य बुद्ध्या संयोगो न शङ्क्यते । यावदेव चार्थं बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धस्तावज्जीवस्य जीवत्वं संसारित्वं च परमार्थस्तु न जीवो नाम बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धपरिकल्पितस्वरूपव्यतिरेकेणारित । न हि निरयुक्तस्वरूपात्सर्वज्ञादीश्वरावयव-
श्वेतनो धातुर्हितीयो वेदान्तार्थनिरूपणायानुपलभ्यते । नान्यतोतिष्ठति दृष्टा ओता भन्ता विज्ञाता (बृ. III. 7. 23), नान्यदतोऽस्ति द्रष्टुं श्रोतुं मन्तुं विज्ञातुं (छा. VI. 8. 7), तत्त्वमसि (छा. VI. 1. 6.), अहं ब्रह्मास्मि (बृ. I. 4. 7.) इत्यादिश्रुतिज्ञेयः । . . अपि च मिथ्याज्ञान-
पुरःसरोऽयमात्मनो बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धः । न च मिथ्याज्ञानस्य सम्प्रज्ञानावगम्य च निवृत्ति-
रस्तीत्यतो यावद् ब्रह्मात्मतानवबोधस्तावदस्य बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धो न शङ्क्यते । शाङ्करभाष्य-
Similarly on वे सू. I. 1. 5. शाङ्करभाष्य says 'सत्यं, नेश्वरावयवः संसारी, तथापि देहादिसङ्घातोपाधिसम्बन्ध इत्यत एव, घटकरकगिरिबुद्ध्यादुपाधिसम्बन्ध एव व्योम्ना'

hundreds of such texts. Śaṅkarācārya states that even Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Vedāntasūtras, composed some sūtras from the highest *advaita* standpoint and some from the empirical standpoint. In the following sūtras of V. S. Bādarāyaṇa is obliged to differentiate Jīva and Paramātmān I. 1. 16-17; I. 1. 21, I. 2. 20, I. 3. 5, II. 1. 21-23, II. 3. 21. II. 3. 41, II. 3. 43 &c. But the sūtras I. 1. 33, II. 1. 14, IV. 13 indicate that there is non-difference between the two.²⁵⁴

The theory of transmigration postulates that each life is the result or fruit of the actions of the preceding existence or existences. It follows from this that if we go backwards far enough, no existence or birth can be the first. Therefore, the Vedāntasūtra had to declare (in II. 1.35 quoted in n. 2527 above) that saṃsāra is *anādi* (beginningless). But this is in conflict with many passages of the Upanisads, which, in speaking of creation, employ the words ' in the beginning ' (as in Chān. Up. VI. 2.1, Br. Up. I. 4., 1, 10 and 17, V. 5.1, Tai. Up. II. 7. 1). In order to get over this conflict the conception of the recurring creation of the universe periodically from all eternity was postulated by means of the machinery of kalpas,²⁵²² which provides that the universe created by *brahman* persists through a vast period called Kalpa, after the lapse of which it is absorbed into brahman. Vide Śāntiparva 231. 29-32 (Ch. ed. = cr. ed. 224. 28-31). It is stated in the Gītā VIII. 17-19 that the day of Brahmā is equal to one thousand yugas (four yugas make one unit or Mahāyuga) and the night of Brahmā is also of the same duration. All objects spring up from Prakṛti at the advent of the day of Brahmā and at the advent of night are absorbed (or merged) in the Prakṛti. Vide Bhagavadgītā IX. 7 also ' at the end of a Kalpa all elements (or beings) pass into prakṛti over which I preside, but when the next Kalpa starts I send them forth '.

The reasoning is; just as we cannot decide which comes first, the seed or sprouting plant, so it is impossible to say which

2541. तदनन्यत्तमाम्भणइइदिग्गयः । वे सु. II I. 14, सूत्रकारोपि परमार्थानि-
 प्रापेण तदनन्यत्तमित्याह स्वयहाराभिप्रायेण तु स्याहोक्त्वं दितिनहससुद्धस्थानीयतां ब्रह्मणः
 कथयति । अमत्यारुपायैव कार्यमपश्चरिणामनकिंवा चाभ्रयति सत्पणेपूपासनैरुपायद्वयत इति ।
 शाह्वरभाष्य at end; 'भोक्त्वापचरेविभागश्चेत्तदाहोक्त्वं'-this is वे सु II I. 13.

2542 The one thousand Mahāyugas constituting a day of Brahmā are called a Kalpa. For detailed treatment of Kalpa, Manvantara, Mahāyuga and Yuga, vide pp 686-697 above. The ancient Upanisads have not elaborated this theory of Kalpas &c.

The Bhagavadgītā (VI 37-45) is very emphatic that no exertions made by a man on the path of Yoga with faith are lost even if he does not quickly attain perfection. Lord Kṛṣṇa replies (VI. 40 ff) that such a man failing to secure perfection does not come to an evil end, but he attains to the worlds of the righteous, dwells there for many years, is born in the houses of prosperous and pure men or is born in the family of wise yogins, where he regains the mental impressions of his past lives. He makes fresh efforts to gain perfection and is carried forward irresistibly by his practice in former lives and being free from all sins and perfecting himself through many lives attains the highest goal. In the Gītā, Kṛṣṇa says (in IV. 5) 'many are my lives that are past and thine also. All of them I know but thou knowest them not.' In many places the Gītā touches upon the doctrine of transmigration (such as in II. 12-13 and 22-27, IV 8-9, VII 19, VIII. 6, 15-16, IX. 21).

In chapters 30-32 (of ch. ed.) of Vanaparva there is a dialogue between Draupadī and Yudhishthira, who, having lost his kingdom in gambling with the Kauravas, was in exile and hard pressed. Draupadī wonders how such a straightforward, mild, benevolent and truthful prince allowed his mind to be involved in gambling (30. 19), that God does not act towards beings like a father or mother, but He appears to be irascible like a common man, when she sees that honourable men of high character have difficulties in maintaining themselves and dishonourable men live in pleasures (30. 38-39); she proceeds 'human beings, ²⁵⁴⁴ ignorant and having no control over happiness and misery, go to heaven or hell at the caprice of God,' Yudhishthira warns her that she talks like an atheist, that he performed no deed with the thought of seeking the reward thereof, that he made gifts and performed sacrifices because he held that it was his duty to do so.' He asked her to give up atheistic talk and not to disrespect Highest God. Then Draupadī came round and replied that she did not mean to disrespect or censure Dharma, that it is far from her thoughts to show disrespect to God, but that, being distressed, she talked like an atheist. She then enters upon a discussion ²⁵⁴⁵ about

2544 अज्ञो जन्तुर्नोपमात्मन सुगदुःखयोः । ईश्वरप्रेरितो मच्छेत्स्वर्गं नरकमेव च ॥
यनः 30. 28, this is Draupadī's lament

2545 तथैव चतुर्दशदिग् दक्ष कर्मण्यक्रमच्छत् । आसीत् न चिरं जीवेदनाय इव दुर्बलः ।
अहमादिह यः कोऽपि यमो न विदुः । त एवेति मन्यन्ते स हि यमो न क्षणचित् ॥ . एवं

(Continued on next page)

what people mean by *dista* (fate) or *hatha* (chance) or nature (*svabhāva*) and winds up by saying that whatever a person gains is all the result of deeds in past lives.

It is not necessary to say here anything about human effort (*purusakāra*) and *daiva*. That topic has been dealt with and the different views of ancient and medieval writers about the respective spheres of these two have been pointed out in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 168-170 and notes 214-216.

When the son of Gautamī, who was an old woman that had attained control of mind, died by snake-bite, a hunter caught the snake, brought it bound to Gautamī and said that he would kill the snake for having bitten an innocent and unoffending boy. Gautamī dissuades him from killing the snake by stating 'by killing the snake my son would not be brought back to life, I see no good in killing the snake.' Then Kālā came forward and explained 'Just as a potter moulds from a lump of clay whatever he desires, so man secures fruits of deeds done by himself; the boy's death was due to his deeds in a former life' and Gautamī agreed that her son died by his own deeds in a previous life and that her bereavement by the death of her son was due to her own former deeds.²⁵⁴⁶ This story occurs in the very first chapter of the Anuśāsanaparva.

Draupadī who had to work as Sairandhrī (a maid servant) in the harem of Virāta bewails before Bhīma 'in my girlhood I must have done something which displeased the Creator by virtue of which I have been reduced to this distressing condition.'²⁵⁴⁷ The Anuśāsanaparva states 'just as the calf finds

(Continued from last page)

हठाच्च वैरात्र्य स्वभावात्कर्मणस्तथा । यानि माप्नोति सुखस्तत्फलं पुर्वकर्मणाम् ॥ वनपर्व 32.
15-16, 20, नीलकण्ठ explains हठादिभिर्यः as 'माज्यन्माभागादकुतमेयोपस्थास्यतीति यद्वयं चार्वाकः ।'

2546. यथा मृत्पिण्डतः कर्ता कुरुते यद्विच्छति । न्यमात्मकतः कर्म मानवः प्रतिपद्यते ॥
नेत्र कालो न भुज्जो न मृच्छुरिह कारणम् । स्वकर्मभिरयं बालः कालेन निधन गतः । मया च तावत्
कर्म येनाय मे मृतः मृतः । यावत् कालस्तथा मृच्छुर्यश्चार्वाक पञ्चगम् । अनुशासन I. 74, 78-79.

2547. चूल हि बालया बाहुर्मया वै विमियं कृतम् । परं प्रसादाद्दुर्निर्तं प्राप्तास्मि भरतर्षभ ॥
विराटपर्व 20. 14. She implies that she does not remember having done any
wrong. यथा धेनुमद्वत्तु वस्ती विन्दति मातरम् । न्यमात्मकतः कर्म कर्तारमनुगच्छति ॥ अत्र-
शासन 7 22 = पञ्च II 81 47 (तथा सुभाषुभ कर्म), 94, 17 (तद्दुर्भाषुभ कर्म).
This verse is quoted in an English translation by A. G. Hogg in 'Karma and redemption' (ed. of 1910 p 19) and by M. Macnicol in 'Indian Theism' (Oxford Univ. Press, 1915) p. 224

its own mother from among thousands of cows, so *karma* done in a previous life pursues the doer of it.' The *Āśvamedhika*-²⁵⁴⁸ *parva* asserts that there is no destruction of good and evil actions; they ripen and produce results when the self passes from one body to another. The *Sāntiparva* (or ed. 316. 25 and 35 = ch. ed. 329 25, 35) avers 'a man by performing good deeds secures the state of a god, he is reborn as a human being by actions of a mixed character (good and evil both) and he is born as lower (than man) by evil deeds, when you (yourself) start after death no one will follow you, only your good or evil deeds will follow you when you leave this world'

All strata of Hindu society were permeated by the theory of Karma and transmigration. Great Sanskrit poets often allude to it. In the *Raghuvamśa* XI. 22 describing the visit of Rāma to the hermitage of Vāmana pointed out by Viśvāmitra, Kalidāsa remarks 'Rāma became restless (or disturbed) in mind, though not remembering his actions in the former existence as Vāmana' (both Vāmana and Rāma being *avatāras* of Visnu). Similarly, in *Śakuntala* (Act V) the poet remarks 'when on seeing charming sights and hearing pleasing words, a person, though surrounded by pleasures, becomes restless (or sorrowful), that is indeed due to this that his mind unconsciously has the impressions of loves and friendships of past lives presented to it'. In the seventh Act of the same play when Dusyanta and Sakuntalā were re-united, she, referring to her previous rejection by the king, remarks ²⁵⁴⁹ 'indeed at that time some (bad) actions of mine (in some former life) hampered my good deeds and became ripe for fruition'. In the *Raghuvamśa* the 14th canto contains at first a message of spirited protest by Sita whom Rāma ordered Lakṣmana to abandon near Vālmiki's hermitage on account of the scandal about her among common people, but afterwards qualifies the message by saying that the terrible misfortune that she was going to suffer was the fruition of her misdeeds in former existences and that she desired to be his wife in a future existence but without separation from him. Vide also the *Meghadūta* verse quoted above in note 2533 p 1563.

2548 शुभानामशुभानां च नैव नाशोऽस्ति कर्मणाम् । माप्य प्राप्यानुपचयन्ते क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रं तथा तथा । आश्वमेधिक 15 1.

2549 दूरे मे हृत्परिमलमिन्द्रधनुःपुरादुत्तरेषु दिवसेषु परिणाममुत्तममसीत् । शाकुन्तल VII, तमेव जन्मान्तरवापकानां विषादविस्मयैर्गुरुरपसृष्टः ॥ सादे तप सूर्यानिविष्टहृदिकर्म्म मद्धतेश्वरितु पमिष्ये । सुयो यथा मे जन्मान्तराणि तमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोगः १ रघुवंश 14 62 and 66

Many questions naturally arise on the doctrine of Karma and transmigration. One of them is discussed by the bhāṣya of Vyāsa on Yogasūtra II. 13. In Yogasūtra II. 3 five *kleśas* (hindrances) such as *avidyā* (nescience) are enumerated and it is stated (II. 13) that these *kleśas* lead on to fruition of actions by way of birth, life (long or short), kind of experience. Actions (Karma) are of four sorts according to Yogasūtra (IV. 7) viz. *kṛṣṇa* (dark found in wicked people), (2) *śuklakṛṣṇa* (white-dark) that are accomplished by external means in which there is some injury to or benefit of others; (3) *śukla* (white) belonging to those who engage in *tapas*, *svādhyāya* (study of the sacred texts) and contemplation; because this kind of deed depends on the mind alone and does not depend on external means and does not involve injury to others; (4) *Asuklākṛṣṇa* (neither white nor dark), which is found in sannyāsins (ascetic saints) whose hindrances (*avidyā* &c) have dwindled and whose bodies are the last (they will have). Of these four kinds, the yogin alone has non-white karma since he has renounced the fruit of all actions (even of good ones) and he has *akṛṣṇa* since he will never resort to dark actions. The bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II. 13 states four questions, (1) whether one Karma is the cause of one birth, or (2) whether one Karma is the cause of more births than one; (3) whether more than one Karma brings about more births than one; (4) whether more than one Karma brings about one birth. The bhāṣya raises objections to the first three and states that the fourth alternative alone is acceptable. Vide p. 1417 note 2325 for the text of the Yogabhāṣya on these four alternatives. The Śāntiparva (chap. 273. 33-34 of cr. ed. = chap. 280. 33-34 of ch. ed.) mentions individual souls as of six colours viz. *kṛṣṇa* (dark), *dhūmra* (grey), *nīla* (blue), *rakta* (red), *hārīdra* (yellow) and *śukla* (white) in an ascending order, the dark being the lowest and *śukla* being the highest and verses 36-46 describe these six in detail.

There are several features of our present life that can be more satisfactorily explained on the theory of transmigration than on any other. Why do two people who have seen but little of one another feel friendship or hatred? The surmise that in past existences they were friends or had obliged each other or harmed each other offers an explanation. The doctrine of karma and transmigration accounts for the apparently unmerited misery and suffering of many people, while some enjoy undeserved happiness or a good life. Our sense of fairness and justice would

be shocked by the inequalities in the world, if such a doctrine were not there. The hypothesis and belief that all human volition and conduct will suitably be rewarded and punished in subsequent existences has an important bearing on present conduct, would act as an urge to continual effort for goodness in this life and is likely to deter men from vice and cruelty. This doctrine of karma not only offers an explanation about the varying degrees of happiness and unhappiness among human beings, but also accounts for differences in material well-being and unhealthy bodily conditions. It offers a solution of the problem of evil in the world and explains precocious abilities in mathematics, music and arts among children and grown up men as in the case of Ramanujan about whom Prof. Hardy of Cambridge (in 'Ramanujan,' Cambridge, 1940) says that he was the most romantic figure in the recent mathematics. If rightly understood, it is not pessimistic or fatalist, but rather emphasizes all out human effort in this life. It will be seen how many of the works on Dharmaśāstra or connected with it as sources emphasize effort (*purusakāra*) as against views of various people that it is *Dava* or *Svabhāva* or time or the combination of all these that yield rewards or retribution in this life. It also explains sudden accession of prosperity or high position such as, for example, a poor man's son being adopted by a prince or queen and then becoming an enlightened and famous ruler as was the case with the late Sayajirao Maharaj Gaikwad of Baroda.

Even from Upanisadic times various views were held about the origin of the world and similar questions. The Śv. Up (I 1) asks the question 'Is *brahma* the cause? Whence are we born? Whereby do we live and whither are we going? Tell us, O knowers of *brahman*, under whose control do we abide in pain or pleasure?' The next verse states 'Should Time or nature or necessity or chance or the elements be considered as the cause or He who is (called) Purusa? It cannot be their combination either, since even the self has no power over happiness and misery'. Then verse 3 (latter half) states 'He being one superintends (or controls) all causes viz Time, self and the rest'. Yāj. I. 350 refers to five views on the question as to what causes desirable or undesirable results viz some hold that it is *Dava* alone, some put forward *Svabhāva* (nature), some rely on Time, some on human effort and some on a combination of all these; but, Yājñavalkya's own view (I. 349, 351) is that

good or bad results are due to *daiva* and *puruṣakāra* and that the former is nothing but effort of former existences that has begun to manifest results. The *Sāntiparva* (chap. 238. 4-5 = cr. ed 230. 4-5) refers to the fact that there are three views viz either human effort or *daiva* or *svabhāva* being the cause, but its own view appears to be that *Puruṣākāra* and *Daiva* combine to produce fruits. The *Matsyapurāṇa* (221. 8) asserts that *daiva*, effort and *kāla* working together produce the fruits of actions. The *Brahmandapurāṇa* (II. 8. 61-62) refers to three views viz. *Daiva*, effort and *Svabhāva* are put forward as causes separately but its own view is that *daiva* and effort together yield fruits.

It may be stated here that Karma is put in three groups viz. *sañcita*, *prārabdha* and *kriyamāna* (or *sañciyamāna*). The first is the total accumulated deeds of all past existences, the fruits of which have not been experienced. The *prārabdha* Karma is that which was the strongest among the group of *sañcita* deeds just before the present existence of a person begins and which is supposed to determine one's present existence. What a person accumulates during the present existence is called *kriyamāna* (or *sañciyamāna*, being collected) and the next existence is determined by the strongest (or the earliest according to some) among the *sañcita* and *kriyamāna* deeds put together. As the *karmans*²⁵⁵⁰ are of different characters and yield different consequences (heaven in case of *sāttvika* deeds, or the earth or mid-regions when they are mainly *rājasa*), and places of tortures when deeds are mainly *tāmasa* the existences (or births or bodies) differ and the self being affected by the body, the individual souls appear as different. The objection is raised that freedom of will is the basis of all ethical values and that if a man's Karma in past lives determines the present life, then a man in the present life is merely a toy in the power of Karma and has no power to do as he sees best. The question about a man's freedom of will is a most thorny one, on which the greatest thinkers from ancient times to the present day have differed²⁵⁵¹ and no

2550. Vide विज्ञानदीपिका of पद्मपाद verses 5 and 8 'कर्मणां फलमैच्छिषाद्यै-
च्छिष्यं जन्मनामिह । देशैच्छिष्यतो जीरे वैच्छिष्यं भासते तथा ॥ सञ्चितं ज्ञीयमानं च प्रारब्धं कर्म
तत्फलम् । क्रमेणावृत्तिरेवा पूर्वं बलवतीऽपि य ॥ The com. explains सञ्चितानां शुभाशुभ-
कर्मणा मध्ये यस्य पूर्वकालिकस्य तस्य पूर्वं प्रारब्धम् । तत्समाप्ता तदनन्तरजातस्यैवं वा क्रमेणागा-
वृत्तिः । अपि च सञ्चितकर्मणा मध्ये पीर्वापर्यमनपेक्ष्य यस्य कर्मणो बलवत्तरस्य तस्यैव पूर्वं प्रारब्धम् ।

2551. Jeans in 'Mysterious Universe' (p 30) observes 'And if Time is so fundamental that an understanding of its true nature is forever beyond our reach, then so also in all probability is a decision the age-long controversy between determinism and free will'

satisfactory reply can be given. There are numerous works on discussions on Free will and Determinism such as Rashdall's 'Theory of good and evil' vol II. pp. 302-355 (1907) on 'Free Will,' Bergson's 'Time and Free will,' Viscount Samuel in 'Belief and action' pp 303-320, but the present author does not propose to recommend any of these books to the reader of this volume. But if the reader wants a small book on the Free Will controversy he may read the book by M. Davidson (London, 1942). So far as the Indian doctrine of Karma is concerned, it appears that freedom of will is postulated for a man during the present existence to lead a good moral life and perform meritorious acts subject to the limitations caused by the environment in which the present existence is cast. The important working belief is that one has free will and that one is free in the present existence to mould the future (so far as he is concerned) by means of meritorious works. This is the message of the Śāntiparva²⁵⁵². Lord Kṛṣṇa, after a long discourse in the Bhagavadgītā gives Arjuna permission to do as the latter likes (18.63 'yathecchasi tathā kuru'). In Gītā 9.30 also Lord Kṛṣṇa says 'if even a person of the vilest conduct worships me with undivided devotion, he must be held to be righteous, for he has made a right resolve'. Similarly, in VI. 5 the Gītā provides 'let a man lift himself higher by himself, let him not degrade himself; for the self alone is the friend of the self and the self alone is the enemy of the self'. Vide notes below for Upaniṣad passages, V S. and Śāṅkarabhāṣya. It is possible to accept, on the ancient Indian doctrine, both predestination and free will, the first so far as one's being born in a certain environment is concerned and the 2nd so far as one's actions in the present life are concerned. The Bhagavadgītā (VI 5-6) holds out the hope even to a sinner that it is never too late to mend and (II. 40) avers that even a little of righteousness saves a man from great fear and no effort is lost.

Though the general drift of the Gītā is in favour of Free Will, there are a few passages that seem to savour of determinism, e.g. 'everyone is made to do acts helplessly by the *guṇas* born of Prakṛti (III. 5); 'all beings follow prakṛti (Nature), what can control (or repression) do?' (III 33), "due to your conceit you think 'I shall not fight,' this thy resolve is vain; (your) Nature will compel you to do it; you being constrained

²⁵⁵² आहुर्न ह्यनुभूय लब्ध्वा नानुभवेद् विज्ञापनं । उत्कर्षार्थं प्रयत्नं नरः पुण्येन कर्मणा ॥
शांतिपर्व 250.3 (= 291.3 of ch. ed.).

by your own acts born of your nature will helplessly do that which you do not wish to do" (XVIII. 59-60). It may have to be conceded that there is no freedom of will in the matter of environment during childhood.

The Rāmāyana gives expression to the belief that sorrow in the present life is the result of similar actions done in past life or lives. When Rāma left Ayodhyā as an exile for the sake of fulfilling the promise given to queen Kaikeyī by king Daśaratha, Kauealyā, mother of Rāma, laments 'I believe indeed that in a past life I must have made many persons lose their sons or I must have harmed (or killed) living beings; it is therefore that this (sorrow) has befallen me', 'I think beyond doubt that in a former life, I, a wretched woman, must have cut off the breasts of cows (or mothers) when their calves (or children) desired (to drink milk at the breasts) of their mothers'.²⁵⁵³

The Purāṇas also emphasize the importance of good or evil deeds and say that one has to reap the fruits of one's actions, whether good or evil, and Karma does not come to an end even after hundreds of lives unless the results thereof are undergone.²⁵⁵⁴ The Padmapurāṇa states 'there is no destruction of Karma except by reaping the fruits thereof; no one can set aside the bondage due to the Karma of past lives' and further 'man by his own actions may become a God, or a human being, cattle, a bird or a lower animal or even a tree (or rock); no man in this world is able to annul the effects of actions done in previous existences by his power or by the birth of progeny'²⁵⁵⁵ (eon &c). The

2553 मन्वे खलु मया पूर्वं विवस्ता बहवः कृताः । प्राणिनो हिंसिता वापि तस्मादिदं दुःखं
स्थितम् ॥ अयोध्याकाण्ड 39. 4, नि संशय मया मन्वे दुरा वीरि कदर्यया । पातुकामेषु वत्ससु
मातृणां शातिता स्तनाः ॥ अयोध्या 43 17 (Madras Law Journal Press edition)

2554 अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म शुभाशुभम् । नाशुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म ह्यपि जन्मशतैः
मिय ॥ नाददीप पु० (उत्तरभाग) 29. 18, the quarter नाशुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म is quoted by
the Bāmānī on Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya on वे. सू IV. 1 13. (without name). Vide H of Dh.
Vol IV. p. 39 note 95 for the same verse quoted by others. Bāmānī notes
'नाशुक्तं . कर्म इति च स्मरणमप्रतिबद्धसामर्थ्यकर्माभिप्रायम् ।'

2555 उपभोगादृते तस्य नाश एव न विद्यते । प्राक्तन बन्धन (बन्धक ?) कर्म कोऽप्यथा
कर्तुमर्हति ॥ पञ्च II 81 48 and 94 118, देवत्वमथ साधुष्यं पशूनां पक्षिणां तथा । तिर्यग्जन्तु
स्थावरत्वं च याति जन्तुः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ पूर्वदेहकृतं कर्म न कश्चित्पुरुषो ध्रुवि । चलेन प्रजया वापि
समर्थं कर्तुमन्यथा ॥ पञ्च II 94 13, 15 The first occurs in पञ्च II 81 43 also Vide
R̥gveda प्रजाभिरग्ने अमृतत्वमद्याम् V. 4 10 and मनु IX 137 वृत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति
पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते These are merely laudatory acc to the पञ्च, न तु भोगादृते पुण्यं
पापं वा कर्म मानवम् । परित्यजति भोगाच्च पुण्यापुण्ये निबोध मे ॥ सार्कण्डेय 14 17, यादृशं वयं
वीर्यं क्षेत्रे तु ह्युदिकारक । भुनक्ति तादृशं वत्स फलमेव न संशय ॥ यादृशं कियते कर्म तादृशं
परिभुज्यते । विनाशहेतुः कर्मस्य सर्वं कर्मवशा वयम् ॥ पञ्च II, 94. 7-8.

idea of transmigration as described in the Upanisads had become universal in India at the time of Buddha. Buddha rejected the reality of a permanent ego or self as an entity. He was not a metaphysical philosopher, but wanted to lay down a way or method by which mankind could be freed from ignorance and suffering and liberation could be achieved. Therefore, while rejecting a permanent ego he accepted the doctrine of rebirth.

A side issue has been very much debated by some eminent scholars, viz whether the cherishers of the Vedānta thoughts were originally the Ksatriyas and not the Brāhmaṇas. The present author dealt with that question in a brief compass in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 105-107 and note 222. Deussen in 'Das System des Vedānta' (1883 pp. 18-19) and Ph. Up. (tr. by Geden pp. 18-19) and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Vaisnavism and Śaivism' p. 9 hold the view that the ksatriyas were the original possessors of Vedānta doctrines. Deussen relies mainly on six passages and Dr. Bhandarkar on two only (Chān. V. 3 and 11) and besides Deussen (in Ph. Up. p. 19) admits that his conclusion is not absolute certainty but has a high degree of probability. Barth in 'Religions of India' p. 65, Hopkins in 'Ethics of India' (1924) p. 63, 'Vedic India' by Macdonell and Keith (vol. II. p. 206), and Tuxen on 'The religions of India' (Copenhagen, 1949, p. 88) do not subscribe to this view. Deussen went so far as to aver (p. 19) 'this teaching with regard to the ātman was studiously withheld from them (the brāhmaṇas), that it was transmitted in a narrow circle among the ksatriyas to the exclusion of the brāhmaṇas'. The present author had not set out the passages on which reliance was placed by Deussen and those who followed him. They will be set out here and will be examined as to the context in which they appear and the subject with which they deal. But it must first be emphasized that the most important doctrines of the main and ancient Upanisads are two, viz. (1) 'non-difference of the individual self from the Supreme Self, and (2) transmigration of the self depending on his deeds and conduct. Both these doctrines are expounded by Yājñavalkya to king Janaka in various places in the Upanisads e.g. in Br. Up. IV. 4. 4-7 and following passages. Deussen regards this part of the instruction as deepest, truest and noblest (Ph. Up. p. 348-quoted above on p. 1547) and this passage is (acc. to him) the leading passage on the doctrine of transmigration and on what accompanies the self in its transmigration (Ph. Up. p. 281). Besides, the words of Yājñavalkya

in Br. Up. III, 2, 13 'He who does good is born good' and in IV, 4, 5 'He who does good is born good, he who does evil is born evil, he becomes righteous by righteous works &c.' are declared by Deussen himself (Ph. Up. p. 410) as 'the oldest in which a doctrine of transmigration is found'. Therefore, according to Deussen himself, the original possessor of these two fundamental doctrines of the Upanisads is the brāhmana Yājñavalkya who in the same Upanisad (Br. Up. II, 4, 1-14) propounds to his wife Maitreyī the identity of the self and elements and everything else with *brahma* (*idam sarvam yadayamātmā*). Not only so, there are other brāhmana teachers of these. For example, Uddālaka Āruṇi expounds at great length to his son Śvetaketu the doctrine of identity in the famous words 'tat-tvamasi' (Chān. Up. VI, 8-16).

Now the examples on which Deussen (Ph. Up. pp. 17-19) bases his conclusions must be cited and examined. Chān. Up. (V, 11, 1) tells the story of five (named) wealthy householders and great students of Veda who came together and discussed the question 'what is our ātman, what is brahma'. They proposed to go to Uddālaka Āruṇi who knew the self called Vaiśvānara. Uddālaka thought that he would not be able to explain all and therefore told them that Aśvapati Kaikeya (king of Kekaya country) at that time knew the self called Vaiśvānara and all five together with Uddālaka went to that king, who said he would give an answer the next day. The next day those six went to him with fuel in hand (i. e. as pupils) and the king without performing further preparatory rites asked each of them what they meditated upon. When each replied as to what he meditated upon, such as heaven, Āditya, air, ether, water and earth (this last by Uddālaka Āruṇi), he told them that all these are parts of Vaiśvānara and he explained to them how the proper Agnihotra is to be performed.

Two things should be noticed viz, Uddālaka Āruṇi is here shown as ignorant of true Vaiśvānaravidyā, though in the very next section (Chān. Up. VI, 8, 7. ff.) Uddālaka Āruṇi teaches the sublime doctrine of 'Tat-tvamasi'. Probably these two Uddālakas are different or the present story is more or less a myth. In the second place, all that Aśvapati Kaikeya teaches is about Vaiśvānara and not brahmavidyā (about the identity of individual soul with the Supreme Self. From before the times of Yaska, there have been various opinions about Vaiśvānara, frequently mentioned in the Rgveda (e. g. in I, 52, 6, I, 98, 1.). The Nirukta (VII, 21-23) has a long discussion and quotes

three different views viz. that Vaiśvānara is lightning or Aditya or terrestrial fire. The Chāṇ. Up. (V. 18. 2) winds up the description of Vaiśvānara and brings it (V. 19-24) in line with the oblations to five breaths (as 'Prāṇāya' svāhā &c.) and sets forth the results of the observance of Agnihotra with full knowledge of its true purport. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 2. 24-32) deals with what is meant by Vaiśvānara in Chāṇ. V. 11 ff. and the conclusion is that it means *paramātmān* (the highest Self) and not individual self or fire as an element or the digestive (stomach) heat.

Deussen then refers to the story of Gārgya Bālāki (in Br. Up II. 1) who offered to expound *brahma* to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, who offered to give a thousand cows if he did so and remarked that people run exclaiming 'Janaka, Janaka' (meaning Janaka is donor and also listener to *brahma* exposition).²⁵⁵⁶ Bālāki offered twelve objects of meditation on *brahma* such as the person in the sun, the person in the moon &c. Ajātaśatru replied as to the twelve objects that he knew them already and *brahma* is different from them and cannot be understood by what he said. Then Bālāki remained silent. Bālāki offered to be his pupil. Then Ajātaśatru said²⁵⁵⁷ "this is topsy-turvy that a *brāhmana* should approach a *ksatriya* as a pupil with the idea 'the *ksatriya* would expound *brahman* to him' I shall make known to you (*brahma*)." So saying he took hold of Bālāki's hand and got up (from his seat). Certain matters in this story must be carefully noted here. This does not at all say that the class of *brāhmanas* did not know *brahma*vidyā and that *ksatriyas* alone were then the only possessors of it. On the contrary, Janaka is specially mentioned as a donor of cows and is eager to listen to *brahma*vidyā and people ran to him desiring to accept large gifts of cows for imparting *brahma*vidyā. We

2556 दत्तबालकिर्दिद्विज्ञानो गार्ग्ये आस स होवाचाजातशत्रुं काशं ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणीति स होवाचाजातशत्रुः सहस्रमेतस्या वाचि ददमी जनको जनक इति वे जना धायन्तीति । बृह उप. II 1 1, the words 'ब्रह्म ते ... धायन्तीति' occur in कौषीतकि उप IV. which has the same story with some variations. Max-Müller's tr in S. B. E. vol I. p. 300 "for verily all people run away saying 'Janaka (king of Mithilā) is our father (patron)'" is not accurate and does not bring out the sense properly. Sankarācārya's explanation is far more satisfactory. 'जनको दित्सुर्जनः शुश्रूषुति ब्रह्म शुश्रूषो विप्रस्य मतिजिघृक्षश्च जना धायन्ति' ।

2557. सगोवाचाजातशत्रुः । मतिलोमं चैतद्यद् ब्राह्मणः शत्रियसुपेयाद् ब्रह्म मे श्रयतीति । येन त्वा जपयिष्यामीति । ते पाणावादापोत्तरयोः । बृह उप almost the same words occur in वीथी उप IV. 18 'मतिलोमरूपमेव तत् श्यावाश्वत्रियो ब्राह्मणसुपयेन् । यदि येन त्वा जपयिष्यामीति ते ह पाणावभियय मववाज ।' ।

know about Janaka from Br. Up. III. 1 ff. wherein Janaka king of Videha, offered a thousand cows and, when Yājñavalkya took away those cows, numerous persons present in Janaka's court such as his hotr priest Aśvala, Ārtabhāga, Gargi, Uddālaka Āruni, Vidagdha Śākalya ply him with questions. In Br. Up. IV. 4, 7 (Janaka offers a thousand cows to Yājñavalkya, in IV. 4.23 (Janaka offers to give his Videha kingdom to Yājñavalkya along with himself as a slave). The story of Bālaki only comes to this at the most that when Janaka had learnt brahmavidyā, a brāhmana Bālaki did not know it though he professed to know it, and had to be instructed in it by king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī, who knew it and who only stated that a brāhmana did not become a pupil of a ksatriya. All brāhmanas could never have been proficient in brahmavidyā much less ksatriyas. One regrets to say that Deussen is guilty of making a sweeping generalisation without adequate data. It may be noted that in this story Ajātaśatru of Kāśī does not say that the Vidyā was not known to any brāhmanas before (as Pravāhana Jaivali claimed), but, on the contrary, expressed surprise that a brāhmana should come to him for learning the Vidyā.

The same story occurs in Kausītaki Upanisad²⁵⁵⁸ IV. 1-19 often in the same words. Bālaki offers 16 explanations about the objects of his meditation. The V. S. devotes three sūtras (I. 4. 16-18) to the passage in which Ajātaśatru stated 'He who is the maker of those persons (you mentioned), he of whom all this is the work, he alone is to be known'. There is in Br. Up. II. 1 and Kausītaki Up. IV hardly anything about transmigration. Both passages simply affirm that from the Ātman all prānas, all worlds, all gods, all elements spring forth (Br. II. 2 20). This is nothing more than what is stated in the leading text (Br. Up. IV. 4. 7) of Yājñavalkya or in Chān. Up. VI. 1-16 in the oft-repeated words of Āruni to his son Śvetaketu (aitadātmyam idam sarvam...tattvamasi).

It is most surprising that Deussen should press into service the story of Sanatkumāra and Nārada in order to fortify his proposition that ksatriyas were the original possessors of the great doctrines of Vedānta. He relies on Chān. Up VII, where

2558. सो वै बालाक एतेषां पुरुषाणां कर्ता यस्य वैतत्कर्म स वै वेदितव्य इति । कीदृ-
उप. IV. 18. The conclusion in वे. सू. I. 4. 16-18 is that the person to be
known is Paramātmā and the words यस्य वैतत्कर्म refer to the world (जगत्),
and that this has no reference to 'jīva' or principal prāna.

it is said that Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and prayed 'Teach me, Sir.' Sanatkumāra said to him 'tell me what you know; then I shall tell you what is beyond that'. Nārada stated (in Chān. Up. VII. 1-2) that he had studied the four Vedas, ²⁵⁵⁹ Itihāsa-purāṇa and gave a long list of lores including Devavidyā, Brahavidyā (whatever that may mean), ksatravidyā, Naksatravidyā, admitted he knew *mantras* only and did not know Ātman (the Self) and added 'I have heard from men like you that he who knows the Ātman overcomes sorrow. I am in sorrow; *bhagavan*! do help me to cross (to get over) my sorrow.' Sanatkumāra replied 'whatever you have studied is mere name, there is something better than a name'. Then Sanatkumāra teaches him to meditate on speech as better than name, then on *manas* as better than speech and several others as better than the preceding (in VII. 4-24) till he reaches *bhūman* (the Infinite, the Paramātman) and describes *bhūman* in VII. 25-26 ending with the words 'all this springs from the Self' and it is stated at the end (in VII. 26. 2) 'Bhagavān (venerable) Sanatkumāra showed to Nārada, all whose blemishes had been crushed (uprooted), what is beyond darkness (avidyā); they call him (Sanatkumāra) Skanda' ²⁵⁶⁰

In all this long passage there is not a word whether Sanatkumāra and Nārada belonged to a brāhmana or ksatriya class. Skanda is known in classical Sanskrit as the God of War (as in Gītā X. 24 'Senānīnam-aham Skandah') and in the Vana-parva 229. 22-23 he is mentioned as the commander of the armies of gods and the Śāntiparva mentions that Nārada approached Devala for knowledge about the creation and dissolution of the world (chap. 275=267 of Cr. ed.). From this Deussen at once draws the conclusion that Sanatkumāra must have been a ksatriya and Nārada a brāhmana. In the Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti and the Purāṇas both of them are semi-divine sages and beyond varṇa or caste. Gītā X. 13 speaks of Nārada as Devarsi, the Vāyu-purāṇa speaks of Parvata and Nārada as sons of Kasyapa and as included among Devarsis (Vāyu 61. 85). The Manusmṛti includes Nārada among the first ten Prajāpatī

2559. Compare Br. Up. II. 4. 10 for a similar but smaller list of lores that are said to be the breath of the great Being and another list of the four Vedas and six Vedāṅgas (called *aparavidyā*) in Moṇḍaka Up. I. 1. 5.

2560 तस्मै हृदितकषायपापवनसत्पारं दर्शयति भगवान् सनत्कुमारः । तं स्कन्द इत्याचक्षते ।
छा. उप. VII. 26. 2. कषाय means रागद्वेषादिद्वेषः; the root स्कन्द् is given two senses in धातुपाठ viz. गति and क्षोभने

(I. 25). The Brahmapurāṇa (I. 46-47) describes both Skanda and Sanatkumāra as sons of Brahmā. The Nāradyapurāṇa (Pūrvabhāga, 2. 3) speaks of Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana as the mind-born sons of Brahmā and Sanatkumāra as *brahmarāḍin* and as expounding all Dharmas to Nārada. The Vāmanapurāṇa (60. 68-69) describes the same four as sons of Dharma and Ahimsā, and as exponents of Yoga-śāstra. To crown all, Kūrmapurāṇa²⁵⁶¹ I. 7. 20-21 speaks of these four along with Kratu as *Vipras* (brāhmanas), yogins, and as mind-born sons of Brahmā. Sanatkumāra might have been literally or metaphorically called 'Skanda', because he attacked and routed *Arudyā* just as God Skanda routed armies of asuras, if at all the myth about Skanda was known in times before the Upanisads.

Chān. Up. I. 8 narrates that there were (in some part of India not mentioned) three persons well versed in (the esoteric meaning of) Udgitha i. e. Om), viz. Śilaka Śūlavatya, Caikitayana Dālbhya and Pravāhana Jaivali. They sat down for a discussion on Udgitha. The first two (who were brāhmanas) first put questions to each other and answered. Then Pravāhana Jaivali told them that they were giving replies about matters that were not permanent. Then Pravāhana Jaivali told them that Ākāśa was the origin of this world, that beings owe their origin to Ākāśa and will return into it, that Ākāśa is Udgitha, greater than the great and without end &c. Deussen relies on this passage also for supporting his theory. Udgithavidyā is only one of several *Upāśanās* in the Upanisads. Therefore, what would follow is that Pravāhana Jaivali knew it and two brāhmanas of some place not mentioned did not know it. It is not possible to see how this story lends any support to Deussen's sweeping thesis of all brāhmanas being originally excluded from the central doctrine of identity. In the same context (Chān. Up. I. 9. 3) Pravāhana mentions that one Atidhanvan Śaunaka²⁵⁶² taught Udgitha-vidyā to Udarasāndilya.

2561. अये सत्तर्जं धी ब्रह्मा मानसानात्मनः समान्। सनक सनातनं चैव तथैव च सनन्दनम्। कर्तुं सनत्कुमारं च पूर्वमेव प्रजापतिः। पश्येते योगिनो विद्याः परं वैराग्यमाभिजाः। कूर्म I. 7. 19-21

2562. *Dhanus* becomes 'dhanvan' when it is at the end of a bahuvrīhi compound, according to Pāṇini V. 4. 132. (धनुषश्च) What is the meaning of अतिधन्वन् as a बहुव्रीहि? It may mean 'who has gone beyond the bow (i. e. who is far above those who wield the bow) धन्वन् itself means a bow (as in Rg VI. 75. 2 and 3) and 'arid desert' in the Rgveda (x 4 1. धन्वस्त्रि मया अस्ति) Then अतिधन्वन् may mean one who had crossed an arid desert and would have nothing to do with one wielding a bow.

Deussen without giving any reason asserts 'the names allow of the conjecture that in this case also a brāhmana received instruction from a ksatriya' (p. 18). He probably connected the first name with 'dhanus' (bow) which was the *forte* of ksatriyas. But he forgets that Śaunaka and Śāndilya are both brāhmana names. This will illustrate how even the most profound scholar goes astray when he becomes over-enthusiastic about a theory of his. In this story Pravāhana does not claim that the Udgīthavidyā was unknown among brāhmanas. On the contrary he himself states that Śaunaka, a brāhmana (called Atidhanvan) expounded that Vidyā to Udarasāndilya, another brāhmana. Besides, Udgīthavidyā is only one among numerous upāsanaś and what Pravāhana teaches is that all *bhūtas* spring from Ākāśa and are absorbed in Ākāśa, the purport being that Ākāśa here denotes *brahman* as the V. S. (I. 1. 22) establishes. This doctrine is the same as the one taught in Tai. Up. III. 6 (basis of V. S. I. 12) and other texts. Moreover, there is nothing about transmigration in this passage of Chān. Up.

The sheet anchor of the views of Deussen and Dr. Bhandarkar are the dialogue between Pravāhana Jaivali and Śvetaketu (Br. Up. VI. 2, Chān. Up. V. 3-10) about Pañcāgni-vidyā and that between Aśvapati Kaikeya and Uddālaka Āruni about Vaiśvānara (Chān. V. 11. 24). The latter has been already dealt with. In the former occurs an important passage which has been made much of and misunderstood. Before proceeding to expound the Pañcāgni-vidyā to Śvetaketu and his father Āruni Gautama, Pravāhana Jaivali remarks (Chān. Up. V. 3. 7) 'this vidyā did not go to brāhmanas before you; therefore in all worlds domination (or government) has remained with the ksatriya class alone'. In the corresponding Br. Up. passage the words are 'this vidyā did not reside in any brāhmana before this day, but I shall expound it to you, for, who would like to refuse when you address me thus'²⁵⁶³ (viz. I approach you as pupil). In the

2563 यथेयं न प्राक् स्वतः दुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान् गच्छति । तस्माद् सर्वेषु लोकेषु क्षत्रियैव प्रशासनमभूत् । छा. V. 3. 7. यथेयं विद्येतः पूर्वं न कस्मिंश्चन ब्राह्मण उवास । ता त्वहं हृष्यं पदमानि । को हि त्वैवं ब्रुवन्तमहंति प्रत्याख्यातुमिति । बृह. VI. 2. 8. प्रशासन is translated by MaxMüller as 'teaching' in S. B. E. Vol. I p. 78. But it is better to take प्रशासन in the sense of 'domination or government,' as is clearly the meaning of the word in Br. Up. III. 8. 9 एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गी सूर्या-चन्द्रमसौ विधुते तिष्ठतः । Besides, there is nothing to show that ksatriya rulers everywhere were teaching that doctrine (if we take प्राशसाने to mean
(Continued on next page)

Kausitaki Up. I. the doctrine of the two paths of Devayāna and Pitryāna is expounded to Āruni (and his son Śvetaketu) by Citra Gārgyāyani (v. l. Gāngyāyani), but the remarks about ksatriyas alone being the first possessors of the doctrine do not occur there at all and Gārgyāyani appears to be a brāhmana teacher. The question is: what is meant by 'this vidyā' in the above passages of Chān. and Br. Upanisads? In the Upanisads (particularly in Chāndogya and Br.) numerous vidyās for the *upāsana* of *brahman* by men that are not yet far advanced on the path of *brahmandyā* are dilated upon, such as Udgithavidyā (Chān. Up. I. 8-9, Br. Up. I. 3), Daharavidyā (Chān. VIII 1. 1-2, Br. Up. I. 3, Vedāntasūtra 1.3. 14-21), Madhuvidyā (Chān. III 1. 1 ff., Br. Up. II. 5. 1-15), Samvargavidyā (Chān. IV. 3). In the same way Pañcāgnividya is an *Upāsana* Deussen and others admit (as shown above) that the great and original texts about the identity of the individual self with the Supreme Self and about transmigration of the soul based on works and conduct are those of Yājñavalkya in the Br. Up. The Pañcāgnividya expatiates upon and is concerned mainly with only one aspect of transmigration viz. the path of those who living in a village practise a life of sacrifices, works of public utility and alms. The five fires and five offerings relate only to the pitryāna path. It contains an esoteric and semi-physical explanation of the process by which persons come to be born again on the earth. At the most it may be argued that some ksatriya rulers or noblemen claimed to have given an esoteric or metaphorical explanation of the mode of the return of pious men from the moon to the earth again. Nothing positive is said as to whether Pravāhana Jaivali was the ruler of a country or only a ksatriya (rājanya in Br. Up. VI. 2.3, Chān. Up. V. 3.5) but we are told that Aśvapati was king of the Kekaya country in the extreme northwest of India, while the original proclaimer of the immortality of the self and its identity with the supreme self was Yājñavalkya who was in Videha (Mithilā, modern Bihar), which was at least a thousand miles away from Kekaya. Yājñavalkya's philosophy must have taken a long time before it became well known in the distant Kekaya. Conceding for argument that a few rulers like Aśvapati were the first to propound an explanation of the

(Continued from last page)

(teaching). Further, this sentence (in Chān V 3. 7. is a boastful assertion like the one of Aśvapati in Chān V. 11. 5. that there was in his country of Kekaya no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man who had not consecrated sacred fire in his house, no ignorant person and no adulterer.

way of the transmigration of pious sacrificers and the like, it is a far cry from that to assume as Deussen does (Ph. Up. p. 20) that the doctrine of the Ātman as the first Principle of the universe was fostered and progressively developed by the ksatriyas in opposition to the principles of the brahmanical ritual and this assumption is contrary to what he himself states elsewhere in his own work (pp 410, 281, 348)

Before proceeding further a passage from the Br. Up. I. 4. 10 and another from the Ait. Up. (II 4-5) would have to be considered In Br Up. occurs the following passage: ²⁵⁶⁴ "In the beginning *brahman* was there, it cognised itself as 'I am brahma', therefore it became all; whoever from among the Gods perceived this (viz. 'I am brahman'), he became that (brahman), the same occurred to sages and men. The sage Vāmadeva realizing this reached the conclusion 'I was (or became) Manu and the Sun also.' Therefore, this (will occur) even now. Whoever (even a man) who realizes 'I am brahman' he becomes (identical with) all this (universe); even the gods are not able to prevent that man's being one with brahman and with all, for he is the soul of all these." Deussen translates 'aham Manurabhavam Sūryaśca' as 'I was once Manu, I was once the Sun'. There is no word for 'once' and it is supplied by Deussen who remarks 'as a proof of his knowledge of *brahman*, (Vāmadeva) alleged his acquaintance with his former births as Manu and Sūrya' (p. 317). The words can very well be construed as meaning that Vāmadeva, having realized

2564. ब्रह्म वा इदमय आसीत् । तदात्मानमेवावेत् । अहं ब्रह्मास्मीति । तस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवत् । तयो यो देवानां प्रपञ्चयत् स एव तदभवत् । तथर्षिणाम् । तथा मनुष्याणाम् । तद्धेतुदयपूर्वपिर्वाग्देव प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुमवत् सूर्यश्चेति । तदिदमप्येतर्हि य एवं वेदाहं ब्रह्मास्मीति स इदं सर्वं भवति । तस्य ह देवाध्वनाभूत्या ईशते । आत्मा येषां स भवति । बृह. उप. I. 4. 10; compare शुण्डकोप. III 2 9, 'यो हि तत्परमं ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति । . तरति शोकं तरति पाप्मानं शुद्धायन्ध्रियो विमुक्तोऽमुतो भवति ।; कठोप. 4 15 ययोर्द्वेन शुद्धे शुद्धमासिक्तं तादृशेव भवति । एवं शुनेर्विज्ञानत आत्मा भवति गीतन ।; कठोप 6 14 'अथ मत्वाऽऽमुतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥; शुण्डक III 2 8 यथा नयः .. परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् and मन्त्र VI. 5 स पथेना नयः &c. , छा उप VIII 12 3 and वे. सू I 4. 22 and शाङ्खरमाद्य thereon. These passages emphasize that the moment a man realizes the identity of the self and the Supreme Self and moulds his life accordingly, he becomes *brahman* and that his works after this realization do not cling to him, Vide for this latter proposition, Chān Up IV. 14. 3 (यथा शुद्धरपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त त्वमेवं विदि पाप कर्म न श्लिष्यन्त इति), Munda Up III, 1 3 (तदा विद्वाश्शुण्णपापे विधुय निरुत्तम परमं साम्यमुपैति), शुण्डक II 2. 9, बृह उप IV 4. 22-23 and वे. सू IV. I. 13-15

brahman when he sang the hymn Rg. IV. 26, expressed his identity with Manu and Sūrya (and the whole universe). There is no express reference to former births and Śankarācārya in ²⁵⁵⁵ his bhāṣya on Br. Up. understands the passage in this sense and does not refer to former births. It cannot be said that the Br. Up. quotes Rg. IV. 26. 1 for supporting the conception of transmigration but it relies on it merely for the conception of identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Self.

Then there is a passage in the Ait. Up. which Deussen refers to (pp. 317-318 of Ph. Up.). In the 2nd adhyāya that Upanisad refers to the conception of a person as the first birth; when the child is actually born that is described as the 2nd birth. Then it proceeds "He (the son) being the self of the father is placed in his (the father's) stead for the performance of all sacred works; then his other self (the father) having performed all he has to do and having reached the span of his life (having become very old) departs (from this world) and departing from this world is born again, that is his third birth. And this has been declared by a sage 'while dwelling in (mother's) womb I came to know all the births of the gods; a hundred strongholds of *ayas* (copper or iron) held me, but I escaped down with speed like a hawk.' Vāmadeva lying in his mother's womb declared this". In this passage the father and son are treated as identical, as elsewhere it is so said (vide note below). This Rgveda verse (the 2nd half) is liable to several interpretations. In the Rgveda (I. 80. 2, VIII. 95. 3, IX. 68. 6, X. 11. 4 &c.) it is frequently stated that (śyena) hawk brings Soma for Indra. Śyena may also be interpreted as standing for the soul and the iron fortresses as the bodies through which the transmigrating soul wanders. The Rgveda sage might have only meant the mythical hawk of Indra. But as the word 'janimāni' occurs in the first half the Upanisadic sage (in Ait. Up.) might have used the verse to support his ideas about the three births. But even in the Ait. Up. passage the three births are not clearly of one person, unless we resort to a myth, viz. the conception of a son and the son's birth are

2555. स एतस्मिन् ब्रह्मात्मदर्शनेऽवस्थितः एतान्मन्त्रान्दर्वर्षा अहं मनुर्भवं सूर्यश्चेत्यादीन् । तदेतद् ब्रह्म पश्यन्निति ब्रह्मविद्या परामृश्यते । अहं मनुर्भवं सूर्यश्चेत्यादीनां सर्वभावापत्तिं ब्रह्मविद्याफलं परामृशति । पश्यन् सर्वान्मन्त्रां फलं प्रतिपेदे इत्यस्मात्पयोगाद् ब्रह्मविद्यासहायसाधनसाध्यं मोक्षं दर्शयति । ... तस्य ह ब्रह्मविज्ञातुर्पथोक्तं विधिना देवा महावीर्याश्च नापि अक्षरं अमवनाय ब्रह्मसर्वभावस्य नेशते न पर्याप्तः किमुतान्ये । शाङ्करभाष्य on बृह. उप. I. 4. 10. अहं मनुर्भवं is Rg. IV 26 1.

taken as the two births of the father himself on the ground that the son is the father himself born again.²⁵⁶⁶

The Upanisads laid down an inexorable law that fruits of all actions, good or evil, must be experienced and that a person's deeds and conduct determined the character of his succeeding existences. But from some passages in the Upanisads themselves it appears that they recognised some exceptions. One exception was that when a person realized that he was one with *brahman* the actions both good and evil, if any, done by him after that Realization and before the physical death of the body produced no results. In Chān. Up. VI. 14. 3 Satyakāma²⁵⁶⁷ Jābāla tells his pupil Upakosala that 'Just as water does not cling to a lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows (realizes) *brahman*'; Chan Up. V 24 3 'just as the (soft) cottonlike fibres of the *śikā* reed when cast into fire are burnt out, so all evil deeds of him who knowing (the purport of) *Vaiśvānara* (*brahma*) offers *Agnihotra* are burnt'. The Br. Up. states 'Him who knows these two do not overwhelm, whether he says that he did evil for some reason or that he did a good deed for some reason; he overcomes both these; neither what he has done nor what he has omitted to do afflict (lit heat or burn) him'. The Mundaka Up. provides 'when a person has seen (realized) the Highest (cause) and lowest (effect) his actions perish.' But this is only true as regards all acts before he attained Realization and all acts that his body may do after his attainment of Realization but he cannot rescind the *prārabdha kama* which brought about that existence wherein he reached Realization of *brahman*. The idea is that the actions which led to a person's present embodiment must all be consumed by the body persisting till the appointed period for its death, and then only he becomes free from the

2566. सोऽस्यापमात्मा पुण्येभ्यः कर्मैव प्रतीदीयते। अथास्यापमितर आत्मा कृत-
कृत्यो वचोनेत। मेति। स इत प्रयत्नेव पुनर्जायते। तदस्य तृतीयं जन्म। तदुक्तमृषिणा। गर्भे उ
... निरदीयम् ॥ इति। गर्भे एतेतच्छपानो वामदेव एवमुवाच। ऐ उप. II. 5 This has been
quoted on p 1541. अथ मोक्षायन पुत्रस्य पूर्वाननभिमृशोत्। अङ्गादङ्गात् सम्भवसि
हृदयादधियायते। आत्मा त्वं पुत्र मायि स जीव शरदः शतम्। कौपी उप. II. 11 This is
quoted as a rk in Nirukta III, 4 (probably because it occurs in the Kausitaki
Śraṇyaka of the Rgveda)

2567. यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न क्षिरम्यन्त इति। छा उप IV 14. 3; तद्यथेयो-
कात्तुलमशो मोनं प्रदूयेतेषु हारप सेवे पाप्मानं प्रदूयन्ते य एतदेव विद्वानग्निहोत्रं उदीयते। छा उप
V. 24 3, एतसु ह्येते न तत इति। अत पापनरूपमिति। अत कल्याणनकरूपमिति। उभे
उ ह्येव एते तरति। नैन उताहते तपत। हृद. उप IV 4 22. सीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मि-
न्नुद्वे पतावरे। सुष्टन. II. 2 8; एवमेवेहाचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद। तस्य तावदेव चिर यावत्
निनोदयेष्य सपरस्य इति। छा. उप VI. 14. 2.

physical body. The Chān. Up. states²⁵⁶⁸ as to a man who has attained true knowledge of the Supreme Self from a teacher that 'for him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body), then he will become perfect'. All these Upanisad passages are relied upon in V. S. IV. 1. 13-15 and Śāṅkarācārya explains their purpose concisely but very clearly. The Gītā also says (IV. 37) that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all deeds. Here all means only *Saṁcita* and *Sañciyamāna* and excludes *prārabdha-karma*. About the acts during the period between the attainment of *Vidyā* and the fall of the body Śāṅkarācārya gives the instance of an arrow shot from a bow, which stops only after the initial impetus is exhausted in the flight of the arrow. Some works say that when the meritorious deed or the sinful deed done in the present life is of the extremest kind it may yield results in this very life.²⁵⁶⁹

The Upanisad theory is that one must bear the consequences of all actions, good or evil. But sometimes an evil action is done without any previous thought, as, for example, when a man's gun goes off by accident and somebody is killed or seriously injured. This led to a discussion in Dharmaśāstras and Smṛtis and the doctrine of *prāyaścittas* (expiations) for sins was developed. From Vedic times some rites had been performed to counteract mishaps and irregularities in the course of religious ceremonies and for portentous phenomena or personal misfortunes such as a dog-bite. In these the idea was

2568. तदधिगम उत्तरपूर्वाध्यायोरश्लेषविनाशौ तद्व्यपदेशात् । इतरस्याप्येवमसंश्लेषः पाते तु । अनारब्धकार्य एव तु पूर्वं तदवधेः । वेदान्तसूत्र IV. 1. 13-15, शाङ्करभाष्य 'ब्रह्माधिगमे सत्युत्तरपूर्वाध्यायोरश्लेषविनाशौ भवतः । उत्तरस्याश्लेषः, पूर्वस्य विनाशः इतरस्यापि पुण्यस्य कर्मण एवमवधदसंश्लेषो विनाशश्च ज्ञानवतो भवतः । अवश्यंभाविनी विदुषः शरीरपाते शुक्तिरित्यवधार्यते ।', On बृह. उप. 1. 4. 10 the शाङ्करभाष्य states 'यावच्छरीरपातस्तावत्कलोपभोगाद्भूतया विपरीतप्रत्ययं रागादिद्वेषं च तावन्मात्रमाक्षिपत्येव । सुक्तेषु चरन्तु तत्फलत्वाच्चक्षुः कस्य कर्मणः । तेन न तस्य निवर्तिकी विद्या । अविरोधात् । ... ज्ञानोत्पत्तेः प्रागुर्ध्वं तत्काल-जन्मान्तरसञ्चितानां च कर्मणामप्रवृत्तफलानां विनाशः सिद्धो भवति ।' The विज्ञानदीपिका of पद्मपाद says 'उभयोर्ज्ञानतो नाशो भोगात्प्रत्ययकर्मणः ।' (verse 9). The com. says 'ज्ञान is of two kinds, परोक्ष and अपरोक्ष. The first is in the form 'there is brahman and I must engage in *upāsana* thereof' The other is of this sort 'ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या । अतोहमपि ब्रह्मैवेत्याकारकं यज्ज्ञानं तदपरोक्षम् । अपरोक्षज्ञानं तावत्प्रत्ययैतत्कर्मनाशकम् । एवं चात्र ज्ञानमपरोक्षमेव । तस्मादुभयोः सञ्चितसञ्जीयमानयोः कर्मणोर्नाशो बीजलोपः ।'

2569. पूर्वं फलति देहेऽस्मिन् कृतमत्र परत्र यत् । अहत्वाद् द्वयोरेवोक्तदमचैव जन्मनि ॥ वि दी 10, com. says 'उक्तं तु कर्म शुभमशुभमपि एतच्च जन्मकृतमेतस्मिन्नेव जन्मनि प्रारब्धमाक्रम्य फलति । Compare अत्युक्तैः पापपुण्यैरिदमेव फलमश्नुते ।'

of ceremonial purity and the averting of evil results from such phenomena in which no question of sin as ordinarily understood entered. In the Gautama Dharmasūtra there is a discussion on this, which is probably the earliest clear exposition on expiations for sins. Gautama states that there were two views on the efficacy of expiations against sins. One view was that expiations should not be performed as regards sins, because a sin is not destroyed unless its consequences are experienced; the other view was that one should perform expiations since there are Vedic passages indicative of this, such as 'after performing the sacrifice called Punahstoma one can come back (i. e. become fit for) Soma sacrifice (i. e. for all Vedic rites in general)'; 'after performing the Vratyaetoma' (one becomes fit for vedic sacrifices), 'he who offers the Āsvamedha sacrifice crosses beyond all sin, beyond (even) ²⁵⁷⁰ brāhmaṇa murder.' Some held the view that only sins committed inadvertently were removed by expiations; ²⁵⁷¹ while others held the view that expiations were efficacious even against sins committed wilfully as there are Vedic indications to that effect (Manu XI 45). Manu, however, appears to have held that a man is relieved of the lapses inadvertently committed by means of the study of the Veda, but sins wilfully committed can be removed only by various prescribed expiations (XI 46) and that a man must always resort to expiations for sins, since those who have not done so have to undergo a double retribution viz. the tortures of horrible hells for long terms of years and also being born in other human existences with bodily deformities and diseases (Manu XI 48 and XII 54). The subject of expiations and of Karmavipāka (fruition of evil actions by being born as a worm or lower animal, or having a short life and premature death and undergoing torments of Hell) has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 1-178).

2570. तत्र मायश्चित्तं क्षुर्वाज क्षुर्वादिनि नीमासन्ते । न क्षुर्वादित्याहुः । न हि कर्म क्षीयत इति । क्षुर्वादित्यपरम् । पुन स्तोत्रेणैव पुन सवनमायास्तीति विज्ञायते । इत्यस्तेनैवेष्टुम् । तस्मिन् सर्वे पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्या योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । अग्निष्टुताऽभिज्ञत्त्यमानं याजयेदिति च । यो धृ १९. ३-१०. Vide यमिदधर्मसूत्र २२ ३-७ for almost the same words. For explanation of all these, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp 61-62 and notes 152-153 thereon For Āsvamedha freeing the sacrificer from all sins, from even brāhmaṇa-murder, vide Tar. S. V. ३, 12 २ and Sat. Br. XIII. ३. १. १ 'सर्वे वा एतेन पाप्मानं देवा अतरन्ति वा त्वेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन्त्यसि सर्वे पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते ।'

2571. अगमिमन्थिद्वये मायश्चित्तनपराधे । अभिमन्थिद्वयेत्येके । वसिष्ठ २०. १-२.

So far as rebirth for sins is concerned attention may be drawn here to the following authorities: Manusmṛti XII. 54-69, Yāj. III. 131, 135-136, 207-215, Viṣṇudharmasūtra, chap. 44, Aśrīmsmṛti 4. 5-14, 17-44, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 15. 1-41 (B. I. ed.), Brahmapurāṇa 217. 37-110, Garuḍapurāṇa, Pretakāṇḍa, chap. 2. 60-88 (which incorporate almost word for word Yāj. III. 206-215) and also quotations from Śaṅkha Dharmasūtra collected by the present author in ABORI. vol. VIII, pp. 116-117 items 375-378 culled from the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 216, the Madanapārijāta pp. 701-702, the Parāśara-Mādhaviya, vol. II, part 2 pp. 246, 259, 263, 269. For reasons of space it is not possible to set out this whole mass but a few illustrative passages will be cited.

Manu states (XII. 54-69, with which Yāj. III. 206-208 and 212-215 agree in many places) 'those guilty of mortal sins (Mahāpātakas), having gone through terrible hells during a large number of years, come after the expiration (of hell punishment) to the following births. The slayer of a Brāhmana passes through the births of dog, pig, ass, camel, cow (or ox), goat, sheep, deer, a bird, a cāṇḍāla and a pukkasa, a brāhmana who drinks the liquor called Surā enters the bodies of worms and (large) insects, of moths (or locusts), of birds feeding on ordure and of carnivorous animals; a brāhmana (who steals gold of a brāhmana) shall pass a thousand times through the births of spiders, snakes, lizards, aquatic animals and of destructive goblins; the violator of his guru's bed passes a hundred times through (the form of) grasses, shrubs, creepers, carnivorous animals and of beasts with fangs and of those (animals) like tigers doing cruel acts. Those men who are given to injuring others become animals that eat raw flesh, those who eat forbidden food become worms, those that steal become creatures consuming their own kind (such as fishes) and those who have intercourse with women of the lowest classes become *pretas* (ghostly spirits), one who has associated with outcasts (for certain specified periods), he who approaches the wives of other men and he who has deprived a brāhmana of his property (other than gold) becomes Brahmarākṣasa (an evil demon); a man who has on account of greed stolen gems, pearls or coral or any of the other kinds of precious stones is born among goldsmiths; for stealing grain a brāhmana becomes a rat, for stealing bell-metal a man becomes a hamsa bird, for depriving another of water he becomes the bird called Plava, for stealing honey a stinging

insect, for stealing milk a cow, for stealing sweet juice (sugar-cane &c) a dog, for stealing clarified butter an ichneumon, for stealing meat a vulture, for stealing fat a cormorant, for stealing oil a bird called Tailapaka, for stealing salt a cricket, for stealing curds a bird called Balāka (crane); for stealing silk a partridge, for stealing linen a frog; for stealing cloth of cotton threads Krauñca bird, for stealing a cow an iguana, for stealing molasses a bird called *vāgguda* (a bat?), for stealing fine perfume a musk-rat, for stealing vegetables consisting of leaves a peacock, for stealing cooked food of various kinds a porcupine and for stealing uncooked food a hedgehog; for stealing fire a person becomes a heron, for stealing household utensils a mason-wasp, for stealing dyed garments a *cahora* bird; for stealing a deer or an elephant a wolf, for stealing a horse a tiger, for stealing fruits and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing drinking water a *cūta*, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat, that man who has forcibly taken away any kind of property belonging to another or who eats sacrificial food of which no part has been offered in sacrifice certainly becomes a lower animal, women also who in like manner committed theft shall incur guilt; they become the females of those same creatures (enumerated above).

It may be noted that some of the births assigned to those guilty of thefts of various articles have some logic or reason behind those regulations e. g. when Manu XII. 62 and Yaj. III. 214 prescribe that a thief of grains becomes a rat in the next birth or when Manu XII. 61 prescribes that a thief of jewels, pearls and coral is born among the class of goldsmiths, one can easily appreciate this retribution as appropriate or reasonable, but the same cannot be said of all others. It is noteworthy that, in spite of what the bhāṣya on Y. S. quoted in note 2325 and pp 1417-18 above says, a single mortal sin like brāhmana-murder might make the perpetrator pass through several vile births, as stated by Manu in XII. 55-58, Yaj. III. 207-208 and by Śaṅkarācārya, 2572

Once the strict rule of the original doctrine of Karma in the Upanisads was loosened by the theory of *prāyaścittas*, a

2572 ब्रह्महत्यादीनां चैकैकरथं कर्मणोऽनेकजन्मनिमित्तत्वं स्मर्यमाणमुपपद्यते । न च धर्मधर्मयोः स्वरूपफलसाधनादिसमधिगते शास्त्रादतिरिक्तं कारणं शक्यं सम्भावयितुम् । शाङ्करभाष्ये ०० वे. सू. III १. ८.

quick pace was set even in early times for the removal or reduction of the effects of sins in other ways than by means of expiations. Gautama²⁵⁷³ prescribes five means for redeeming (or expiating) blamable acts viz. inaudible recitation of the Veda, austerities, sacrifice in fire, fasting, giving gifts. The history of Dharmasāstra vol. IV deals at some length with *japa* (pp. 44-51), *tapas* (pp. 42-43), *homa* (pp. 43-44), *dāna* (pp. 51-52) and fasting (pp. 52-54). Therefore, it is not necessary to say here anything about them. But attention must be drawn to some special and far-reaching modifications of these and other means. Śādras and members of *prahloma* castes were not authorized to study the Veda. Hence the authors of medieval works, particularly of Purāṇas, went so far as to say that remembrance²⁵⁷⁴ of the name of Kṛṣṇa is superior to all expiations and all forms of austerities and that if a man only remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, noon, evening, at night and other times, he at once secures the destruction of (the consequences of) sins. Other means were also provided for the removal of sins, one being pilgrimage to holy places. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 55-56 and 552-580. Another was the practice of *prāṇāyāma* which has been dealt with on p. 42 of H. Dh. vol. IV.

Even in the earliest times open confession of sin was in certain cases regarded as freeing the person from sin. In the Cāturmāsya called Varuna-praghāsa, the wife who took part with her husband had to confess expressly or by some indirect ways whether she had at some time a paramour and if she did so she was purified and could take part in the sacred rites thereafter. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 575-576 and 1098 for this. Similarly, according to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 15, I. 10. 28. 19 and 1. 10. 29. 1 it was necessary when undergoing expiations for forsaking one's wife or for brāhmana murder to confess one's sin. So also the brahmachārin, if guilty of sexual intercourse,

2573. तस्य निष्कृयणानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासो दानम् । नौ. ध. सू. 19.11. In 19.12 Gautama gives a long list of Vedic texts the recitation of which purified a person of sins. Manu (XI. 249-250) specifies Vedic hymns and verses that remove the consequence of brāhmana-murder, drinking Surā, theft of gold, violation of guru's bed and other grave and light sins and highly praises (XI. 259-260) the *japa* of Aghamarṣana hymn (Rg. X. 190.1-3) as removing all sins.

2574. मायस्त्रिचायस्त्रिषोडशी वपःकर्मस्त्रिषोडशी वै । यानि तेषामशेषाणां कृत्वा सुस्मरणं परम् ॥ मातर्निशि तथा सन्ध्योर्मध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन् । नारायणमवाप्नोति सद्यः पापक्षयं नरः ॥ विष्णुपु II. 6. 39 and 41, ब्रह्मपु. 22.39 These are q. by माय विवेक p. 31, अपराक्ष p. 1232 and माय. तत्त्व p. 524.

had to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven housees (vide Gautama and Manu quoted below).²⁵⁷⁵

Repentance (anūtāpa) Manu (XII. 227 and 230) provides that a sinner is relieved of the consequences of sin by proclaiming his sin to people, by repentance, by austerities, by recitation of Vedic texts, by gifts in case of distress (i.e. if he is unable to undergo *tapas*); a man after committing a sin becomes free from it by feeling remorse and if he makes a resolve 'I shall never again do so' he is purified. The Visṇupurāṇa provides that, when after committing a sin the man feels remorse, the one high expiation that he has then to undergo is the remembrance of Hari.²⁵⁷⁶ MacNicol, a Scottish Missionary, wrote a work (in 1915) on 'Indian theism' in which he boldly asserts, after referring to the Upanisadic doctrine of Karma that 'there is no place for repentance in the Hindu doctrine of Karma' (p. 223). It has been shown above that confession was known in Vedic times and that repentance was valued in Dharmaśāstra works either as removing sine or as making the repentant man fit for receiving expiatory rites (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 41-42). The worthy missionary author probably thinks his Christian brand of remission of sins by confession and repentance better than the Upanisadic teaching. Ancient Indian authors were not prepared to accept mere confession and repentance as enough to absolve a man of all sins. The Biblical position that if one believes in Christ and his gospel, confesses his sins and says he repents (as required in Matthew 4. 17, Mark I. 15 and Luke 24. 47) is very likely to engender among common men a complacent attitude about sins. This complacent frame of mind, the ancient Dharmaśāstra writers wanted to prevent and therefore, they insisted upon a good deal more than repentance and confession of sins. They blended the old doctrine of confession and repentance with retribution viz. hell torture and vile births. Later Paurāṇik writers approached very close to the probable attitude of common Christians that one has simply to believe in Christ as a redeemer, to confess and to take the name of God for being absolved from all sins. Macnicol either did not

2575 तस्याजिनमूर्ध्निवाले परिधाय लोहितपात्रं सप्त गृहान्मैत्रं चरेत्कर्माचक्षणम् ।
मो 23 18; मनु XI 122 एतस्मिन्नेनास्ति प्राप्ते बसित्वा गर्दभाजिनम् । सप्तागारांश्चरेत्तैश्च स्वकर्म
परिकीर्तयन् ॥

2576. कुत्रेणोपेक्ष्यतामो वै यस्य पुंसः मजायते । पापवृत्तिं ह तस्यैकं हस्तिस्वरूपं परम् ॥
विष्णुसु II 6. 40

read the relevant texts from Purāṇas or he forgot them when he made the assertion noted above.

Long before MacNicol wrote and since his days numerous Western scholars brought up in Christian surroundings have expressed their view that the ancient Indian doctrine as regards man's destiny after death is far more preferable to Biblical ideas on the same subject. It is enough to refer to only two or three authors. Arberry in his 'Asiatic Jones' quotes (p. 37) from Sir William Jones' letter to Earl Spencer the following passage 'I am no Hindu, but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning a future state to be incomparably more rational, more pious and more likely to deter men from vice, than the horrid opinions inculcated by Christians on punishments without end'. Lowes Dickinson in 'Religion and Immortality' (Dent and Sons, 1911) observes (on p. 74) 'it is really a consoling idea that our present capacities are determined by our previous actions and that our present actions again will determine our future character'. Owen Rutter, author of 'the scales of Karma' (London, 1925) says that Christianity has failed to solve the intellectual and moral problems which beset those who live in the complexities of the modern world, that he began to study the doctrine of Karma and reincarnation seven years before he wrote the book, which is a personal statement rather than an essay on Karma (pp. 12-13). Many who have written against this doctrine, while conceding that the Upanisadic doctrine is an ancient and serious attempt to solve the problem of injustice and evil in the world, call it a weak one and beset with difficulties. One should like to ask, what systems of religion and philosophy are not beset with difficulties? One may take the Christian doctrines for example. To all non-Christians (and to several Christians also in modern times) its doctrine of original sin, its damnation of unbaptized infants, of predestination deduced from 'the' belief that God is an Omniscient and Omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth appear strange and unjustified. L. T. Hobhouse in 'Morals in Evolution' part II (1906) pp. 130 ff points out how all systems with a personal God, particularly Christianity, are beset with difficulties, such as making the problem of evil urgent, eternal punishment for a great sinner in one life suggestive of a moral impossibility, the inescapable conclusion that all men, however good, that did not or could not or do not believe in Christ and are not members of the Christian Church by baptism are irrevocably doomed. That

Christianity is unique and that Christians are God's chosen people are beliefs which would make God appear quite unjust and therefore some Christian writers like Prof. Toynbee in 'Christianity among the religions of the world' (Oxford Un. Press, 1958) have begun to urge that Christianity must be purged of such beliefs (pp. 13 and 95).

The strict doctrine of Karma would require that there can be no transfer of good or bad *karma* from one man to another and a man cannot suffer for the sins of others. But in the Rgveda there are allusions to the belief that God might inflict punishment on the sons for the sins of their fathers. For example, in Rg. VII. 86. 5 Vasistha²⁵⁷⁷ prays to Varuna "cast away from us the transgressions of our fathers, and those that we committed in our own person"; 'May we not have to suffer for the sin committed by another, may we not do that for which you punish (this is addressed to Viśve-devāh). The Śāntiparva, however, asserts 'whatever deed a man does in four ways viz. with eye, with thought, speech or action, he receives (in return) that same kind of action; a man does not enjoy (i.e. experience the results of) the good deeds or evil deeds of another; man attains (a result) in consonance with the actions done by himself'.²⁵⁷⁸ Similarly, in the Gṛdhrā-gomāyū-samvāda, it is asserted 'the son does not have to go by the path due to the actions of the father, nor *vice versa*, they being bound by their own respective good or evil deeds proceed each by a different path'. Whatever deed a man does, whether holy or very unholy (terrible), the consequences of that are experienced by the doer alone, what have the relatives to do with that' (Śāntiparva 153. 38 and 41=cr. ed 149. 34 and 37).

Modifications of this doctrine were early introduced. The Gaut.²⁵⁷⁹ Dh. 8 provides that the king should guard all the

2577. अत्र ब्रुवामि पित्र्या राजा नोऽत्र या वयं चकृमा तद्विभि । क्र. VII. 86 5, मा व एनो अन्यकृतं भुजेम ना तत्कर्म वसवो यच्चयध्वे । क्र. VI. 51. 7, क्र. VII 52. 2 practically repeats this 'मा वो भुजेमान्यजातमेनो ना तत्कर्म वसवो यच्चयध्वे' ।

2578. चक्षुषा मनसा वाचा कर्मेणा च चतुर्विधम् । कुर्वते यादृशं कर्म तादृशं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ नात्र परस्परं सुदृढं दृष्ट्वन् चापि सेवते । करोति यादृशं कर्म तादृशं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ज्ञान्तिपूर्वं 279. 15 and 21 (= 290 16, 22 of Ch. ed)

2579 Vide also ज्ञान्तिपूर्वं 287. 28 (= ch ed. 298 30), उर्णान्नाश्रमांश्च न्यायतोऽभिरेते । चतुर्विधं तान् स्वधर्मं रथापयेत् । धर्मस्य ह्यंशभागभवतीति । गौ. XI 9-11.

varnas and *āśramas* according to Śāstra and if they swerve from their duties he should make them follow their duties, since he gets a share of the dharma (merit) observed by them. Manu provides (VIII. 304-305, 308) that the king who protects his subjects secures the sixth part of the (spiritual) merit of all (his subjects), but if he does not guard them he also shares in the sixth part of their *adharma* (sin); the king who protects well is entitled to the sixth part of the merit of the Veda study, the sacrifices, the gifts, and of the worship of gods done by all subjects; that king who takes as his one-sixth part of the crops and other products, but fails to guard the subjects is declared (by sages) as receiving all the sins of all his subjects'. Manu says elsewhere (in IX. 301) that the king is the Yuga, that his actions may bring in *Kṛta* or any of the other Yugas. Kalidāsa in *Śakuntala* echoes this idea.²⁵⁸⁰ Manu (in VIII. 316) provides that when a thief comes to a king, confesses his guilt and asks the king to punish him with a heavy staff or a sharp weapon and the king either punishes him or lets him off, the thief is freed from (the effects of) the sin, but the king incurs the guilt of the thief if he does not punish him. To the same effect is Vasistha 19. 46 and 20. 41. It was stated by Manu (III. 100) that all the merit of even a man who lives a plain life by subsisting on grains left in the field after the crops are garnered and who performs *homa* in the five fires (to be kept by an householder) is taken away by a brāhmaṇa guest who stays unhonoured by him. Śāntiparva, Viṣṇu Dh. S. and several Purāṇas provide that²⁵⁸¹ when a guest, being disappointed (in getting food), turns away from the house of a person, the guest goes away taking all the merit of the person and transfers to him all his own misdeeds. This was probably not meant to be taken literally. It is only an *arthavāda* (in the language of the *Mīmāṃsā*) and merely exhorts a householder to honour a guest properly. The exhortation addressed by the judge to a witness before the latter began to depose contains in Yāj. the following

2580. सर्वतो धर्मषड्भागो राज्ञो भवति रक्षतः । अधर्मादपि षड्भागो भवत्यस्य ह्यरक्षतः ॥ मनु VIII. 304. compare शाकुन्तल II 14 'चतुष्टिष्ठति वयस्यो वृषाणां क्षपि तत्फलम् । तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं दद्यात्पारण्यका हि नः ॥'

2581. अतिथिर्यस्य भग्नो गृहात्पतिनिवर्तते । स तस्मै हुण्क्तं दत्त्वा पुण्यमात्मनः गच्छति ॥ ज्ञानिपर्व 184. 12 (expressly quoted) as a श्लोक = Ch. ed. 191. 12. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 67. 33, विष्णुपुराण III. 9. 15 and III. 11. 68, बराहपुराण 170. 46 (with variations).

verse ²⁵⁸²: 'whatever good deeds you performed in hundreds of existences, all that will go to that party whose defeat you will bring about by your false evidence.' The Mit. and Aparārka both say that this is meant only to frighten and quote a verse of Nārada (rṇādāna 200) in support 'he (the judge) should frighten them (from telling lies) by citing ancient dharma-śāstra texts, by recounting the greatness of truth and by censuring falsehood.' Manu (VIII. 90), however, makes the exhortation run as follows 'Whatever good deeds you performed from your birth, the merit of all of them would go to dogs if you will depose falsely'. Manu XII. 81 says ²⁵⁸³ 'with whatever disposition of mind (either *sāttvika* or *rājasa* or *tāmasa*) a man does an act he reaps the fruits thereof (in a future life) in a body endowed with the same character.'

The Bhagavadgītā, apart from the fact that knowledge of reality destroyed the effects of all deeds, emphasized at the end the path of singleminded devotion (*bhakti*) to God and surrendering all one's acts and their fruits to Him 'giving up all the various paths, come to me alone as your refuge; don't grieve, I shall release you from the consequences of all evil deeds, if any, of yours'. ²⁵³⁴

As regards husband and wife, the Dharmaśāstra works say a good deal but all that is said should not be taken literally. For example, Manu (V. 164-166) states ²⁵⁸⁵ 'by playing false to her husband (i. e. by adultery) the wife is censured in this world, she becomes (after death) a female jackal and is tormented by evil diseases (such as leprosy). That woman controlling herself in thought, word and deed, who does not play false to her

²⁵⁸² सुकृतं यत्तथा किञ्चिज्जन्मान्तरशतैः कृतम् । तत्सर्वं तस्य जानीहि यं पराजयसे
यथा ॥ या II. 75, the *mitta*° says: अन्यस्यानेकजन्मार्जितसुकृतसंक्रमणस्य महापातकादि-
फलमसिञ्चान्नृतेवचनमात्रेणानुपपत्तेः साक्षिसंज्ञासार्धमिदमुच्यते । यथाह नारदः । पुराणैर्धर्मवचनैः
सत्यमादात्म्यकीर्तनैः । अदृष्टस्यापवादैश्च दृशस्तत्त्वासयेदिमान् ॥ इति ॥

²⁵⁸³ यादृशेन तु भावेन यद्यत्कर्म निवेदते । तादृशेन शरीरेण तत्फलमुपाश्रुते ॥
मनु XII. 81.

²⁵⁸⁴ सर्वधर्मोऽप्यतिपश्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज । अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा
शुच ॥ भगवद्गीता 18.63. Here dharma does not mean 'religion' but paths
which are deemed to lead to man's goal and many of which are set out in
Śāntiparva 342.10-16 (= Ch ed. 354. 10-16), such as mokṣadharma, yajña-
dharma, rājadharma, abhivṛddhadharma. The last verse in that chapter is
'एवं यद्विधेर्लोकधर्मोद्धारिणारुते । समापि नतिपात्रिया मेपलेखे वायुना ॥'

²⁵⁸⁵ मनु V. 164-165 are repeated in मनु IX. 30, 29.

husband, resides in the same world (heaven) as her husband, and is called a virtuous wife. A woman restrained in thought, word and deed, secures by such conduct (as is laid down for her) in this life highest renown and residence with her husband in the next world'. For hyperbolical descriptions of the power of a chaste wife (*pāturatā*) in the great epic and Purāṇas, vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 567-568. A verse cited there may be repeated here 'just as a snake-charmer forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a chaste wife snatches away her husband's life from the messengers of death and reaches heaven with her husband'. This is also an *arthavāda* but it probably reflected the popular ideas of those times.

The Mahābhārata has certain interesting verses on the transference of the effects of *karma* to one's descendants. The Ādiparva states 'if the consequences of sin are not seen affecting the perpetrator, they will surely be seen in the sons or grandsons'. This again is an *arthavāda*.²⁵⁸⁵

It was believed that punishment by the king for a sinful deed (like a theft &c.) liquidated the consequences of the sin, made the offender pure and enabled him to reach heaven as men of good deeds do.²⁵⁸⁷

It is difficult to reconcile the doctrine of Karma and punar-janma with the system of Śrāddhas in which balls of rice are offered to the three paternal ancestors of the performer of śrāddha. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp 335-339. The offering of balls of rice to the spirits of the departed male ancestors was in vogue in the times of the Veda probably and even before the Vedas and the theory of Karma and Punar-janma arose later and as people were not prepared to give up the theory of śrāddhas, they kept both.

The popular idea of the last thought at one's death leading to a future birth appropriate to that thought in spite of a life of sin and iniquity is an interference with the working of the law of Karma and transmigration. This notion has been dealt with

2586 नार्थमश्वरितो . . कृन्तति ॥ एवेष्टु वा नम्रु या न चेंदात्मनि पश्यति । कुरुपे
 द्रुपं पापं शुरुकुम्भियोदरे ॥ आदि 80: 2-3, the first has been quoted above on p. 1561
 note 2532, to the same effect is श्रान्ति 139.22 (= cr. ld 137.19) पापं कर्म कर्म
 किञ्चिद्यदि तस्मिन् न दृश्यते । दृष्टे तस्य एवेष्टु पापेभ्यो च नम्रुषु ॥
 2587. राज्ञि कृतदण्डान्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवा । निर्मिता र्गमतामन्ति मन्त्र
 सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ मनु VIII. 31b = मनु 19.45 (reads पुनर्दण्डात्) .

above (pp. 972-973) where it has been pointed out that that notion is not supported by the Bhagavadgītā (VIII, 5-7).

Apart from the Upanisads (and commentaries thereon), the Vedāntasūtras (and the bhāṣyas thereon) and the Bhagavadgītā, there are very few regular treatises on the doctrine of Karma and re-incarnation. One work comparatively early in date is the Viṇṇanādīpikā of Padmapāda (said to be the same as the favourite pupil of the first Śāṅkarācārya) in 71 verses (edited with a commentary and Introduction by M. M. Dr. Umesha Mishra, Allahabad, 1940) which deal with the means of achieving mokṣa by realizing the identity of the individual self and the Supreme Self (they being like the reflection and its original) and by annihilating karma. Some of the important verses in it have been adduced above in the notes. That work (verse 9)²⁵⁸⁸ compares sañciyamāna-karma to grain standing in the field, sañcita to grain stored in one's house and prārabdha-karma to food put in one's stomach. The food put in one's stomach is exhausted by its being digested which takes some time. Therefore, Karma of the sañcita and sañciyamāna types is annihilated by correct knowledge, while prārabdha karma by undergoing its results for some time. It emphasizes that it is *Vanūqya* (extreme non-attachment to objects of sense) that leads to the rise of correct knowledge of Reality, to the elimination of vāsanās (unconsciously working impressions), to the annihilation of Karma and to cessation of rebirth.

Another work is the Janma-maranavicāra of Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva (published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies vol 19, 1918 A. D.). It is a small work in 25 pages.²⁵⁸⁹ It appears to belong to the Kashmir Śaiva cult. It states that Śiva has three Śaktis, Cit-śakti (which is of the nature of light or consciousness), Svātantrya (free will, independence) and

2588. उभयोर्ज्ञानतो भावो भोगात्प्रत्यक्षकर्तृणः । क्षेत्रगारोदरस्थानामज्ञानासिद्धिः ॥ वैराग्यापज्ञानसम्पत्तिर्वैराग्याह्लासनाक्षयः । वैराग्यात्कार्त्तनाक्षयः कर्मेनाज्ञाननेर्लेयः ॥ नि दी verses 9 and 16 The com. remarks : क्षेत्रस्थितमर्कं सञ्चयमानं युद्धस्थितमर्कं सञ्चितम् । उदरस्थितमर्कं प्रादुर्भूतम् । तत्र क्षेत्रगारस्थितयोरक्षयोर्दोषानादित्वा तात्कालिकक्षयोपि सम्भवति । उदरस्थितस्य तु भोगात् कालपरिणामादेव क्षयः ।

2589. The ms. of this work was copied in Laukika year 4603 i. e. 1527 A. D. The author was a disciple of योगेश्वरचार्य, probably the same as Yogarāja, who wrote a commentary on the Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta. So he flourished probably about 1050-1100 A. D. and at any rate before 1500 A. D.

Ānandaśakti (bliss). There are six *kañcukas* (sheaths, covers) viz. *Māyā*, *Kālā*, *Suddha-vidyā*, *Rāga*, *Kālā* and *Nīyantranā*. On p. 15 it says that when the bodily machine is broken, consciousness, taking hold of *prāṇana* (breathing), is carried to another body by the *Ātivāhika* (subtle body).²⁵⁹⁰ This latter body becomes like a vehicle between the body that lies dead and the next physical body. The work then quotes from a *Kośabhāṣya* three verses which support the theory of the *antarābhavadēha* (the intermediate body between the dead physical body and the future physical body) and also relies on Rg. X. 85. 16.²⁵⁹¹ It also quotes *Bhagavadgītā* 14. 14-15 (*yadā sattve prayrdhe tu &c*) and says that those bodily states are referred to in such Vedic passages as 'Pañcāre, cakre &c' (Rg. X. 164. 13), in *Kathopanishad* I. 6 (*sasyam-iva martyaḥ pacyate*), in 'Vāsāmsi jirnāni' (*Gītā* II. 22). He further says that by God's grace a man becomes pure and by *dikṣā* and other means he understands his real character and reaches *Śiva*. It states that all men do not attain liberation, while those who hate (discard) *dikṣā*, temples and correct knowledge go to hell. There is very little discussion about the kinds of Karma and the removal of the effects of these.

There is another rather modern work called *Prārabdhā-dhvyānta-samhrti* (destruction of the darkness i. e. ignorance about *prārabdha*) composed in *śaku* 1741 (1819 A. D.) at *Pañcavaṭi* near *Nasik* by *Acyutarāya Modaka*, a learned and prolific writer. The only known ms. is in the *Mysore Government*

2590. V.S IV. 3.4, is 'ātivāhikāś-talligāt' and for 'antarābhavadēha', vide *Slokavārtika* (*ātmavāda*, verse 62 p. 704 q. above in n. 2254 p. 1376) and *न्या. २ यदप्यातिवाहिकं नाम शरीरं पूर्वोत्तरदेहयोरन्तराले ज्ञानसन्तानसम्धारणार्थं कल्प्यते तदपि विन्ययवासिना निराकृतमित्याह । अन्तरेति ।*

2591. हे ते चक्रे सूर्ये ब्रह्माण ऋतुषा विदुः । अथैकं चक्रं यदुह्य तदज्ञातम् इहविदुः ॥ Rg. X. 85.16. This literally means 'O *Sūryā* (daughter of the Sun) ! two are thy wheels which the *brāhmanas* (or priests) know as coming at proper seasons; one of the wheels is inside a cave and is known only to *addhātis* (wise men ?)' Acc. to *Sāyana* here *Sūryā* addresses herself. The two wheels are the *Son* and the *Moon* and the wheel in the 2nd half is a third one viz. the year. The *Nighantu* includes 'addhātayah' among the twenty-four words meaning 'medhāvin' (III 15). That word occurs only here in the whole of the *Rgveda*. The work explains 'Sūryā' as 'Ātmaśakti' and takes 'cakra' as meaning 'body', two bodies would be 'the present and the future body' and it holds that *addhātayah* means 'yogins' and 'gubā' (in the cave) suggests that one body cannot be seen but is only known to yogins. That one body is the *ātivāhika* body according to this writer.

Oriental Library and is in Kannaḍa script. The present author got a Devanāgarī transcript of the Ms. through the kindness of the authorities of the Library.

Dr. H. G. Narahari (in N. I. A. vol. V. pp. 115-118) furnishes an account of the ms., its date and a brief description of its contents. In another paper the same scholar gives a tolerably full analysis of its contents (in J. G. J. R. I. vol. III. for 1945-46, pp. 349-367).

The author Acyutarāya states that the work really means 'Prārabdha-vāda-dhvāntasamhṛti' (destruction of the darknesses caused by the doctrine of prārabdha) and that all that he wants is to combat the false idea that all human acts from the moment of conception to death are governed by past deeds alone to the exclusion of everything else. He postulates that all human activity is due to *prārabdha*, to *samskāras* (sub-conscious or latent impressions or tendencies) and *prayatna* (human effort). He explains: the moment after the body dies, all the accumulated good and bad deeds set in motion by God become ready to yield their retribution (results) and that a good or evil deed (or both) that is strongest begins a suitable body. The birth is that of a brāhmaṇa or the rest when there is mixed good and evil as the strongest karma, as a lower animal when sin is strongest, as a godly birth when a good deed is strongest. The duration of life may be 100 years, less or more, and *bhoga* means experiencing pleasure or pain that is regarded as favourable or unfavourable.²⁵⁹² Then he launches on the discussion of pleasure (*sukha*) as threefold, viz. illusory (*prātibhāsika*), actual (*vyāvahārika*) or actual due to illusory pleasure. Pleasure is again *ramya* (beautiful) and *prīya* (dear or liked). These two are not synonymous, since gold would appear beautiful to an ascetic but it is not dear to him. Then he divides what is *prīya* into three kinds (or degrees). He divides each of the three kinds of pleasure into three varieties, which are passed over here. The preceding are classifications of pleasure that is 'Laukikakārya' (ordinary or common); but there are also other *sukhas*, viz. *vaidika* [fourfold such as *pratikopāsana*, *āhārya* (assumed) and *vāsānātma*

2592 आरब्धकरणः संस्कारकरणकः प्रयत्नकरणकश्चापि निवृत्तारव्यवहारः। देहप्राप्त्यवसिक्तोत्तरक्षणे परमेश्वरमेवितानि सर्वाणि सञ्चितशुण्यवापानि फलदानोन्मुखानि भवन्ति। तेषां मध्ये यद् बलवत्तुल्यं तापं बोधयं वा तद्भाविदेहनाशमजात्याद्युर्भोगदं आरब्धमित्युच्यते। तत्र जातिवर्णप्राप्तिविमिश्रे तिर्यक्त्वादि पापे देवत्वादि शुण्ये। आद्यः शतवर्षादि यथावयवम्। भोगारब्धशून्यमतिशून्यमैदानीयलक्षणयोः सुखदुःखयोः साक्षात्कार एव। pp. 4-5 of the transcript. He relies on the योगसूत्र II 13 सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्याद्युर्भोगाः।

(as in sleep)]. This last he subdivides into three kinds (*sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*) that are passed over. Pain (*duḥkha*) is divisible in the same way as *sukha* and the author illustrates the different kinds of pain, that are left out here. Then the author dilates upon the cause or causes of pleasure and pain (*sukha* and *duḥkha*) that constitute man's experience on earth, which causes are *prārabdha* (past *karma* that has begun to operate and determines the body the soul secures), *samskāra* and *prayatna*.²⁵⁹³ He states that the bliss that a man feels in meditation (*samādhi*) is due to *prārabdha*, the pleasure he feels in deep sleep is due to *samskāras*²⁵⁹⁴ and the pleasure on the fall of rain after the performance of the *Kāri* (sacrifice) is due to human effort. From the Upanisad passages it follows (says *Acyutarāya*) that in deep sleep there is no desire, no *karma* and no fear and so the pleasure (expressed on waking in the words '*sukham-ahamasvāpsam*' (I had a happy sleep) is not due to *prārabdha* but to *samskāras*. He relies on the Br. Up.²⁵⁹⁵ (IV. 4. 2) for holding this view (i e. he takes '*pūrvaprajñā*' in that passage as equal to *vāsanā* ('latent impressions or reminiscences of past experiences'). The activities of a person in past lives may be *madhya*²⁵⁹⁶ (middling or moderate),

2593 एवमेतादृशसुखदुःखयोर्मनुष्यादीनां भोगः प्रारब्धतः संस्कारतः प्रयत्नतश्च भवति ।
p 14 of transcript.

2594. The छान्दोग्योप० avers that in deep sleep man's soul loses personal consciousness and becomes merged in the *Sat* (the True, *brahma*). उद्दालको ह्यस्त्राणिः श्वेतकेतुं सुब्रह्मवाच । स्वमान्तं मे सोम्य विजानिहि । अत्रैतत्सुखं स्वपिति नाम सता सोम्य तदा संपन्नो भवति । तस्मादेनं स्वपितित्याचक्षते । स्वं ह्यपीतो भवति । छा उप. VI. 8. 1. In स्वपिति, स्व means 'his own i. e. Self', पिति represents अपीत (absorbed), अपीति or अपचय means लय. The वे. सू. I. 1. 9 (स्वाप्ययात्) and IV. 4. 16 are based on this Chāndogya text; compare बृह. उप. IV. 3. 19 यत्र 'सुतो न कंचन कामयते न कंचन स्वम पश्यति'.

2595 तद्वत्क्रामन्तं प्राणोत्सृजामति । ... तं विद्याकर्मणी समन्वारभेते पूर्वमज्ञा च । बृह उप. IV 4.2, quoted by अच्युतराय on p. 16 of the transcript. शङ्कराचार्य explains तं परलोकाय गच्छन्तमामानं ... विद्या च कर्म च .. विद्या सर्वकारा विहिता प्रतिपिद्धा च अविहिता अप्रतिपिद्धा च तथा कर्म विहित मतिपिद्ध च अविहितमप्रतिपिद्धं च समन्वारभेते ... अनुगच्छतः । पूर्वमज्ञा च । पूर्वोद्भूतविषया मज्ञा पूर्वमज्ञा अतीतकर्मफलानुभववासनेत्यर्थः ।
वे सू III 4.5 and 11 refer to this passage and explain it. अच्युतराय quotes a verse. कर्मणः क्रियमाणस्य सत्कारो यो हृदि स्थितः । तत्फलस्य च सुक्तस्य पूर्वमज्ञेति सोच्यते ॥ (which is बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्-भाष्यवार्तिक p. 1743, verse 118) p 17 transcript. पूर्वमज्ञा (knowledge or acquaintance with former things) is postulated for explaining the peculiar genius or deficiency observed in children.

2596. एवं मध्यमन्दतीव्रामिधान्यपि जन्मान्तरीयकर्माण्येव तारतम्यात्तथा तथोद्धानि । तत्र त्रिपादसात्त्विकमेकपादराजसं पुण्यं मध्यमं । एवं द्विपाद-सात्त्विक द्विपादराजसमपि
(Continued on next page)

manda (inferior), tīvra (formidable). A good deed which is three parts sāttvika and one part rājasa is called madhya; a deed which is half sāttvika and half rājasa is tīvra. Then Acyutarāya refers to a conflict of views. Following the words 'punyo vai punyena karmanā bhavati pāpah pāpena' (Br. Up. III. 3. 13 quoted in note 2510 above), some writers held that it is only Karma that is the cause of a new birth and that vidyā (knowledge of all kinds) and pūrvaprajñā have nothing to do with it, while others relying on Br. Up. IV. 4. 2 (to which reference is made in the Sankśepasārīraka III. 18) held that Vidyā, Karma and Pūrvaprajñā have all to do with the assumption of a new body by the soul. Achyutarāya agrees with this latter view. He divides and subdivides Karma, vidyā and pūrvaprajñā, so that ultimately the threefold apparatus for giving a new body comes to 96 varieties and remarks that these divisions are not of much use.²⁵⁹⁷ To the objection that all this refutation of prārabdhavāda is idle and serves no purpose he replies: men are of three sorts, mukta (liberated), mumukṣu (desirous of liberation) and viśayin (immersed in enjoying the objects of sense). As regards the first the Chān. Up. VI. 14. 2 says 'for him there is delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body), then he will be perfect'.²⁵⁹⁸ The same is relied upon in V. S. IV. 1. 19. The idea being that until prārabdhakarma that brought about the body in which Realisation was attained is done away with by the death of the body, the self is jīvanmukta, but his other karma that has not begun to yield fruit is done away with by Realisation, To the same effect is Bhagavadgītā.

Acyutarāya quotes thirteen verses from Vārtikasāra about Vāsana (pūrvaprajñā), Karma and Vidyā (pp. 31-33). He

(Continued from last page)

किंचित्पापीपट्टं तीव्रमिति । p 18 transcript There is some mistake in making this transcript. Probably a line is omitted. What is half Sāttvika and half rājasa and slightly affected by viciousness should be called *manda* and *tīvra* should be described as one part sāttvika and three parts rājasa and predominantly sinful.

2597. एतदुदाहरणानि तु पूर्वार्थोक्तदिज्ञैव स्वयमेवोद्धानि विस्तरभयादुच्यते-प्रयोजनत्वाच्च न ह विविच्यन्ते । p 29 (transcript).

2598. तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावत्तु विमोक्ष्येऽथ संपत्त्ये इति । छा. उप. VI 14 2 विमोक्ष्ये and संपत्त्ये are in the first person singular. The father Aruni instructs the son Śvetaketu. When he reaches the stage of describing the step of Mokṣa due to realisation he passes on to the first person from the third and states about himself 'I shall become mukta and perfect at that stage.'

quotes the Jīvanmuktiviveka on the three means of jīvanmukti viz. *tattvajñāna* (knowledge of the Reality as enunciated in 'Tat-tvamasi' Chān. Up. VI. 8. 7, 'Aham brahmāsmi' Br. Up. I. 4. 10), *manonāśa* (disappearance of the activities of the mind) and *Vāsanāksaya* (destruction of the instincts of anger &c). Then he gives a lengthy disquisition on the condemnation of prarābhavāda and the superiority of effort from the Vāsistha-Rāmāyana. About *mumukṣu* Ācūtarāya advises going to a guru as laid down in Mundakopaniṣad I. 2. 12 (*tadvijñānārtham sa gurumevābhigacchet &c*).

The present author has read either wholly or partially the following modern works, mostly written by Western scholars on Karma and rebirth, that either offer remarks for or against that doctrine. The space at the author's disposal precludes any detailed statement about the objections raised against this doctrine in some of them. But a few important objections will be stated and will be briefly dealt with. The works read or consulted are: "Philosophy of the Upanishads" by Paul Deussen, translated by A. S. Geden (1906) pp. 313-338; J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp. 586-593 and for 1907 pp. 665-72 on modifications of the doctrine of Karma by E. W. Hopkins; 'Transmigration of souls' by Alfred Berthelot, translated by H. J. Chaytor (Harper, London, 1909); 'Karma and redemption' by A. G. Hogg (ed. of 1910); 'Religion and immortality' by G. Lowes Dickinson (Dent, 1911); 'Re-incarnation' by E. D. Walker (Rider and Co, London, 1913); this book contains extracts from Western authors (22 in number) on re-incarnation (pp. 63-124); there is also a long chapter (pp. 127-191) of extracts from Western Poetry on the same subject; he also deals with evidences of the doctrine in the Bible and early Christendom and a Bibliography on pp. 329-343; 'Fate and free will' by Ardesar Sorabji N. Wadia (Dent and Sons, London 1915). He states the problem to be 'whether fate by itself influences and directs the course of human evolution or freewill by itself or both fate and freewill working conjointly lay down the lines along which human progress must lie'. He states that it must be the one or the other and that it can never be both (p. 180). He himself believes in a fixed and determinist future; 'Immortality' essays on, by B. H. Streeter and others (Macmillan & Co. 1917); pp. 293-317 deal with re-incarnation and Karma by Miss Lily Dougall and pp. 317-341 deal with modern Theosophy which adopts the doctrines of re-incarnation and Karma, 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by A. B. Keith, vol. II. pp. 570-584; 'Karma and re-

incarnation' by Paul Yevtic (Luzac & Co., London, 1927); *L'Ame et le Dogme de la Transmigration dans les Livres Sacres de L'Inde ancienne* by Eric de Henseler, Paris, 1928; 'Some dogmas of Religion' by McTaggart with Introduction by C. D. Broad (London, 1930 pp. 77-111 on 'Human Immortality'), pp. 112-139 on human pre-existence, pp. 140-185 on Free Will; 'Vicissitudes of karma doctrine' by Prof. H. D. Bhattacharya in *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (1932) pp. 491-526; 'Reincarnation for every man' by Shaw Desmond (Rider & Co., London). This work mentions in chap. VIII European great men that believed in this doctrine; 'The scales of karma' by Owen Rutter (London). This book contains numerous references to Greek and Roman writers and to modern English and German poets and philosophers from whose works extracts are cited for showing that they believed in Karma and reincarnation such as Shakespeare, Hume, Goethe, Wordsworth; 'Indian Philosophy', by Dr S. Radhakrishnan (1941) pp. 244-249, 'The circle of life' by Kenneth Walker (Jonathan Cape, London, 1942) chap. VIII and IX pp. 81-104, 'Karma and re-birth' by Christmas Humphreys (London, 1944); in chap. VII pp. 62-66 he tries to show that Schopenhauer, Tennyson, Browning, Rossetti and John Masefield, the English Poet Laureate, believe in this doctrine; 'The problem of re-birth' by Sri Aurobindo (Pondicherry, 1952); 'The Brahmasūtras' by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (1959), pp. 194-207 of the Introduction; 'The dogma of re-incarnation' by J. E. Sanjana (New Book Co., Bombay, 1954) pp. 1-134 with an Appendix on the rationale of the dogma of rebirth, pp. 137-157. This is one of the largest and latest works on 're-incarnation' that the present author read. Mr. Sanjana writes bitterly and sometimes in offensive language about those from whom he differs. He asserts that he is a true Zoroastrian and that 'it can be said without any exaggeration and with the most perfect reason and justice that a man who believes in re-incarnation is not a true Zoroastrian' (p. 125). None need quarrel with his first belief, but the latter part of the sentence invites serious consideration. He appears to aver that he has a monopoly of the true doctrines of Zoroastrianism and like the Roman Church and the Popes, that held that the true religion was only in their keeping and that all others (even those who believed in the Bible and Christ) were damned, holds that Zoroastrians believing in re-incarnation are apostates. I shall cite only one or two Parsi scholars who hold just the opposite view. Mr. R. F. Gorvala contributed a paper on the "Immortal Soul, its pre-existence,

persistence after death and transmigration" to the Spiegel Commemoration Volume edited by no less a Parsi scholar than Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1908) pp. 99-124, in which he states (p. 124) 'that the Hindu doctrine of the transmigration of the soul influenced the faith of the ancient Zoroastrians in all times. Indeed the struggle between Good and Evil could not end in the triumph of the former if but one brief life was the only time given for the fight.' Vide also 'Philosophy of Zoroastrianism' by Faredun K. Dadachanji (Bombay, Times of India Press, 1941) pp. 108-133, particularly pp. 116 ff. Mr. Sanjana seems to have been much upset by the fact that some Parsis, who were scholars of Avesta and Sanskrit, became Theosophists and admirers of Mrs. Besant and other famous personages in the Theosophist movement. Nearly half the main book of 129 pages is concerned with the criticisms (sometimes extremely offensive) of the doings and writings of Madame Blavatsky (pp. 28-42), Mrs. Besant (pp. 43-51), C. W. Leadbeater (pp. 57-59), A. P. Sinnett and others (like Col. Olcott and Mr. K. A. K. Iyer, author of 'Vedanta'), W. Q. Judge and a Gujarati book of an unnamed scholar (pp. 59-73). On pp. 82-88 he deals with McTaggart, G. L. Dickinson and W. Lutosowski (Polish writer who claims that he remembers his many past lives). Mr. Sanjana returns (pp. 89-103) to the charge against the Theosophists and the storms and eruptions in the Theosophical society and considers some works on Sufism also (pp. 106-115). He emphasises the good points of Zoroastrianism as certified by W. B. Henning, J. W. Waterhouse and Hopkins. He does not devote much thought to the objections, more or less insuperable, against all monotheistic religions with a personal God in such works as Hobhouse's 'Morals in Evolution' part 2, though in the appendix (on p. 140) he has to admit that no satisfactory answer can be given to the question why an omnipotent and omniscient God should allow Evil to exist. He contrasts Zoroaster's religion and philosophy with Hinduism and Buddhism and winds up with an article by Winternitz (pp. 119-121) and then ends on an illuminating personal note in which he confesses (p. 126) that he in his youth was particularly attracted by the doctrine of re-incarnation eloquently propounded by Mrs. Besant, but later he became sceptical about what was said by Mrs. Besant. Neophytes generally indulge in opprobrious language for the cult once ardently professed by them and later abjured and Mr. Sanjana seems to be no exception to this. I may mention here only one or two instances of his language against Theosophists:

on p. 64 he speaks of Blavatsky, Mrs. Besant, Sinnett and Leadbeater as "proved charlatane" and on p. 95 he writes about Mrs. Besant's entry into Politics as "these later metamorphoses of the megalomaniac Mrs. Besant". It appears to the present writer that his study of original Sanskrit works is not deep and that he commits serious mistakes in the small portion of his work that he devotes to the ancient Indian view of the doctrine of re-incarnation. His wrong interpretation of Manu VI. 63 (p. 10 of his book) has been pointed out (on p. 1565). Some more cases of mistakes may be cited here. On p. 11 of his book he relies on Thibaut for the statement that there is nothing in the *śūtras* (the Vedānta-sūtras) to warrant the main doctrine of Śāṅkara about two Vidyās, the higher (*parā*) and the lower (*aparā*), which respectively lead to the higher (*para*) *brahma* and the lower (*apara*) *brahma*. If he had carefully read only a few of the eleven principal Upanisads (the *Īśāvāsyā*, *Kena*, *Katha*, *Mundaka*, *Praśna*) he would have found for himself that Thibaut is not a trustworthy guide in all cases. The *Mundaka Upanisad* (I. 1. 4-5) speaks of two vidyās, *parā* and *aparā* 'dve vidye veditavye parā ca, aparā ca, atha parā yayā tadaksaram adhigamyate' and this *Mundaka* text is treated as the basis of Vedāntasūtra I. 2. 21-23 by Śāṅkara and Rāmānuja. The *Praśna Upanisad* 2 states both *para* and *apara brahma* 'etadvai Satyakāma param cāparam ca brahma yad-omkāreḥ'. On pp. 21, 121, 146 he alleges that the words "yadāhareva virajet tadāhareva pravrajat" (a man should become a *sannyāsin* the very day on which he feels disgust for this worldly life) are a dictum or saying of Śāṅkara. But this text is taken from the *Jābālopanisad* 4. The whole passage of the *Jābālopanisad* 4 on the *āśramas* is quoted by Śāṅkara on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 20 and Śāṅkara calls it *Jābālasruti*. On p. 22 Mr. Sanjana quotes *Bhagavadgītā* (IX. 32, 'mām hi pārtha vyapāsritya yepi syuh pāpayonayah, striyo vaiśyāe-tathā śūdrāe-tepi yānti param gatim) and holds that women, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* are declared to be included under 'pāpayonayah' (of evil or sinful birth). This is quite wrong. A *Vaiśya* from very ancient times belonged to the three higher classes and in the *Chāndogya Upanisad* V. 10. 7, it is expressly stated that *Vaiśyayoni* is of good birth (those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a *brāhmaṇa* or of a *ksatriya* or of a *vaiśya*, but those whose conduct has been evil will attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a *cāṇḍāla*). So *vaiśya's* was good

birth in Chān. Upanisad. Women of the higher classes could not study the Veda in medieval times but women of the three higher classes co-operated with their husbands in all religious rites (including Vedic sacrifices). Therefore, the Gītā first mentions the worst case viz. that of Cāndālas and affirms that even Cāndālas (who belonged to the lowest class) would attain the highest goal if they surrendered themselves as devotees to God and then adds three more classes of people viz. women, vaiśyas and śūdras. A Śūdra was never among untouchables; on the contrary, early Smrtis like *Manu* VI. 253, *Yājñavalkya* I. 166, *Parāśara* XI. 19 provide that a brāhmana could take food at the house of a śūdra provided the latter was born of his slave woman or cultivated the brāhmana's fields on the rent of half share of crops or was the friend of his family or tended his cattle or was his barber. In medieval times (after the 5th or 6th century A.D.), however, the caste system became more rigid but even up to the 12th century A.D. a brāhmana could take food at a śūdra's house in extreme calamity (vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III, pp. 952-53). Thereafter this was forbidden and was included among *Kalivarjya* acts. The vaiśyas are probably equated with women and śūdras because in their pursuit of wealth they never cared to study the Veda and Upanisads. Other passages of Mr. Sanjana's work are not cited for criticism for reasons of space.

Some of the objections raised by Western thinkers and writers against the doctrine of Karma and re-incarnation will now be mentioned and briefly dealt with. One or two preliminary matters have to be emphasized. Many in the West regard our life after the death of the bodies as certain, but hardly any one of them regards our life before our present bodies as a possibility. The explanation of this attitude of many Western thinkers lies in the fact that in modern Western thought the great support of the belief in immortality of the soul has been the Christian religion, which is supposed not to recognize the pre-existence of the soul. Besides, Christian writers from Augustine onwards firmly believed that religious truths outside the revelation in the Bible as interpreted by them were a work of the devil. McTaggart in '*Some Dogmas of religion*' (London, 1930) attacks this attitude. He holds (p. 113) that any evidence which will prove immortality will also prove pre-existence and that there is nothing in pre-existence that is incompatible with any of the dogmas that are generally accepted as fundamental

to Christianity.' L. P. Jacks in 'Near the brink' (Allen and Unwin, London, 1952, pp. 10-11) holds the same opinion (at the age of 92) as McTaggart's. Wordsworth in his famous Ode appears to agree that the present life is preceded by another existence when he says 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting, the soul that rises with us, our life's star, had elsewhere its setting and cometh from afar' L. P. Jacks in the work mentioned above remarks (on p 9) that an endless punishment is not, strictly speaking, a punishment at all but an exercise of cruelty or vengeance and that the same is true of an endless reward.

The first objection raised against the doctrine of Karma by Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of immortality' (Oxford, 1922) is that absence of memory of the pre-existence is fatal to it (p. 112) and that immortality without recollection is quite useless. Miss Lily Dougall in 'Immortality' by Canon Streeter and others raises a similar objection (p. 29). This objection can be answered in various ways Does any one remember anything of what one did during the first two years of his life? It is also well-known that men do not correctly remember in old age even the names of their grand-children nor does a man remember what he did exactly ten years ago during his present life. It is rather merciful that there is no memory of past lives. If all the multifarious memories of many lives were to crowd on us in the present life, our minds would be confused and matters in the present life would be very much complicated. Karma is a cosmic law like the law of gravitation. The latter was not recognized by humanity for thousands of years but all the same it existed and worked. Several people claim to remember their past lives. The story of Śāntidevī was published as a case of re-incarnation by Lala Deshbhandhu Gupta, Pandit Nekiram Sharma, and Tarachand Mathur. The 'Theosophist Monthly' for January 1925 mentions concrete instances of the memory of past lives 'The lives of Alcyone' (Adyar, 1924) is a work in two volumes by Mrs Besant and Mr Leadbeater in which 48 lives are traced from 70000 B C to 624 A. D with photographs of some of them as they must have appeared in the respective incarnations. The present author does not go into that question here In the Essays on Immortality edited by B H. Streeter it is said (on p 297) that lack of conscious continuity between two incarnations of a soul negatives the doctrine. One may ask: what grounds are there to hold or to prove that the reprobate criminal who will be awarded a judgment of eternal punish-

ment will remember while undergoing hell fires his past life on earth? If one can believe in future eternal punishment for a confirmed sinner without any tangible evidence of memory of the sinful life he lived, why refuse to believe in pre-existence merely on the ground of absence of memory? Vide 'Some Dogmas &c.' p. 130. Further, sciences holds that matter and energy are indestructible, they are only transformed into other forms. Why should one regard it as absurd if one were to hold that the soul (to which post-existence is granted by Christianity and some other religions) should be held to come into existence in the present life all at once and not be held to have had previous existence but only in a different form? The continuity of the soul in past and future existences is merely a metaphysical question and cannot be affected by the loss of memory. The latter occurs in one life of many years as to numerous happenings and at least in that one life the soul is admittedly one throughout

Another objection is on the ground of heredity. We often find a strong likeness between parents and children in body and sometimes in mental faculties also. How are we to explain this? One answer may be that by some law not yet discovered the soul that has to undergo rebirth is born to parents suited to his condition. Besides, children are not exactly like their parents, some resemble in several physical features the mother or the father, but not in all and children of the same parents differ among themselves even as regards physical features. As regards mental qualities, children do not very often resemble their parents. What sort of mental equipment was possessed by the parents of such men of genius as Shakespeare, Newton, Ramanujan, Einstein? Karma does not express what a man inherits from his ancestors, but it expresses that which he inherits from himself in some previous state or states of existence.

Another objection is often raised that belief in the doctrine of Karma would make men callous to human misery and suffering and unwilling to help. This also is a perverse idea. From the ancient Vedic times charity and compassion have been inculcated as the duties of all men without distinction. The Rgveda (X 117. 6) sage declares 'that man who cooks food for himself and eats it himself alone simply incurs sin' (kevalagho bhavati kevalādi). The Br. Up. V. 2. 3 prescribes for all men the three duties viz. self-restraint, charity and compassion. If

a man having the means to help another does not offer help he would be failing in his duty. It is possible that the result of the sufferer's Karma might have been meant to be mitigated by the kindness of helpers

Another objection is sometimes raised as follows. The population of the earth is growing rapidly. The question is: where do the additional egos come from (vide Berthelot's work, English tr. p. 127 and J. E. Sanjana's book on the 'Dogma of re-incarnation' p. 81). Several answers are possible. Several species of lower animals have become extinct and the number of wild animals such as the lion is rapidly being reduced. It is possible for one who believes in Karma doctrine to argue that the selves that were masquerading as beasts now appear as human beings, because their Karma that reduced them to the state of beasts has been exhausted.

Some of the Purāṇas declare that a man who is very sinful may reach lower and lower states e. g. the Vāyupurāṇa²⁵⁹⁹ (chap. 14 verses 34-37) provides that a very sinful man may become *paśu* (cattle or a beast), then deer, then a bird, then a creeping insect and then a tree or other immobile object. Theosophists and some modern scholars hold that once the human state is reached there is no regression at all. It may be noted that the Kathopanishad expressly states (in V. 6-7) that after the death of the body the souls take up birth in other bodies, while some become tree-trunks according to their actions and knowledge. The Ch. Up. V. 10. 7 says 'those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or hog or cāṇḍāla.' Manu (XII. 9) avers that a man is reduced by bodily sins to the stage of a tree-trunk, by sins due to speech to being a bird or a beast and by mental sins to lowest births (of a cāṇḍāla etc.). In verses 62-68 of chapter XII, Manu describes the different births of various animals by the commission of thefts of various articles and in verses 52-59 the births due to the grave sins of brāhmana-murder, drinking liquor, incest. The Yājñavalkya Smṛti (III. 213-215) also contains provisions similar to Manu XII. 53-59. The Yogasūtra II. 13 also suggests that the retribution for various sins results in being

2599 कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यद्भीष्टं निवेत्यते । तत्पतत्य हरेत्पापं तस्मात्संस्तुतमाचरेत् ॥ पापंजातानि पापानि पूर्वं कर्माणि वेदिनः । संसारं तामसं वादक् यद्भीष्टं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ मातुष्यं यद्युभावं च यद्युभायान्मृगो भवेत् । सुगन्धाल्पकिभावं तु तस्माच्चैव सरीसृपः ॥ सरीसृपत्वाद्भृच्छिं रपावर्त्तनं संशयः । वायुः 14. 34-37.

born in low births or dying prematurely or experiencing misery and suffering.

It is rather difficult to regard all this body of authority as mere arthavādas (not meant to be taken seriously but intended only to frighten intending sinners). Dr. Radhakrishnan (in 'An idealist view of life' ed. of 1932) suggests that it is possible that rebirth in animal form is a figure of speech for rebirth as human beings with animal or beastly qualities (page 292).

SECTION X

The fundamental conceptions and characteristics of Hindu (Bhāratīya) culture and civilization from the Vedic times to about 1800 A. D and future trends

CHAPTER XXXVI

Fundamental and leading characteristics of Hindu culture and civilization

It is necessary to gather together the threads scattered over six thousand pages of the History of Dharmaśāstra and to emphasize the fundamental and leading characteristics and conceptions of Hindu culture and civilization.

The word Hindu (in the form 'Hidu') appears to have been applied by the Persian²⁶⁰⁰ Emperors Darius (522-486 B. C.) and Xerxes (486-465 B. C.) to the territory and people to the west and to the east of the great river Sindhu, while the Greeks referred to the people in the same region as 'Indoi', from which comes the word 'Indian'. Herodotus in his History (Loeb series) states that the Thracians were the biggest nation in the world next to the Indians (Book 5 para 3, vol. III p. 5) and that the Indians constituted the 20th province of the Persian Empire and paid 360 talents of gold dust as tribute. The word 'Sindhu' occurs more than two hundred times in the Rgveda alone in the singular as well as in the plural. The words 'Sindhavaḥ' and 'Sapta Sindhūn' occur more frequently than Sindhu in the singular. Indra is often described as having let loose the seven Sindhus for flowing (Rg. I. 32.12, II. 12.12, IV. 28.1, VIII. 96.1, X. 43.3) In such passages what is meant is the great river Sindhu and its tributaries (or possibly its seven mouths).

2600. Vide the Naqṣ-e-Rustam Inscription of Dāraya-uṣh (Darius) and the Persepolis Inscription of Kshayārsha (Xerxes) in 'Select Inscriptions' edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, No. 4 p. 10 and No 5 p. 12. Sanskrit 'sa' is changed to 'ha' even now in some parts of our country. The ancient Parsi scripture Vendidad (S.B.E. Vol IV p. 2) mentions sixteen lands out of which nine can be identified, the 15th being Hapta Hindu (Sapta Sindhū)

Many passages of the Rgveda where the singular is employed refer to the river Sindhu alone (as in Rg. II 15.6, IV. 30.12, V. 4.9 &c). In Rg. II 15.6 it is said that Indra made Sindhu flow northwards. This would obviously refer to the first part of the river flowing northward from the Himālayas. Pānini uses the word 'Sindhu' as the name of a country in IV. 3.93 ('Saṁdhiṇava' means one who or whose ancestors lived in the Sindhu country). For the fluctuating limits of Āryāvarta, vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 11-16 and p. 1525, note 2483 above, where Rg. passages about Bharatas are set out and it is shown that the Purāṇas speak of Bharata-varsa as of the same extent as that of modern India and the name is said to have been due to Bharata, son of Dasyanta and Sakuntalā. Bharatavarṣa occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (line 10 on p. 79) which cannot be assigned to a date later than the 1st century²⁶⁰¹ B. C. It has been shown above (p. 1016 n. 1649) that Aśoka in one of his edicts refers to his kingdom as Jambudvīpa. Even in these days in the rather long *saṁkalpa* (declaration) at the beginning of a religious act in Mahārāstra, occur the words 'Jambudvīpe Bharatavarṣe Bauddhāvatare Godivaryā daksine tire' &c. Therefore, the proper word to be used by us for our country should be Bharatavarṣa. It may be said that our culture and civilization had throughout the past ages a geographical background. The Constitution of India has recognized this in its very first Article which runs 'India, that is Bharat, shall be a union of States'. In view of the fact, however, that the words 'Hindu' and 'Indian' have been employed for centuries by foreign as well as our own writers, this work will employ these words instead of 'Bharatavarṣa'.

The words 'culture' and 'civilization' are used as synonyms by some writers, while some others regard them as quite distinguishable. These two are defined in various ways by scholars. A few definitions are set out here by way of sample.

Dr. Tyler states (in 'Primitive Culture' vol. I p. 1, Murray, London, 1871) 'Culture or civilization is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and

2601. Vide E. I. vol. XX pp. 71-89. Scholars differ about the date of this Inscription, Jayaswal holding (*ibid.* p. 77) that it belongs to the first half of the 2nd century B. C., while N. N. Ghosh in J G J. R. I vol. VI pp. 97-106 opines that it belongs to the last quarter of the first century B. C.

any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'. Matthew Arnold's definition of culture in his lengthy essay on 'Culture and Anarchy' (1869, Preface p. VIII) is rather restricted in scope. He regards culture as a 'pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world, and through this knowledge turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits which we know follow staunchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is a virtue in following them staunchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically'. Prof. P. A. Sorokin in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics' (1957, p. 2) defines human culture as 'the sum total of everything which is created or modified by the conscious or unconscious activity of two or more individuals interacting with one another or conditioning one another's behaviour.'²⁶⁰² Prof. Edgerton in *Journal of American Oriental Society* in a paper on the 'Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian Culture' (vol. 62 for 1942 pp. 151-156) understands culture as a total way of life viewed as a norm and as such approved or at least tolerated by a people as a whole and by its articulate representatives generally.

Prof. Toynbee in 'Civilizations on trial' (1948) states (p. 223) 'I mean by a civilization the smallest unit of historical study at which one arrives when one tries to understand the history of his own country, U.S.A., say, or U.K.' Prof. Toynbee in his latest work 'Reconsiderations' (vol. XII pp. 76-77, of his *Study of History*) adopts Bageby's definition of culture as meaning 'regularities in the behaviour, internal and external,

²⁶⁰² Prof. Sorokin (*ibid* pp 24-25) distinguishes two types of integrated cultures, one called ideational and the other sensate. None of the two has, according to him, existed in the purest form. In some cultures the first type prevails, in others the 2nd; while in still others both might mingle in equal proportions and on an equal basis. This last he terms 'idealistic type' (which is not to be confused with the ideational type). Dr G. S. Ghurye's 'Culture and Society' (University of Bombay Publications, 1947) is a very useful book on culture and civilization and considers at length the views of eminent writers like Emerson, Arnold, Morley, Whitehead, Russell, Laski, Wells and others. Prof. Northrop in 'Meeting of East and West' (1946) and Prof. Sorokin in 'Social Philosophies in an age of crisis' (Londoo, 1952) p. 145 hold that the total culture of a nation in the East or West is not a mere heap of numerous phenomena unrelated to each other but rather as grounded in differing philosophical conceptions of the nature of man and of the universe.

of the members of a Society, excluding those regularities which are clearly hereditary in origin' and adds that 'religious practices and institutions and, by implication, also religious beliefs and experiences are certainly a part of culture as thus defined' and mentions religion together with art, technology, social structure as examples of the elements of which culture consists (pp. 84, 95). Prof. Toynbee further says that in his volumes he employed the word 'culture' in two different senses, viz. (1) the comprehensive one in which it is used by Bagby and (2) in an exclusive sense in which the word has been current in contemporary English since the time of Matthew Arnold (*ibid.* p. 272). As regards the word 'civilization' he remarks (p. 273) that civilization is a hybrid word of modern French coinage and Johnson refused to include it in his dictionary.

Archibald Robertson (in 'Rationalism in theory and practice', London, 1954 p. 62) says "when we use the word 'civilization', we mean a society with enough command over nature to raise it above savagery or barbarism. Civilization primarily means 'civitas' city life, division of labour and consequent surplus production over and above mere animal needs.' Vide Prof. S. Levi's book 'L' Inde et le Monde' p. 63 translated in H. Kraemer's 'World cultures and world religions' (London 1960) p. 345 where it is really a definition of Hindu civilization alone.

It is unnecessary to cite further definitions. We may accept any one of these for a working hypothesis. If a distinction is to be made between the two words, one may say that the word 'culture', being neutral in meaning, is the better one to use than the word 'civilization'. The latter word is often employed for an advanced stage of social development and is contrasted with the stage of primitive or barbarian societies. People often speak of primitive culture, but rarely, if at all, of primitive civilization.

During the last 6000 years of human history, several cultures and civilizations rose and fell. Spengler, a militarist and anti-rationalistic author, who does not rely on religion, morality or politics but is a votary of force, examines about thirty civilizations and cultures and propounds the thesis that all of them (except seven or eight) follow a certain common pattern, viz. they are born, grow, decline and die and that once defunct they are not revived. Prof. Toynbee, a Christian (and

not a militarist) in his 'Study of History' appears to arrive at conclusions not unlike those of Spengler, viz culture and societies have stages of childhood, maturity, senility and disintegration. On p. 758 of Volume IX of his 'Study of History' he gives a table for nineteen civilizations with the dates of their Epiphany (manifestation), of their breakdown and the span of growth phase in number of years. He puts down Indic civilization as starting in 1375 B. C. and as breaking down in 725 B. C. and Hindu civilization as beginning in 775 A. D. and its breakdown in 1175 A. D. This is, to say the least, most objectionable²⁶⁰³ The distinction between Indic and Hindu civilization is arbitrary and the dates also are so. Why the Hindu civilization is held by him as breaking down in 1175 A. D. is quite unconvincing and what was the nature or name of India's civilization between 725 B. C. and 775 A. D. is not stated by him. On the other hand, the whole metaphor of being born, growing, maturing and disintegrating is held inapplicable to civilizations by other distinguished writers, such as J. G. De Beus in the 'Future of the West' (London, 1953), who remarks that civilizations are not born and they do not die (p. 60), but are transformed or absorbed. Prof. Sorokin asserts (in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics') that his theory has little in common with the age-old theories of the life cycle of culture and societies with stages of childhood, maturity, senility and decay (p. 627). Leonard Woolf in 'Quack, quack' mercilessly criticizes Spengler's theories (pp. 139-160). A. L. Kroeber in 'Style and Civilizations' (New York, 1957) agrees with Prof. Sorokin and disagrees with Spengler and Toynbee and remarks that 'the study of civilizations can hardly become truly scientific or scholarly until it divests itself of emotional concern about crisis, decay, collapse, extinction and doom' (p. 160).

Among the numerous civilizations and cultures that flourished in the world there are only two (namely, the Indian and the Chinese) that have survived and kept up a continuity of tradition for four thousand years (if not more) in spite of recurrent invasions by foreign hordes like those by Persians,

2603. While these pages were passing through the press, I received Prof. Toynbee's 'Reconsiderations' (Vol XII of his Study of History) on p. 184 of which he revises his opinion by saying "the maintenance of the brahmans' monopoly of the religious ministry gives Indian History a continuity throughout the period running from the Aryan invasion to the impact of the West",

Greeks, Scythians, Huns, Turks and notwithstanding internal conflicts and convulsions,²⁶⁰¹ India absorbed such people and made many Greeks, Śakas and other foreigners adopt the spiritual ideologies of India and found for them a place in the Indian social fabric (as has been and will be shown later). Not only so, India could spread its literature, religion, art and culture, not by invasions or annexations but mostly by peaceful means, viz. teaching, translations of Sanskrit works and persuasion, to Ceylon, Burma, Sumatra, Malaya, Java, Bali, Borneo, China, Tibet, Japan, Mongolia and Korea.²⁶⁰⁵ The charming island of Bali is still Hindu with four varnas, priests being called *Pedanda* (*Pandita*), consecrated water for worship being called *Toya* (vide S. Levi's 'Sanskrit texts from Bali' Preface p. XIII G. O. S.), priests still repeating one quarter of *Gāyatrī*, viz. 'bhargo devasya dhīmahi' (ibid. p. XV) and repeating the *yajñopavīta* mantra (*yajñopavītam paramam* etc.) in a corrupt form.

This persistence of Indian culture and civilization for several millennia requires an explanation and a consideration of the fundamental conceptions, values and characteristics of that civilization would enable us to offer a satisfactory one. Indian culture and civilization have a distinct personality and should not and could not be judged by purely European standards.

2604 Vide Prof. Sorokin in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics' p. 697, Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Religion and Society' (1947) p. 101.

2605. The number of works and papers on the spread of Indian culture in South East Asia, China and what is called 'Further India' or 'Greater India' is very large. A few only out of those that the author has read or consulted are mentioned here. Dr. R. C. Majumdar's 'Ancient Indian Colonies' Vol I and II, 'Towards Angkor' with 42 illustrations, 1937 and 'Making of Greater India' (London, 1951), both by H. G. Quaritch Wales, the latter containing a good Bibliography, 'Śrī Viṣaya' by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1949, with an appendix of Inscriptions from 683 A. D. to about the 14th century A. D., 'Civilizations of the East' by René Grousset, translated from French by Catherine A. Phillips with 249 illustrations, Vol II on 'India, Farther India and Malaya' pp 1-343. For China's debt to India, vide *Viśvabhāratī Quarterly*, Vol II pp 251-261 by Prof. Liang Chi Chao, who states that Hindu scholars that came to China from 8th century A. D. were 24 and Chinese scholars that went to India for study from 265 A. D. to 790 A. D. numbered 187 (the names of 105 out of these being ascertained), vide also 'India and China' by Prof. P. C. Bagchi (Hind Kitabs, 1950), particularly chapters II and III.

Various peoples during past centuries had the conceit that they were far superior to others and had a mission to propagate. When the British empire became so extensive that the 'Sun never set on it', many British imperialists claimed (most hypocritically) that they were carrying on the 'white man's burden'^{2605 A} for the benefit and betterment of undeveloped and backward people (when British Imperialism was impoverishing to the utmost the people whom they governed by their colonial policies as will be briefly indicated later on so far as India is concerned). Russia claims that it has the mission to liberate the proletariat from capitalism and to bring about a Paradise on Earth. The Germans under Hitler believed that they belonged to the superior Nordio race and that they would save the world from communism. Such a conceit is not confined to the West. The Chinese believed that they alone were civilized. The Japanese hold that their Emperor is the son of Heaven. In these days some Indians also claim that spirituality existed nowhere except in India. It is quite correct to say that ancient Indian culture and civilization were based on great spiritual values. It would be entirely in the wrong to say that other people had no spirituality. All that we can at most say is that spirituality is more basic to Hinduism and was more diffused among Hindu people than anywhere else. The Manusmṛti provides that only those usages of varnas and mixed castes that are traditionally prevalent in the country of Brahmāvarta, in Kuruksetra, in the countries of Matsya, Pāñcāla (the country called Doab) and Śūrasena (round about Mathurā) are spoken of as *sadūcāra* (II, 17-19) and that all men on the earth should learn their respective duties from brāhmanas born in those countries. The Manusmṛti excludes the countries of Madhyadeśa (as defined by it) and Āryāvarta from this provision (II 21-22). Recently, some people appear to rely on the words 'kr̥navanto viśvam-āryam' occurring in Rg IX. 63. 5-6 and hold that the Veda has put forward the mission of our country as making the whole world *ārya*. But there is hardly any foundation for this conceit. These words occur about the offering of Soma juice (*indavah*) to Indra. They only mean this-these Soma libations, brown in colour,²⁶⁰⁶ (pressed from Soma plant) increase (the

^{2605 A} Vide Leonard Woolf in 'Barbarians at the Gate' (London, 1939) p 54 for saying that 'white man's burden' was another name for economic imperialism and also p, 162

²⁶⁰⁶ द्रव्यं वर्धन्तो अन्नं कृण्वन्तो विश्वनायम् । अपवर्णतो अराण्यः ॥ सुता अन्नं स्वना

might of) Indra, making the waters to fall (from the sky), destroy hostile men coming to Indra, making all (the whole environment) noble they reach their proper sphere.' There is here no reference whatever to Vedic people making the whole world Ārya. At the most these verses may be interpreted as suggesting that Soma sacrifices to Indra would make the world Ārya. Then there is no message in it which modern Indians can give and spread. Soma plant itself became unavailable in Vedic times and substitutes had to be utilized. And hardly any solemn Vedic sacrifices have been performed for centuries in India and very rarely, if at all, Soma sacrifices.

During the last four or five hundred years the Western nations professing Christianity started on a career of conquest, exploitation of undeveloped countries and peoples, colonial empires, use of the discoveries of science for competitive purposes, the amassing of wealth with such ideologies as those expressed in the words 'everybody should be for himself and the devil take the hind-most.' But the devastation and atrocities of the last two world wars and the possibility of the annihilation of the human race or a very large part of it by atomic warfare have now opened the eyes of many thoughtful leaders and people in the West that, if modern civilization is to be saved, they must cultivate regard for spiritual values, love of righteousness and justice, sympathy with the oppressed, and active belief in the brotherhood of man. Though our ancient sages and lawgivers laid great emphasis on spiritual values, a very large majority of our people and so-called leaders have been wanting in the practice of those values for centuries. Instead of merely praising our past glories, the present author would humbly request all educated Indians to be introspective and to ponder over certain questions that are often asked and seek to find the reasons for the loss of our freedom from the 13th century onwards. (1) Why Hindus were generally found inferior to the invaders, Persian, Greek, Scythian, Turk, English, even though Indians far outnumbered and even though most invaders were impressed by the courage and perfect indifference to death on the part of India's soldiers; (2) Why Hindus could not form

(Continued from last page)

रजोऽभ्यर्चन्ति वज्रवः । इन्द्रं गच्छन्त इन्द्रवः ॥ क IX. 63.5-6; compare verse 14 of the same hymn एते धामान्यार्या शुक्रा वृत्तरप धारया । वार्ज गोमन्तमक्षरन् ॥ The words धामान्यार्या mean 'the noble dwellings or noble statutes' (of Gods)

a permanent organized State comprising the whole of India for many centuries; (3) why did they fail to take advantage of the splendid natural resources of India to excel in manufactures, commerce and industry. We must enter upon a thoroughgoing and honest inquiry into our past to find our own defects (political and others) that led to our fall for centuries and try to remove those defects as quickly as possible, now that Bhārata has won independence after centuries. There was no political unity of the whole of India till the British began to rule over the whole of India. There were constant wars among Hindu kingdoms and princes. For example, because the Marathas invaded Bengal, the Bengalis hated Marathas and were jubilant over the defeat of the Marathas by the British. We Indians hardly had any deep-seated feeling of all Indians being one people or of nationalism till the 2nd half of the 19th century A. D. This chapter cannot discuss at length the subject of the causes of the downfall of India, politically and in other respects. But a few remarks would not be altogether out of place here.

Hinduism is a combination of many systems and religious ideologies including Vedic ritualism, Vedāntic thought, Vaisnavism, Śaivism, Shaktism and primeval cults, adapted to the requirements of different types of men and communities with great disparities of intellectual and spiritual attainments. There were only a few matters that would be said to have bound most of the Hindus to each other, viz the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, the unifying influence of the vast and venerated Sanskrit literature that gradually enriched the regional languages, the veneration in which the Vedas were held by all Hindus as the final authority in religious matters, though only a small minority could learn and understand them, the geographical unity of the country from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin emphasized by the Purānas and by the pilgrimages to holy places from Mānasa lake and Badrinath to Rāmesvara. These few elements, however, were not enough to neutralize the causes that militated against effective unity amongst all Hindus. Most of the *ācāryas* and saints laid too much emphasis on otherworldiness and Vedānta and did not lay equal or greater emphasis on or recognize the importance of active and thorough performance of people's duties to themselves, to their families, and to society, the result being that many people, whether fit or unfit, tried to become otherworldly and did not actively pursue worldly values with righteousness. Another cause of disunity

and downfall was the great disparity between the high metaphysical teaching of the whole world being one and the treatment meted out to lower classes and untouchables, owing to ideas of exclusiveness, of purity and pollution by touch &c. The education of the masses was greatly neglected²⁶⁰⁷ and the higher classes did not seriously mind who ruled the country as long as their life was not much disturbed. The great patriot and revolutionary Savarkar, hammered on seven fetters by which Hindu society was bound for centuries, viz. untouchability, prohibitions of several kinds viz. sea travel, of mutual dining among the hundreds of castes and subcastes, of intercaste marriages, of Veda study against several castes, prohibition against following certain occupations and prohibition against re-admission to Hinduism of people that were converted to other religious faiths by force, fraud or ignorance.

Our cultural history shows some central features which may be mentioned in one place here. The first is that there has been an unbroken religious tradition from the Vedic times almost to the present day. Vedic mantras are still employed throughout the whole of India in religious rites and ceremonies by all brāhmanas and by a large number of the members of castes claiming to be Ksatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Vedic gods are not entirely forgotten. Kindling of Agni is still required at the beginning of all rites, Visnu (though not so frequently praised as Indra, Agni or Varuna, yet often enough, is praised in Rg I. 22. 16-21, I. 154. 1-6, I. 155. 1-6, VI. 69. 1-8, both Indra and Visnu are praised in Rg. VII. 99. 1-7, Atharvaveda VII. 27. 4-9) and Siva (Rudra of the Rgveda, transformed a great deal yet highly praised in Rg. II. 1.6, II. 33.9, X. 92.9 where he is spoken of as Siva) are even now the principal deities worshipped. In the morning and evening Sandhyā worship, brāhmanas in many parts of India still repeat respectively verses addressed to Mitra (Rg III. 59) and Varuna (Rg I. 25). The second feature is that, India being a vast country (as large as the whole of Europe minus Russia), central authority in political power never existed (except perhaps for a short time under Aśoka). The ideal was that of supreme ruler (*saṃrāt* or *cakravartin*). But, if a king submitted, acknowledged the prowess of the successful conqueror

2607. Vide Works of Vivekananda (Mayavati ed, Vol III. pp 191-192, 428-29, V. 122, VI. 224) The census of 1951 disclosed that there were fifty-one million untouchables in Bhārata.

and paid some tribute, no samrāt troubled himself to look into the affairs of the kingdoms ruled by petty kings. There could, therefore, be no common front against a foreign invader, no uniformity in laws, customs and practices and there were frequent wars among kings and petty princes. A third feature was that there did not develop a serious clash of cultures, there was tolerance about varying ideologies and beliefs and constant adaptation to create harmony in diversity.

It makes one sad to find that not a single Hindu scholar resembling Alberuni came forward to inquire into the causes of the successful invasions of India by Mahmud of Gazni and later hordes. Intellectuals were mostly engaged at least from the 11th century onwards in composing works of thousands of pages on such topics as Vrata, Dāna, Śrāddha (as the very learned minister Hemādri did) or in mental gymnastics about logic, Vedānta, Poetics and similar subjects and appear to have bestowed little thought on finding means of meeting the onslaught of foreigners or the remedies for removing their own weaknesses and defects. There were also other causes of the downfall of Hindus. Our intellectuals did not or could not pursue and make their own discoveries of science and technology made in the world from the 15th century A. D. Shahaji purchased firearms from foreigners. Neither he, nor his great son Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, started factories for the manufacture of up-to-date firearms and cannon. Similarly, our people did not properly appreciate the role of a powerful navy. If the Hindus or their rulers had possessed a powerful navy they would have been able to nip in the bud the ambitions of the Portuguese, the French and the English.

We must now set out the important characteristics of Hindu culture and civilization.

1. The most striking conception even as early as the Rgveda is that there is only one Reality or Essence, in spite of the fact that people speak of it or worship it as Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni &c (Rg I. 164. 46, VIII. 58. 1, X. 129. 2, q. above on p. 1487). In the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, in classical Sanskrit Poetry and even in medieval times, when there were various cults and schisms, such as the worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva or Śakti, almost all Hindus had an inner consciousness that God is one though called by various names; vide p 118 note 306, p 973 and note 1593 above, and Harivaṃsa (Vinnuparva 25. 31), Kumārasambhava VII. 44.

2. From this conception arose the great tolerance that Hinduism at all times showed to freedom of thought and worship, which has been dwelt upon by the present author in H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 388 note 928, Vol. V. pp. 970-71, 1011-1018 (references to Aśoka's edicts and Yāj. I. 343 and numerous instances of Indian kings and donors of one persuasion making gifts to temples and institutions of other cults and persuasions); vide also Gīta 7. 21-22 and 9 23. To hunt down heretics, real or supposed, has been a favourite business of some religions²⁶⁰³ for centuries. This has been absent from Hinduism. Hinduism is not bound by any fixed creed nor does it rely on a single book²⁶⁰⁸ or a prophet as its founder. All that it requires is that man should be God-fearing and what matters is not correct beliefs but moral conduct and social behaviour. Hindus do not deny the truth of any religion or reject the validity of another man's religious experience. A verse²⁶⁰⁹ quoted below breathes a broad-minded approach to religious beliefs and worship 'May Hari, the Lord of the three worlds, bestow on you the desired reward, whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, Vedāntins as *brāhman*, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas proficients in the means of knowledge as the Creator, those devoted to Jain teachings as Arhat and Mīmāṃsakas as Yajña'. The great logician Udayana who composed his *Lakṣanāvalī* in *śaka* 906 (984 A. D.) breathes in his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* the same spirit as is contained in the verse translated above. Tolerance is thus of the essence of Hinduism and even an atheist is often met with amusement and not with persecution.

III. Working on the doctrine that there is only one Essence or Godhead, the sages of the Upanisads arrived at the

2608 For Biblical intolerance one may read Jeremiah 29.8-9, Colossians II. 8, Galatians I 7-9

2609. यं शैवाः सद्युपासन्ते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो
बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपदवः कर्मेति नैयायिकाः ।
अर्हश्चित्तव्य जैनज्ञासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसका
सोऽयं वो विदधातु बाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार (Nir ed of 1935 p. 15 verse 27),
न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि I 2 15 : स्वर्गोपवर्गयोर्मर्त्यममनन्ति मनीषिणः । यदुपास्तिमसावत्र
परमात्मा निरूप्यते ॥ इह यद्यपि ये कर्मणि दुरुपायमर्थयमानाः शुद्धशुद्धस्वभाव इत्युपनिषदाः ।
आदिबिद्वान् सिद्ध इति कापिलाः । क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपराधो निर्माणकायमाध्याय
सम्प्रदायप्रद्योतकोऽष्टग्राहकश्चेति पातञ्जलीः । लोकवेदविरुद्धैरपि निर्लेपैः स्वतन्त्रश्चेति
महापाञ्चपताः । शिव इति शैवाः । दुरुपोत्तम इति वैष्णवाः । पितामह इति पौराणिकाः । यज्ञदुरुप
इति याज्ञिकाः । निरावरण इति दिगम्बराः । उपास्यत्वेन वैशिष्ट इति मीमांसकाः । शिवदुरुप
इति नैयायिकाः । लोकव्यवहारसिद्ध इति चार्वाकाः । किंबहुना कारवोऽपि य विश्वकर्माद्युपासने ॥

conclusion that the individual self is non-different from the one Essence, that all manifoldness is only apparent, that even fishermen, slaves, gamblers and the inanimate world are non-different from it. This Vedānta doctrine is one of the most characteristic features of Hinduism and is India's great contribution to the spiritual development of man, though there are sporadic instances of this doctrine having been held by some ancient philosophers in other lands. This idea of one in the many and many in one is the very core or centre of Vedānta. This has been dealt with above (vide pp. 1499-1500 notes 2451-52 and pp. 1509-10). In Europe the study of philosophy is an end in itself. In ancient India this idea of the unity in diversity was made the basis of education and sociology and it was held that the realization of this unity in one's life was the highest freedom (mokṣa).

The Upanisadic teaching is a universal doctrine in which all men of good will can meet and combine, in whatever religion they might have been brought up from their childhood. Many illustrations are adduced in the Upanisads to bring home non-difference to the inquirer about the Essence. But two are very apt. The Mundaka Upanisad (III. 2. 8) declares "just as rivers flowing (towards the ocean) become merged in the ocean after giving up their names and forms, so the man who realizes (knows), being free from name and form, attains the divine Person that is higher than the highest". The Prāśnopanisad has (VI.5) the same illustration in prose. The Kathopanisad IV. 15 states 'just as pure water poured into pure water assumes the same form (appearance), similarly the soul of the sage who has realized (the Essence) becomes the Ātman (Self).' Deussen in his address on 20th February 1893 before the Asiatic Society of Bombay (in J. B. B. R. A. S. No. 18 for 1893 Art 20 pp. 330-340) after quoting the verse of Mundaka III. 2. 8 remarks "It is not the falling of the drops in the infinite ocean, it is the whole ocean returning to that which he really is and has never ceased to be, to his own all-pervading eternal almighty nature" and concludes (p. 340) "Vedānta in its unfalsified form is the strongest support for morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death; Indians, keep to it." Vide V. S. II. 3.43, where reference is made to Atharvaveda 'Brahma dāśā brahma dāśā brahmeme kitavā uta' (occurring in the Paippalāda version as shown by Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya in his paper on a
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palm-leaf ms. of the Paippalāda-samhitā in Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. XXV, parts 1-4).

IV. From very ancient Vedic times one of the fundamental conceptions of our Indian culture has been the idea of three spiritual and religious debts owed by a person to the eages, gods and *pitrs*, which he paid off by the study of the ancient lore, by sacrifices, and by having a son or sons respectively. This subject has been dealt with at length in the H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 270, 425, 560-61, 676, Vol. III p. 416 and above. p. 1318 note 2168. To these three debts the Mahābhārata added a fourth viz. the debt owed to all men paid off by goodness (vide H. of Dh. Vol. III p. 416 n. 675). Śābara on Jaimini VI. 2.31 explains that this doctrine is not confined to brāhmanas but to all members of the three classes, the word 'brāhmana' used in the Tai S. and other Vedic texts being only illustrative.

V. Another set of values is contained in the conception of *purusārthas* (ends or goals of human endeavour) viz. Dharma (right conduct), Artha (economics, politics and civics), Kama (life of sex, of pleasures and aesthetics), Moksa (salvation, release or recovery by the self of its real nature and freedom from the bondage of low desires and aims). Moksa is said to be the highest goal (paramapurusārtha) and the first three are spoken of as 'trivarga'. The concept of Dharma is a far-reaching one and has been emphasized from very ancient times and refers to the principles which men have to observe in their lives and in social relations. This subject of *purusārthas* and of dharma has been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 2-11 and Vol. III pp. 8-10 and 239-241. Therefore, only a few matters would be briefly emphasized here. It has been shown above on pp. 1-21 how the Rgveda had three words viz. *ṛta* (cosmic order), *vṛata* (laws or ordinances deemed to be laid down by a god or gods) and *dharma* (religious rites or sacrifices or fixed principles), how gradually *ṛta* receded into the background and 'satya' took its place and Dharma became an all-embracing conception and *vṛata* came to be restricted to sacred vows and rules of conduct. When a teacher was about to take leave of the pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood he placed in his final exhortation (Tai. Up. I. 11) Truth as the first and Dharma as next to it (*satyam vada dharmam cara*). The Br. Up. I. 4. 14 equates *Satya* with *Dharma*. One of the noblest prayers occurs in the Br. Up. (I 3. 28) 'from falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness unto light, from death

unto life eternal'. The same Upanisad in V. 2. 3 inculcates on all men the three cardinal virtues of self-restraint (*dama*), charity (*dāna*) and compassion (*dayā*). The Chān. Up. V. 10 quotes a verse 'the thief stealing gold, the drinker of liquor, one who dishonours his guru's bed and the murderer of a brāhmana—these four fall (into hell) and the fifth is one who associates with them.' It would be noticed that this ancient verse contains some of the ten commandments of the Bible. In spite of these (noble) Upanisadic teachings of Dharma and morality, Prof. Keith (in 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads', Vol. II, p. 584, ed. of 1925) makes the pontifical but perverse pronouncement that 'the ethical content of the Upanisads is negligible and valueless'. It is not necessary to combat here his views. Most scholars would rather follow Schopenhauer (quoted in S. B. E. Vol I, p. LXI) and Deussen (quoted above in Vol. II, p. 424) rather than Keith. The concept of Dharma began to occupy the highest position in the times of the Upanisads. The Br. Up I. 4.14 states 'there is nothing higher than Dharma.' The Tai.²⁶¹⁰ Āranyaka avers 'Dharma is the support (or prop) of the whole world'. The Mahābhārata and Manu repeatedly refer to the high value of Dharma. The Mahābhārata claims that everything concerning the four puruṣārthas is contained in it and that what is not contained in it about them would be found in no other work. In Udyogaparva it is stated 'Dharma is so called because of its character as the sustainer of all beings.' Vanaparva and Manu both declare 'Dharma when violated kills the violator, when preserved it preserves man, therefore, Dharma should not be violated lest Dharma might destroy us.' Vyāsa winds up the Mahābhārata with the solemn appeal 'with arms up-raised I here raise a loud cry, but no one listens to me, from Dharma spring wealth and (satisfaction of) all desires, why is Dharma not resorted to? One should not give up Dharma for some desired object, nor through fear nor from greed nor even for the

2610. धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः मतिष्ठा । लोके धर्मिष्ठं प्रजा उपसर्पन्ति । धर्मेण पापमपहृदति धर्मं सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितं तस्माद्धर्मं परमं वदन्ति । तै. आ. X. 63, महाभारतपुष्पकोषः, धर्मो चार्थो च कामो च मोक्षो च भरतर्षभ । यदिदास्ति तदप्यत्र यत्नेदास्ति न तत्काचित् ॥ आदिपर्व 62 53 = स्वर्गोद्धारण-पर्व 5 50, vide also आदि 62 23, धारणाद्धर्मं इत्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः । उद्योग 89.67, 137 9, धर्मं एव एतौ धर्मौ रक्षति रक्षितः । तस्माद्धर्मो न ह्यन्त्यो मा नो धर्मो ह्यतोऽवधौत् ॥ मनु VIII 15 वनपर्व 313.128 is the same, except that the third pāda is तस्माद्धर्मं न ह्यजामि, ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्मिन्त्येव न च कश्चिच्छृणोति नाम् । धर्मादियं च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेष्यते ॥ न जातु कामाक्ष भयाच्च लोभाद्धर्मं जह्याज्जीवितस्यापि हेतो । निर्यो धर्मः सुगन्धु लोकेन्द्रिये जीवो निर्यो देतुरप्य स्वनिन्दः ॥ स्वर्गोद्धारणपर्व 5, 62-63

sake of life itself. Dharma is eternal, pleasure and pain are impermanent, the individual self is eternal, but the conditions (under which self works) are impermanent.' The Mahābhārata passages quoted in n. 18 p. 8 of H. of Dh. Vol. II say 'the three (Dharma, Artha, Kāma) are meant for all men, that Dharma is the best of the three, that Artha is middling and Kāma is the lowest and that if there be conflict then Dharma must be followed and the other two abandoned.' This shows that Artha and Kāma were made subservient to Dharma (the ethical code) and all three were subservient to the spiritual goal. Our Śāstras do not at all prescribe asceticism for all, but they recognized a scale of values. The Manusmṛti (IV. 3 and 15) provides 'one should accumulate wealth for securing only his needs by actions proper for his station (varṇa &c) and without harm to his body. One should not desire to acquire wealth by excessive attachment nor by actions condemned by Śāstra nor when he has already enough wealth nor from any kind of person (a sinner or like). even when he is in straightened circumstances.' Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 20 22-23) declares that man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not against Dharma; by doing so he secures both worlds (this life and life in the next world). Gautama Dharmaśāstra²⁶¹¹ IX. 46-47 and Yāj. I. 115 practically say the same thing. In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma that is not in conflict with Dharma. The Arthashastra of Kautilya no doubt says (I. 7) that 'Artha is the chief among the three puruṣārthas', but he also provides that one should enjoy a life of pleasures in such a way as not to conflict with Dharma and Artha, that one should not lead a life devoid of pleasures altogether. The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. III. 18-19) states that Dharma, Artha and Kāma are the three prizes (fruits) of human life, these three should be striven for but in such a way as not to conflict with Dharma'. The Manusmṛti (V. 56) declares that eating flesh, drinking intoxicants and sexual intercourse are not sinful in themselves; all beings are naturally inclined to these, but abstention (from these) leads to great rewards (and therefore Śāstra emphasizes abstention)'. The Rāmāyana (Aranyakāṇḍa 9.30) contains a statement similar to Svargārohanaparva 5. 62.

2611 न पूर्वाह्णमध्यदिनापराह्णकलान् कुर्याद्यथाशक्ति धर्मार्थकामिभ्यः । तेषु तु धर्मोत्तरः स्यात् । गो ध सू IX. 46-47, धर्मार्थकामान् स्वे काले यथाशक्ति न दापयेत् ॥ या. I. 115, मिताक्षरा comments 'धर्मार्थकामान् स्वोचितकाले यथाशक्ति न परित्यजेत् । यथासम्भवं सेवेतेत्यर्थः ।', धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च त्रितय जीविते फलम् । एतत् त्रयमवाप्त्यनधर्म-परिवर्जितम् ॥ अश्वत्थामनपर्व chap 111, 18-19. ब्रह्मपुराण 217. 11.

When reforms are suggested in these days, conservative people put forward the plea that ours is 'sanātana-dharma' ²⁶¹² and so no changes should be introduced. But the words 'sanātana dharma' do not mean that Dharma always stands still or is immutable; all that those words mean is that our culture is very ancient and has a long tradition behind it but they do not mean that Dharma permits no change. As a matter of fact fundamental changes in conceptions, beliefs and practices have been made from ancient times to the medieval times by means of various devices. Attention may be drawn to a few Veda was all in all in very ancient times but in the Upanisads this was changed, the Mundaka I. 1. 5 designating the four Vedas as inferior knowledge (*aparā vidyā*) and the knowledge of the immutable *brahman* as the higher *vidyā*; in the Chan. Up. VII. 1.4, the four Vedas and several other branches of knowledge are called by Sanatkumāra (whom Nārada approached for instruction) mere name (*nāma*). Yajūnas were the most important religious practice in the early Vedic period, but the Mundaka Up. I. 2. 7 designates them as leaky boats and regards those who hold them as the best thing to be fools. Vide above pp. 1265-72 about changes in the views on anuloma marriages, on the topic of whose food may be partaken even by a brāhmana, the abrogation of many Vedic practices by the doctrine of Kalivarjya (matters forbidden in Kali age) &c. Manu, Yaj, Visnudharmasūtra, Visnu and other purānas expressly provide that one should not observe but give up what was once Dharma, if it has come to be hateful to the people and if it would end in unhappiness (vide p. 1270 n. 2071 above). The Śāntiparva ²⁶¹³ expressly states that what was *adharma* (in one age) may become *dharma* in another

2612. One of the earliest occurrences of the word *सनातनधर्म* is found in the Khanapur plates of Mādhavavarman (in E. I. Vol 27, p 312) edited by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, who assigns it to about the 6th century A D., in the description of the donee as 'यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनदानप्रतिग्रहाया (च) श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितसनातनधर्मकर्मनिरताय etc'. The land granted was in Retnaka (modern Retem in the Satara District of the Mahārāstra State). Another early reference to the phrase *सनातनधर्म* is in ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II 33. 37-38 अद्भुतश्चाप्यलौक्यं तपो भूतदया दम । ब्रह्मचर्यं तथा सरयमनुकीशः क्षमा धृति । *सनातनस्य धर्मस्य मूलमेतदुदात्तम्* ॥ The words '*सनातनधर्म*' are used in the sense of ancient practice no longer prevalent in Ādiparva 122 18 (Ch. ed.), and in the sense of 'duty' recognised long ago in रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 19 26, 21 49 etc

2613 भवत्यधर्मो धर्मो हि धर्मो धर्मादुभावपि । कारणादेशकालस्य देशकाल' स तादृशः ॥ शान्ति 78. 32

and that dharma and adharma are both subject to the limitations of country and time. Kāma also was not neglected, as the Kāma-sūtra (particularly its chapter on 'nāgaraka-vṛtta' I. 4) will show. The extensive Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (containing about 5000 verses) is a witness to the aesthetic enjoyment of dance, music and drama in ancient India by thousands of ordinary men and women.

Hindu thought on the three goals of human life came to this 'do your duty, do not fall into temptations, perform duties for their own sake (Gīta II. 47, III. 19), do unto others as you would be done by (Gīta VI. 32, Anuśāsanaparva 113. 8-9, Śānti 259. 20. = Cr. ed 251. 19), earn wealth but without conflict with dharma and without injury to others and lead a chaste sexual life and enjoy aesthetic pleasures. These summarise the teachings underlying the conceptions of the three puruṣārthas. There was hardly any real pessimism²⁶¹⁴ in the principal Dharmatāstra works except perhaps here and there in the Mahābhārata. They consider life to be worth living, provided all actions are informed by the dictates of Dharma. Manu (XII. 88-89) provides that Karma (conduct or actions) prescribed by the Veda is of two kinds, viz. *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta*, the former leading to happiness in this world and to *svarga*, and the latter to *nirāśraya* (mokṣa) and requiring complete absence of all hankerings preceded by realization of *brahma*. The Anuśāsanaparva (chap 146. 76-80) divides Dharma into *pravṛttilakṣana* (characterized by persistent activity) and *nivṛttilakṣana* (characterised by abstention from worldly activities and desires), which latter is to be followed for mokṣa and lays down certain practical and salutary rules viz. one should constantly make gifts according to one's ability, constantly offer sacrifices and perform rites to secure one's prosperity. One should collect wealth following what is right and such wealth obtained righteously should be divided into three parts; one should secure both dharma and artha with one-third of the wealth acquired, one-third should be spent on Kāma (i. e. chaste sexual life and enjoyment of other pleasures not in conflict with dharma) and one-third he should increase. Manu (VII. 99 and 101) prescribes similar rules for the king. The same parvan (Anuśāsanaparva chap. 144 10-25

2614. The Bible was very pessimistic, both Christ and Saint Paul regard the world as evil or at least spotted. Christ calls upon people not to resist evil (vide Hobbouse 'Morals in evolution' Vol. II. p. 152).

and 31-39) dwells at length upon those actions that lead men to heaven (the phrase 'te narāḥ svarga-gāmināḥ' is repeated in each verse). These provisions are meant for all ordinary people. The Rāmāyana²⁶¹⁵ quotes a popular verse that man is not condemned to never-ending misery but joy comes to a man even after a hundred years if he be alive.

The 4th Puruṣārtha Mokṣa can be obtained only by a few. It is not a bow which every man or any man can make strung. It was a very difficult path like a razor's edge (Katha Up III 14), far more difficult than the path of devotion to a Personal God (Bhagavadgītā XII. 5). The Upanisadic doctrine of liberation comes to this that man's nature is really divine, that it is possible for a human being to know and become actually identified with the Godhead, that this should be the ultimate goal of man's life, that this can be achieved by one's own efforts, but the way to achieve this goal is most difficult and requires the aspirant to give up egotism, selfishness and worldly attachments. Besides, there is another difficulty. The conceptions about mokṣa differ in the different schools of thought like Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vedānta. Even in the Vedānta the conception about Mokṣa on the part of the different ācāryas differs. Some declared that there were four stages in Mukti viz, *Sālokya* (place in Lord's world), *Sāmīpya* (proximity), *Sārūpya* (attaining same form as God) and *Sāyujya* (absorption).²⁶¹⁶ These matters cannot be gone into here.

2615 कल्पानी बल साधेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।
एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि ॥

रामायण सुन्दरकाण्ड 34 6, (M L J. ed.)

The महाभारत quotes the third पाद 'एति जीवन्तमानन्दः' in two places, viz, on पृ. I. 3 12 and II 1 67 under बालिक 5, Kriehorn's edition, Vol. 1, p. 277 and Vol. II p. 59

2616. The तै. स. V. 7 5 7 has - एतास्मैव देवताया सायुज्यता गच्छति But this is entirely different from the idea of मोक्ष. The words सायुज्य, सायुज्य and सलोक्ता occur in तै. स. II, 24, सायुज्य and सलोक्ता occur in बृह. उ. I. 3. 22, सलोक्ता, सार्द्धता (same happiness) and सायुज्य occur in छ. उ. II 20 2. The सूक्तसंहिता (सुक्तसंहिता chap 3 28) speaks of the same four stages of मोक्ष. सायुज्य is derived from सयुज् (yoked or joined together). The words सयुज् यजान् (horses yoked together) occur in Rg. III 30, 11 and सयुज् (mowing सयुज्) occurs in Rg. I. 164 20. The पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि of सायण (Madras Govt Oriental Mss Series, ed. by T Chandrasekharam, 1955) in its मोक्षरूप्य states - सुक्तिर्नानाविधा मोक्षा सायुज्यादिभिरेव । तत्र सायुज्यरूपाया सुक्ते साक्षात् कारणम् । सम्पदज्ञान न कर्मोक्तं नानयोश्च सयुज्य । कर्मणैव हि सिध्यन्ति पुमानन्याश्च सुक्तयः ॥ (chap. 11 Verses 2-3)

Dharma is divided into different classes from different standpoints. One classification is into *śrauta* (based on the Vedas) and *Smṛta* (based on Smritis). There was another and a more comprehensive classification of Dharma into six classes viz. *varnadharma* (duties and rights of varnas), *āśramadharma* (rules about the āśramas), *varnāśramadharma* (rules enjoined because the person belongs to a certain class and was also in a certain āśrama (e.g. the rule that a brāhmaṇa brahmacārī should carry a staff of *palāśu* tree), *gunadharma* (rules for one who holds or occupies a certain position, as in the case of a king), *naimittikadharma* (rules that have to be observed only on certain occasions such as bath on an eclipse, expiation for a lapse and lastly *eāmānyadharma* (duties common to all (such as those described in pp. 10-11 of the H. of Dh. Vol. II). This leads on to the next important characteristic of Hindu culture and society, viz. *varnas* and *castes*.

VI. *Varna and caste*. The subject of the origin of *varna* classification, the caste system and the duties, privileges and disabilities of the four varnas have been dealt with at length in the History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. pp. 19-164. It has been shown that the word 'varna' (colour) has been applied to *Āryas* and *dāsas* in the Rgveda, that these two (*āryas* and *dāsas*) were opposite camps, that brāhmaṇas and *ksatriyas* are mentioned in the Rgveda, but the word *varna* has not been expressly connected with them. The words *Vaiśya* and *Sūdra* do not occur in the Rgveda except in the Purusasūkta (Rg X. 90. 12) but even in that hymn the word 'varna' is not employed with reference to them. That hymn is held to be comparatively a late one by most modern scholars. It may be conceded that at the time when the Purusasūkta was composed the community was divided into four groups viz. brāhmaṇas (thinkers, learned men, priests) *ksatriyas* (rulers and warriors), *vaiśyas* (common people following agriculture and crafts) and *sūdras* (those that did menial work). Such a division of people into four groups is not unnatural and is found in many countries even now. In England there are aristocratic families, there is the middle class and the workers in factories &c. They are not necessarily based on birth alone, though largely so based. It has been shown above (p. 1265) that intermarriages between brāhmaṇas and the other varnas were allowed up to the time of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which expresses its dissent from its predecessors.

and prohibits a person of the three upper classes from marrying a śūdra woman. There is no evidence to show that intermarriage or interdining among the four varnas was prohibited in the Vedic age. In the Vāj. S 30. 6-13, Kāthaka S. XVII 13, Tai. Br. III 4 2-3 numerous artisans and craftsmen such as taksan, rathakāra, kulāla, karmāra, nisāda, sūta and others are mentioned but it is extremely doubtful whether they had become petrified castes at the period of these works. Rathakāra and karmāra and sūta are mentioned in Atharvaveda III. 5. 6-7. It is probable that by the time of the Chān. Up V. 10. 7 Cāndālas had become untouchables (like dogs and hogs) and Paulkasa seems to be equated with Cāndāla in Br Up IV.3.22. Even in the times of Yājñavalkya and Parāśara (2nd to 6th century A. D.) a brāhmana was permitted to take food at the house of such sūdras as his *dāsa*, cowherd, barber, a tenant of his land on the rent of half share of crops (vide above p 1266). The varnas were only four, there was no fifth varna (Manu X. 4 and Anuśāsanaparva, chap 48 30), though in modern times untouchables are often spoken of as *pañcamas* (against Smṛti usage). The word *jāti* in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in Vedic literature but it occurs in the Nirukta (XII. 13) and in Pāṇini (V. 4. 9), who explains 'brāhmanajātiya' as meaning one who is a brāhmana by caste'. Sometimes, Jāti and Varna are differentiated in Smṛtis (Yāj. II. 69, 260), but from ancient times the word *Jāti* is confounded with the word *Varna*. Manu (X 31) uses the word Varna in the sense of mixed castes; conversely, the word Jāti is employed in the sense of 'Varna' in Manu (VIII. 177, IX. 85-86, X. 41)

A sort of caste system existed in several countries such as Persia, Rome and Japan, but it disappeared and had never attained the complexity of the Indian caste system.

There are now several thousand castes and sub-castes in India. How they arose is, according to the present author, an insoluble problem. Sherring in 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' (1881, vol. III, p 231) held that caste was an invention (of the brāhmanas). How such a huge system could be invented and imposed upon millions of people by a small minority without physical or political power never occurred to the prejudiced Christian missionary of the third quarter of the 19th century.

It is well known that at least from the 6th century B. C.

onwards India was being invaded by Persians, Kāmbojas,²⁶¹⁷ Greeks, Scythians (generally held to be the same as Śakas), and people like Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cinas, Kirātas, Daradas (Dardas) and Khasas emigrated into India. Manu (X. 43-44), after mentioning these and Paundrakas, Odras (Orissa), Dravidas, asserts that these were originally Ksatriyas but had become Śūdras because the sacraments like Upanayana had ceased among them and because they lost contact with brāhmanas. Manu X. 45 shows that in his day there were mixed castes that spoke mleccha tongues and Arya languages but were treated as dasyus (śūdras). Gautama-dharmaśūtra (IV. 14-17), Manu X. 5-40, Yāj. I. 91-95 and many other works dilate upon the rise of mixed castes from the marriages or unions of men and women of different varnas and declare how further castes and sub-castes arise from the marriages and unions of men and women belonging to different classes and castes. This was called *varnasankara* or simply *saṅkara*, about which Arjuna expressed concern (Gītā I. 41-42) and against which the Bhagavad-gītā (III 24-25) inveighs bitterly. It was stated by Gautama (Dh. S. VIII 3) that the prosperity (of the castes and sub-castes), protection and the non-mixture (of varnas) depend on the king and learned brāhmanas. The Nasik Inscription of king Siri Pulumāyi (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 60 about 130 A.D.) extols the king as having prevented the intermingling of varnas (Varnasankara).

The mixture of castes (varnasankara)²⁶¹⁸ had gone so far even in the early ages that in the Vanaparva (180. 31-33) Yudhisthira is made to say that 'It is difficult to ascertain the

2617. Atri-smṛti VII 2 (in prose, Ānand collection) mentions some of these foreign tribes and peoples. Vide Anuśāsana-parva 33. 21-23 (Śakā yavana-kāmbojāḥ. ksatriyajātayāḥ vrsalatvam parigatā brāhmaṇāṇāḥ adarśanāt &c.) and Anuśāsana 35. 17-18 also. Śaka and Yavana are included among Śūdras by the Maṭābhāṣya on Pāṇini II 4. 10 (q in fl. of Dh Vol II p 92. n. 200). Aśoka in his Rock Edicts V. and XIII refers to Yonas, Yonarāja and Kāmbojas as people on the borders of his empire.

A. M. T. Jackson says in 'Indian Antiquary' for 1910 p 77 'the attractive power of Hindu civilization which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslems and European India civilized the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous Rajput royal races.'

2618. Vide H. of Dh. Vol II pp. 59-61 on Varnasankara.

caste of a person on account of the confusing mixture of *Varnas*, all men raise progeny from all sorts of women; therefore, those who are wise regard character as the principal and desirable matter' (q. in H. of Dh. vol II. p. 61 n. 149). The original scheme of varnas was natural and based on the work that men put in for the community as a whole. It was not based on birth. The ideas underlying the original varna system made the nearest approach towards a society in which there was no attempt to secure a competitive equality but in which the interest of all groups were regarded as identical. In Vedic times there were only classes and not castes in the modern sense. Even in the smrtis when many castes had arisen the greatest emphasis was laid on duties rather than on privileges and on high moral character and the value of the effort made by a man. It is therefore stated in the *Gītā* (IV. 13) that the system of four varnas was created on the basis of quality (or on the basis of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) and actions and (in XVIII 42-44) it specifies the qualities and actions required in the four varnas as an ideal, viz. serenity of mind, self-control, austerity, purity, forbearance, straightforwardness, wisdom (spiritual knowledge), knowledge (of all kinds), faith (in God)—these are the natural actions (duties) for a *brāhmaṇa*, bravery, fury, energy, steadiness, capability, not running away in battle, charity and rulership—these are duties of a *ksatriya*, agriculture, keeping herds of cows (and cattle), trade and commerce—these are the natural duties of the *Vaiśya*, work of the nature of service is the natural duty of the *Sūdra*. These words of *Gītā* cannot be used for supporting the present scheme of thousands of castes and sub-castes of water-tight character. If birth had been regarded as the sole or principal basis, the words in the *Gītā* 2619

2619. It is remarkable that the late Lokamānya Tilak advocated about four months before his death (in the issue of the 'Kesari' of 16th March 1920) that anyone who spent his life in Indian freedom struggle must be treated as a *brāhmaṇa* to whatever caste or sub-caste he might have belonged by birth, that caste should not be treated as a matter of birth but that we must begin to treat it as dependent on qualities and actions and he relies on our *śāstras* and quotes in support a Pali verse from the *Suttanipāta*: न जन्ना वसलो होति न जन्ना होति ब्राह्मणो । कम्मणा उसलो होति कम्मणा होति ब्राह्मणो ॥ 'a man does not become a *Vṛśala*, that is, *Sūdra* by caste (or birth) nor does he become a *brāhmaṇa* by birth, a man becomes a *vṛśala* or a *brāhmaṇa* by his actions' (compare *Mahāvagga*, *ṛāsetthasutta*, verse 57 in SBE Vol. X part 2 p 115).

(Continued on next page)

(IV.13) should have been, 'Jāti-karmavibhāgaśah' ('or janma-karma') and not 'Gunakarma'. It would be noticed that out of the nine *karmāṇi* specified as natural to brāhmanas most are moral and spiritual and no emphasis is laid on the element of birth. At the time of the Mahābhārata there must have been a great deal of ferment, some revolt and criticism about the petrified caste system. The epic frequently refers to the theme of varnas and jātis. Vide for example, Vanaparva (chapter 180), Virāṭaparva 50 4-7, Udyoga 23 26, 40. 25-29, Śānti 188.10-14, Anuśāsana 143. A few passages may be set out here. Śānti 188. 10 says 'there is no (real) distinction between the varnas, (since) the whole world is of Brahmā, since it was formerly created by Brahmā, and has had the system of varnas on account of the various actions (of men)'; Śānti (189. 4 and 8) avers 'that man is known as brāhmana in whom are seen truthfulness, generosity, absence of hate, absence of wickedness, shame (restraint for avoiding wrong-doing), compassion and a life of austerity; if these signs are observed in a śūdra and are not found in a brāhmana, then the śūdra is not a śūdra (should

(Continued from last page)

There is great misunderstanding about his opposition to those reformers who did not care for or engage in political agitation but spent their energies and time in moving against some social evils. He wanted to remove the evil of grinding poverty and political bondage of India due to the colonial policy of Britain for over 150 years and therefore he stressed the point that everyone must join in the fight for freedom and did not like the idea of some very intellectual men spending time and energy in crying themselves hoarse for only social reform. He thought that when India became free from the incubus of foreign rule, many social reforms would be introduced in no time. Events have shown that he was right, and the social reformers who maligned him were wrong. Our Constitution abolished untouchability at one stroke (Article 17), legislation has made a provision that to treat a man as untouchable in public is punishable (vide Act XXII of 1955 sections 3 and 4), legislation has removed all bars against intercaste marriages and several other reforms have been brought about. Vide 'Social Legislation and its role in Social Welfare' published in 1956 on behalf of the Planning Commission. For Tilak's article, vide 'लोकमान्य तिलकचे केंद्रबिंदू लेख भाग ३, पृष्ठे ४५३-५८१'. British people were cautious and were generally opposed to progressive social reforms in Hindu Society. The High Courts administered Hindu Law as contained in the medieval digest (mānandhas) like the Dāyabhāga, the Mitākṣarā and the Vyavahāramayukta and not the law found in ancient smṛtis, which allowed anuloma marriages; vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 448-452 and 'A Century of Social reform' by S. Natarajan, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, particularly pp. 126-173.

not be treated as a śūdra) and the brāhmana is not a brāhmana. A similar passage occurs in Vanaparva 216. 14-15 (quoted above in note 1640 pp 1005-6 and compared to Dhammapada 393, translated on p. 1005). When the wrangles between Vaisnavas and others were at their highest the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (VII. 9. 10) avers that a cāṇḍāla who is a devotee of Viṣṇu is superior to a brāhmana who is not a devotee of Viṣṇu. Apart from the specific qualities required to be possessed by the members of each of the four varṇas, all Dharmaśāstra works attach the highest importance to certain moral qualities and enjoin them on all men Manu X 63, Yāj I. 22, Gaut. Dh S. VIII. 23-25, Matsya 52. ' -10 (quoted above on p. 1023 n. 1652) prescribe for all Varṇas a brief code of morals, such as ahimsā, truthfulness, non-stealing (i. e. no wrongful taking of another's property), purity and restraint of the senses. The Mitākṣarā on Yāj I 22 explains that the word 'sarveṣāṃ' therein states that these moral qualities if practised are the means of Dharma for all men from brāhmanas to cāṇḍālas Vide H. of Dh. Vol II pp. 10-11 for different enumerations of dharmas common to all men. The Manuśruti (I. 1) begins by saying that the great sages requested Manu to expound the dharmas of all varṇas and of the intermediate castes. This (viz. the Dharmas of varṇas, intermediate castes and āśramas) is the principal topic in most of the śrutis.

A very high ideal was placed before brāhmanas (vide above pp 936-938) They were to study the Veda and its subsidiary lore as a duty (to be discharged), were to perform sacrifices and make gifts also and their proper means of livelihood were only three viz. teaching the Veda and Śāstras, officiating as priests in sacrifices and receiving religious and other gifts. How arduous learning the Veda was will be clear when it is remembered that a brāhmana who was to be regarded as a very learned one had to memorize one Veda at least. Supposing he was a student of the Rgveda he had to commit to memory the ten thousand and odd verses of the Rgveda, also its *pada-pāṭha*, its *kramapāṭha*, the Brāhmana text (generally the Aitareya), the six Vedāṅgas (auxiliary works) viz the Kalpasūtra (of Āśvalāyana generally), Vyākaraṇa (the Grammar of Pāṇini in about four thousand sūtras), the Nirukta (in at least 12 chapters), metrics, Śikṣā (Phonetics) and Jyotiṣa. The first three of these six Vedāṅgas are rather longish treatises and abstruse. These extensive texts were generally committed to memory without understanding the meaning and so entailed very great strain on

the mind and memory. There were thousands of such brāhmanas in India up to the beginning of this century, and even now there are still hundreds of such men. They were to teach the Veda without demanding any fee (demanding a fee to teach Veda was and is regarded as sinful even to this day). They were allowed to receive a fee if the pupil or somebody on his behalf paid something at the end of studenthood. Not only did they transmit the Veda free, but there were in the present author's youth in Konkana and Mahārāstra many Vaidik brāhmanas who gave free board and lodging to several pupils (or arranged to feed them by turns at the houses of brāhmana families in the village or town). All this has now almost stopped owing to rationing during the world wars and present high prices. So teaching hardly brought any regular and substantial amount of money (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 108-110). As regards officiating as priests, that was a precarious and fitful source of income. Besides, in Rg. times at least, the son of a royal family could be a *purohita* i. e. a priest (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, p. 109). It should be remembered that all brāhmanas were not priests, they could be so if they chose and if they were learned. Further, many learned brāhmanas refuse even now to act as priests in śrāddhas for pitrs (at least for three years after the man's death). Pāṇini (V. 2. 71) provides for the formation of the word 'Brāhmanaka' meaning a province or country where 'brāhmanas followed the profession of arms' and Kautilya (IX. 2) also refers to armies of brāhmanās, ksatriyas &c. The third source specially permitted to brāhmanas was the privilege of receiving religious gifts from a worthy or unblemished person (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 110, 11). Brāhmanas could follow other occupations in distress, but even then there were great restrictions imposed on them by śāstras even when they took to other means of livelihood (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 118-132).²⁶²⁰ The ideal set before brāhmanas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking a very active pursuit of wealth, of insisting on the necessity and high value to themselves and the Aryan society of studying, preserving, propagating and augmenting the ancient literature and culture. Kings, rich persons and even

2620. It was, for example, provided by Vasistha (II. 27) and Manu X. 92 that a brāhmana becomes a śūdra by selling milk for three days. In the present author's boyhood some poor brāhmanas had begun to sell milk and the result was that they were very much looked down upon by the villagers. There would be the temptation to add water to the milk to gain money.

ordinary men made gifts of lands and houses to learned brāhmanas (which were deemed the most meritorious gifts).²⁶²¹ The present author saw in his boyhood very learned Vaidika brāhmanas themselves ploughing their own lands, while repeating inaudibly the Veda (i.e. revising it, as otherwise it might slip from their memory) and knew a middle class Vaidika brāhmana family that for seven generations had taught Veda to a number of pupils and provided them with free board and lodging; (out of these seven the present author personally knew three generations, the last of whom stopped a few years ago the Vaidika school owing to present high prices of food, decrease in gifts due to the increasing poverty of the people round about and their unconcern for Vedic studies). Even in the times of the early Upanisads, the brāhmana's first duty was to learn and teach the Veda and to take all knowledge for his province. Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, exclaimed, when the brāhmana Bālāki Gārgya approached him for knowledge of *brahman*, 'this is against the natural usual course that a brāhmana should approach a ksatriya to learn about brahman' (Br. Up. II 1. 15). That indicates that many brāhmanas must have endeavoured to act up to the old ideal of learning in olden times. They became the custodians of the vast literature that had accumulated and was growing every day and were expected to preserve that literature and propagate it. Though every brāhmana could not have lived up to the high ideals set up for brāhmanas, a very large number must have made as near an approach to the ideal as possible. It was the greatness of these latter that led to the glorification of the whole class. In most communities there is a group of the *élite*, which represents the ideals of the whole community, its essential tendencies and acts up to the ideals. Learning, great moral and spiritual attainments among individuals are rather elusive and impalpable, while birth in a certain family is a very obvious thing. Most people in ancient and medieval times followed the occupation of their forefathers. The kingly office was highly eulogised by Manu (VIII. 4-8), who propounded the theory that the king represented in his person eight deities (Indra, Agni, Varuna, the Sun, the Moon, Kubera, Yama and Vāyu) and that the king was a great divinity in human form. The office of the king also was hereditary.

²⁶²¹ Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 113 n. 241 for large gifts to brāhmanas, in the early centuries of the Christian era, of villages, cows and marriage expenses.

Except in a few cases the brāhmanas were never rulers. It was the ksatriyas and śūdras that were rulers. Therefore, a generalisation was made that birth in a particular group or family was a more or less sure indication of the possession of certain qualities generally associated with the members of that group or family. The brāhmanas were teachers with no salary, officiated as priests when called and were given fees, but there was no assurance of a continuous and certain payment. They had no church organization²⁶²² (such as Archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons in the Anglican church) and monasteries for monks among Buddhists and in the Christian Church. The brāhmanas were not monks but householders who had to maintain a family and bring up children and to make their sons learned and of high moral and spiritual worth. There is no example in the whole world of a small minority of the population of a country, that had no military strength behind it, being revered for at least thirty centuries without any serious challenge not only by the common people but by nobles and kings. What was the basis of the reverence shown to brāhmanas as a class for at least three thousand years? They were believed to be religious, moral and spiritual leaders and the possessors and representatives of an idealistic culture ('ideational' in the language of Prof. Sorokin). The secret of the power of and regard for brāhmanas had been the fact that as a class they performed well three of their appointed tasks of study, teaching and comparative renunciation (in spite of the failings of some individual brāhmanas). The brāhmanas had no army to support them and they could not, by devoting themselves to physical sciences, find new sources of income or well-being for themselves or for the whole community.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Autobiography (p. 432) pays in passing a tribute to the Brāhmana ideal as follows 'But the West also brings an antidote to the evils of this out-throat civilization - the principles of socialism, co-operation and service to the community for the common good. This is not so unlike the old Brahmin ideal of service etc.' The ancient Indian culture exalted the mind and soul over the body and hence arose an extra-ordinary development of asceticism.

²⁶²² The income of the See of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is understood, has been fifteen thousand pounds a year (vide Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. by F. L. Cross, London 1957, p. 232). Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 138 for a sample of the actions of Popes and eulogies of the Nordic race by Spengler and others.

If in modern times the caste system has broken down and has become harmful and unpopular among all people, it may be scrapped and discarded (vide above p. 1270 note 2071 for provisions about this). But such a huge and all-pervading system cannot be destroyed in a short time nor by legislation. What those who desire to destroy altogether the caste system want is not clear. Do they want complete westernization of the whole of India? To the present author this appears to be not only very difficult but almost impossible. Legislation may help a little, but it cannot eradicate within the foreseeable future the mental attitudes and outlook of millions of people. Cases have been reported where village *kunbis* and craftsmen threatened to beat untouchables that wanted to draw water from a village well in the presence of a magistrate. If this campaign against the whole caste system is carried on with force, there are sure to be widespread riots and disorders and the Independence of the country attained after two centuries of colonial rule may be jeopardized. Two matters must be carefully considered and strenuously worked for. Government must see to it that nationalism, the emotion of being one people, in spite of differences in some respects, must be instilled from childhood and among the masses. For that purpose free and compulsory education for all children on national lines must be achieved as quickly as possible. Merely inveighing against casteism by leaders would not do, when people often suspect them as guilty of other 'isms' (such as nepotism). Universal primary and secondary education, growing number of inter-caste marriages, a growing sense of solidarity as to essentials of culture (though petty differences may exist) would be the first requisites in any scheme of the removal of castes. Besides, very large numbers of self-sacrificing men, of high moral character and devotion to duty would be required for eradicating the evils of the decayed caste system. Another matter also must be very carefully considered. What is going to be substituted in place of the old caste system? People are afraid that a new caste system of ministers, bureaucrats, captains of industry, men in power and workers is going to be substituted without the saving grace of the ancient caste system.

It should not be forgotten that high spiritual life and moksa were not denied to the *sūdra*. It is true that the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* denied to the *sūdra* the right to study the Veda and to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI. I. 26). But even in those ancient times

one sage, Bādari, advocated that the śūdra could study the Veda and perform Vedic sacrifices (P. M. S. VI, 1. 27). Besides, it should be noted that the śūdra was not at all debarred from a spiritual life and could secure mokṣa by studying the Mahābhārata (which contains thousands of verses on Mokṣa), which Vyāsa compassionately composed for the benefit of women and śūdras and which calls itself (in Ādiparva chap. 62. 23) Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra and Mokṣaśāstra, as declared by the Bhāgavatapurāṇa I. 4. 25. All that was decided was that a śūdra could not secure Mokṣa by the study of Veda. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3. 38 points out that śūdras like Vidura (Ādiparva 63. 96-97 and 114, 106. 24-28, Udyogaparva 41. 5) and Dharma-vyādha (Vanaparva 207) possessed knowledge of *brahmandyā* and that it is impossible to say that they were not able to secure Mokṣa. Vide above pp. 921-22 and note 1468a for the discussion of the relevant passages. It is noteworthy that even in early Vedic times the Rathakāra (a caste not belonging to any of the three higher classes) was allowed to set up Vedic fires and could repeat certain Vedic mantras for that purpose and the Nisāda (also not belonging to any of the three varṇas, but being a śūdra) was allowed to perform an *istī* to Rudra with Vedic mantras. Vide pp. 1290-91 (for Rathakāra) and pp. 1295-96 (for Nisāda) above. These facts show that Vedic sacrifices had penetrated into certain śūdra castes long before the *śūtras* and *smṛtis*. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (VII. 9. 10) was prepared to hold that a cāṇḍāla (by birth) if he becomes a devotee of Viṣṇu was superior to a brāhmaṇa who was not such a devotee.

The disappearance of the caste system, when it comes about, will not at all imply the disappearance or destruction of all that for which Hinduism has stood up during several millennia.

We should not be constantly harping on the caste system as the only or most basic cause of our downfall. The Moslems have no caste system and yet most of the Moslem countries in the world have been backward and under the thumb of Western powers. China, Japan and the countries in S. E. Asia had hardly anything like the caste system of our country, but the first two about a hundred years ago were very backward and many of the countries in S. E. Asia were within the Colonial Empire of Holland, a small country the population of which is even now only about eleven millions. Since 1818 when the British acquired the Deccan, for about 130 years what little

royal power remained in India was distributed among about 600 princely States ruled by ksatriyas and others and hardly a dozen brāhmana States existed among those 600. What little trade and commerce existed or was allowed by the British to Indians was in the hands of Parsis, Bhatias, Banias, Marvadis, Jains and Lingayats and the brāhmanas had very little share in trade and commerce. It was the brāhmana politicians like Tilak that insisted on *Swadeshi*. Agriculture, money lending and Zamindari were mostly in the hands of non-brāhmanas except in Bengal and contiguous territories where the Zamindari system supported by Lord Cornwallis prevailed. Our downfall for centuries was due to lack of certain virtues and ideologies among all our people, high or low. Let us, therefore, all Indians, stop blaming the caste system for our downfall and try to eradicate it or lessen its evils and cultivate virtues like duty for duty's sake, high endeavour, high moral character, nationalism, freedom and justice.

VI. *Āśramas*: Another important characteristic of our culture is the system of *Āśramas*, which have been in existence for certainly several centuries before the Christian era. The word *Āśrama* does not occur in the Vedic Samhitās or Brāhmanas. In Sv. Up. VI. 21 occurs the word 'atyāśramibhyah' (to the best of ascetics) which indicates that the word 'āśrama' had then been known. A generic word comprehending several matters is coined long after the several words for the component parts have been current for centuries. The word *śrāddha* does not occur in any ancient Vedic passages, though the Pindapitryajña (performed by an *agnihotrin* on each *Amāvāsyā*), the Mahāpitryajña (performed in the *cāturmāsya* rite *Sākamedha*) and the *Astakā* rites (all of which are rites in honour of pītr̥s) were known in early Vedic literature (vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 349-50). Similarly, some of the *āśramas* were certainly known from the times of the R̥gveda. The *Āśramas*²⁶²³ long before the time of the *sūtra* literature at least have been four viz. *brahmacarya* (stage of studenthood), *gārhasthya* (householder stage), *vānaprasthya* (stage of forest hermit) or *vaikhāṇesa* (Gaut. III. 2), *Sannyāsa* (stage of ascetic life) or *Mauna* or *Parivrajya* or *Pravrajyā* or *Bhikṣu* (Gaut. III. 2). *Āśramas* have been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 416-426, *brahmacarya* in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 349-382, forest hermit (in pp. 919-929) and *sannyāsa* in pp.

²⁶²³ चत्वार आश्रमा गृहीत्यनार्यकुलं मीनं वानप्रस्थमिति । आप. घ. सू. II. 9. 21 1 quoted by साङ्ख्यचार्य in भाष्य on V. S. III. 1 47.

930-975 (of the same volume). The span of human life is said to be one hundred years or winters or autumns from the times of the R̥gveda (R̥g. VI. 4. 8; 10. 7, 12. 6, 17. 15, 24. 10 in all the a hundred winters), VII. 101. 6, X. 161. 3 and 4 (autumns). As no one could say how long one might live it is not to be supposed that each stage was of 25 years; all that is meant is that a man may, if he lives long, pass through the four stages. The word *brahmac̣ṛi* occurs in R̥g. X. 109. 9 and Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 and *brāhmacarya* in Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 and Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. In R̥g. VI. 53. 2 occurs the word 'grhapati' (lord of the house) meaning the same thing as *grhastha*. Indra is said to be the friend of munis (in R̥g. VIII. 17. 14) and *yatis* are said to have praised Indra (R̥g. VIII. 6. 18). The Katha Up. IV. 15 saying that the self of the *Muni* (knowing the reality) becomes one with the Supreme Self indicates that the reference is to a Sannyāsin who had realized the Supreme Spirit. The Br. Up. IV. 4. 22 saying that the Great Self is the Lord of the universe, that *brāhmanas* seek to know him by study of the Veda, by sacrifices and gifts, by austerities (*tapas*) and by fasting and that, after realizing that Supreme Self the man becomes a muni, that desiring this stage only the wandering (*ascetics*) leave home (take to that stage). Here these engaged in *tapas* are placed at an earlier stage than *pravrajyā*. Therefore, the Ch. Up. II. 23. 1, speaking about three branches of Dharma, should be taken as mentioning the three āśramas and the words 'one who is firmly established in *brahman* obtains immortality' should be taken as referring to the 4th Āśrama. As pointed out in II. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 928-929 most of the rules laid down for forest hermits are the same as those for the sannyāsin and there was difference between the two in a few matters only. From Br. Up. II. 4. 1 ff and IV. 5. 2 ff. (where the word *pravrajīṣṭvan* is used) for *udyāṣyan* (in II. 4. 1) it follows that Yājñavalkya became a sannyāsin (or *parivrājaka*) immediately after leaving the householder's life. Later on in the *Kaṭhavalpa* acts the stage of being a forest hermit is included. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 420 n. 999 on Chān. Up. II. 23. 1. The stage of householder (*grhastha*) was highly praised. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 424-425, 640-41, Vol. V. pp. 1026-27.

The stage of sannyāsa or *yati* was highly honoured, because it was deemed to lead to mokṣa. The result was that many persons quite unfit to lead the life prescribed for a real sannyāsin only entered the order and possessed all the outward

signs of that stage such as wearing ochre-coloured garments, shaving the head, carrying three staffs and a water jar. They are condemned in the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva 308. 47 (cr. ed. = 320. 47 Ch. ed.) quoted in H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 936 n 2151b and above p. 1369 n 2241. Yaj. III. 58 provides that the sannyāsīn should be good to all beings, quiescent, have three dandas and a water jar and should enter a village for begging alms. Some interpreted the word *tridandī* as meaning 'carrying three staffs', while others like Manu XII. 10 and Dakṣa VII. 30 provide that a person is called *tridandī* who observes threefold restraint, viz of speech, mind and body. The sannyāsīn was so highly esteemed that for deciding doubtful points of dharma a single ascetic was allowed to do the work of a *paṇḍita* and declare the proper decision (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 969) Similarly, great emphasis was laid on inviting a Yati at a śrāddha dinner (vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV pp. 388, 399). The Brhājātaaka (chapter 15) deals with the question about the horoscopic indications for different kinds of ascetics being born on the conjunction of four or more powerful planets in the same sign of the zodiac in the horoscope and adds that according as Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon, Venus, Saturn, or the Sun is the most powerful of the four or more planets in one sign in a horoscope, the person whose nativity it is becomes respectively an ascetic of the types of Bauddha, Ājīvika,²⁶²⁴ a bhikṣu (i. e. vedic ascetic), Vṛddha (a Kāpālīka), a *caraka*, a nirgrantha (a Jain ascetic) or one subsisting on forest produce, fruits, roots &c.²⁶²⁵ This shows that long before Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.) so many kinds of ascetics flourished or were common in India.

The *varṇa* system classified the whole community and was addressed to people in the mass; the Āśrama theory addresses itself to the individuals in a community and maps out for them

2624 The Ājīvikas were an ancient class of monks. They are mentioned in Aśoka's 7th Pillar Edict (E. I. Vol. II. pp. 270, 272) Daśaratha, grandson of Emperor Aśoka, made grants of caves to Ājīvika monks. Vide C. I. 1. Vol. I. p. 181. The founder of the order was Gośāla, once a disciple of Mahāvīra, who later left him. The Vāyupurāṇa (62. 285) refers to them as 'adhārmika'. Vide 'History and the doctrines of the Ājīvikas' by Prof. A. L. Basham (Luzac and Co. 1951). This is an exhaustive work on the Ājīvikas.

2625. एकस्यैश्वर्यरादिभिर्नैल्युत्तैर्जातः पुण्यभीष्टैः शास्त्राजीविकमिश्रबुद्धचरका निर्यन्त्यान्पादताः । नदिपङ्क्त्युपश्रवणसहितभाषाकरैः कमात् प्रवृत्त्या पालिभिः समा. परजिते-स्तत्त्वामिभिः प्रवृत्तिः ॥ बुद्धजातक 15.1 उत्तरतः quotes Prākṛit verses on the same subject from Vāṇīśālācārya and several Āryās in Sanskrit from Satyācārya, a predecessor of Varāha

how they should order their lives and what preparations are required for the several goals of human life. Deussen in the 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' (English translation of 1906, p. 397) says about the Ātman theory that 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought'.

VII. The doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma (transmigration or metempsychosis).

This is one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Hindu system of religion and philosophy and is unique in its own way, particularly in its long continuity and immense early literature. It has been dealt with above in a separate and extensive chapter (XXXV pp 1530 ff). It is not, therefore, necessary to say anything more here.

VIII. Another important doctrine is that of *ahimsā*. So far as the Upanishads, Mahābhārata, Dharmasāstras and Purāṇas are concerned the subject of *ahimsā* has been dealt with above in pp 944-947 and in Vol. II, p. 10. A few matters are briefly mentioned here. The words *kratu* and *yajña* occur hundreds of times in the Rgveda. The difference sometimes made is this that the word *yajña* is very general (including the five daily religious duties laid down in Manu III, 70), while *kratu* is confined to solemn Vedic sacrifices like Somayāga. Pāṇini mentions the two separately (IV, 3, 68) and the Gītā IX 16 (*ahimsa kraturaham yajñah*) also does the same. Animals were offered in some of these, though not in all. Gradually it came to be thought even in the Rgveda times that worshipping Agni with fuel sticks or with an oblation of cooked food or ghee or with Veda study or obeisances or with a solemn sacrifice is on the same level and the worshipper is rewarded with swift horses (dashing against enemies) and with highest glory and no trouble whether divine or due to men, reaches him (Rg. VIII, 19, 5-6). Some Brāhmaṇa texts are couched in the same strain. The Ait. Br. (VI, 9) remarks 'he who offers a cake performs a sacrifice equal to the offering of all sacrificial animals'. The Tai. Br. provides that the forest sacrificial animals, after a firebrand is carried around them, are let off for the sake of *ahimsā*. Dr. A. Schweitzer in his 'Indian thought and its development' (tr. into English by Mrs Russell, 1936) tries hard to establish a contrast between the attitude of what he calls 'world and life negation' in Hindu thought and 'world and life affir-

2626. सर्वेषां वा एष पशूना मेधेन यजते यः पुरोडासेन यजते। ऐ मा VI, 9, परमिश्रुतानामप्याद्यस्त्यजन्त्यसि। ते. मा. III, 9, 3, 3 (सायण explains स च परित्यागो हिंसारादिभ्यः सम्पद्यते)।

mation' characteristic of Christianity and as a side issue remarks (on p. 80) that 'the ahimsā commandment does not arise from a feeling of compassion but from a feeling of keeping a person undefiled'. The learned author ignores several things; firstly, ²⁶²⁷ not a word is said about purity (śauca) in the

2627 This is not the place to give a lengthy reply to Dr. Schweitzer's remarks. Dr. Schweitzer's compliment to Christ, Christianity and the West was criticized by Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Eastern Religion and Western thought' (1939 pp 76-110) and by Shri D. S. Sharma in 'Renaissance of Hinduism' pp. 618-634. On p. 2 Dr. Schweitzer holdly asserts that world and life affirmation unceasingly urges men to serve their fellows, society, the nation, mankind and indeed all that lives with their utmost will &c. One should like to know the Biblical passages where all this grand thought is explicitly stated. On p. 4 he contradicts himself when he says 'Christianity also brought European thought into relation with world and life negation'. The two great commandments of Jesus are first 'to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul' and the second is 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (vide Matthew 22 37 and 39 and Mark 12. 30-31). This is hardly anything like what Schweitzer says about Christianity's world and life affirmation. Not a word is said here about even loving all human beings, much less loving 'all that lives'. The world has had enough of the world and life affirmation of Christianity (or rather of Christian nations or people). Attention is invited to H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 180, where Westermarck's remarks in his 'Origin and development of the moral ideas' (1912) Vol. I. p. 711 are cited on slavery. The world knows what during the last four or five hundred years the colonial empires of Christian countries like England, France, Holland, Belgium, Portugal and Spain did in India, Africa, S. E. Asia, the Congo and America. On p. VII of his Preface he appears to contradict himself when he disagrees with the view of Schopenhauer and Deussen about Indian thought being completely governed by the ideal of world and life negation and admits the fact that 'world and life affirmation is present at the back of this thought (Indian thought) from the very dawn of its history, and life negation and world and life affirmation constitute its chief characteristic and determine its development'. Both books (Dr. Schweitzer's and Dr. Radhakrishnan's) are reviewed in 'Hibbert Journal' for 1953 pp 234-241 and 355-365 by C. W. M. Gell who finds both works disappointing, holds that Schweitzer has misunderstood the Hindu ideal of supra-ethical man, that negation and affirmation have not been properly defined by him, that it was only very late in Christian history that the West began to work actively for improvement of social and economic conditions. Social service was not unknown in Ancient India. The very idea of 'pūrta' dharma is social service. Vide above pp 947-949. The Purāṇas emphasize the importance of work for relieving distressed beings. For example, the Mārkaṇḍeya has the following very noble sentiment (15. 57) 'men would not obtain that happiness in heaven or in the world of Brahmā which arises from giving happiness to distressed men' (न स्वर्गे ब्रह्मलोके वा तत्सुखं प्राप्नुते नरे । यदात्तजन्तु-निर्वाणान्मृत्युमिति मे मतिः ॥) Vide also note 6 on pp. 3-4 of H. of Dh. vol. II.

Chāndogya and other passages about ahimsā. Secondly, the injunction about not giving pain to any being (in Chān. Up.) is immediately preceded by the words 'having concentrated all his senses on the Self'. That shows that one who knows and has come to realize that all is *brahma* should give no pain to others as all those also are *brahma* and not on the ground of purity or defilement. Further, in the Mahābhārata and Smṛtis some of which at least are not far removed in time from the Upanisads both ahimsā and śauca (purity) are separately mentioned along with other duties (dharma) common to all varṇas. Gaut. (8. 23-24) lays down eight qualities of the soul for every dvija viz. compassion towards all beings, forbearance, freedom from jealousy, freedom from excessive harm (to himself), doing auspicious acts, absence of abjectness (or miserliness), absence of discontent'. The same eight are specified in the Matsya-purāṇa 52 8-10, Aśmīnī 34-41. Manu V. 46 (= Visṇu Dh. S 51. 69) provides 'he who does not desire to cage or kill or cause pain to living beings, thus desirous of doing good to all, secures highest (or never ending) happiness'. Śauca is external (of the body) and internal (of the mind). Manu V. 106 expressly says that he who is pure as to money matters is really pure and not one who washes himself with sand or water. Vide above pp. 1421-22 notes 2331 and 2333. It is worthy of note that the Śāntiparva (chapter 162. 4-5 = Cr. ed. 156. 4-5) contains an apotheosis of *Satya* as the ancient Dharma and *brahman* itself and then in verses 7-9 *Satya* is stated to appear in thirteen aspects such as *tyāga* (renunciation of attachment and pleasures), *saṃatā* (being the same to all), *dama* (restraint of senses), *ksamā* (forbearance), *hrī* (being ashamed to boast of one's good deeds), *anāsūyā* (absence of jealousy), *dayā* (compassion) and so on, *ahimsā* being the 13th aspect of *Satya*.

It was only in Jainism that thoroughgoing ahimsā was preached and practised. Buddha had no objection to eating flesh, provided the animal was not killed specially for doing him honour or treating him.

IX. The three paths, viz. Karmamārga, Bhaktimārga and Jñānamārga. These have already been dealt with above in pp. 964-967, 1462. The Bhagavadgītā expounds the further doctrine of what is called *niskāma-karmayoga*, which has been explained above on pp. 966-67. Doing one's duty without hankering for the fruit thereof is worship of God.

X. Adhikāra-bheda

It was recognised in India from very early times that in the matter of religious worship and philosophical doctrines, there are different grades among human beings. All are not competent to grasp and act upon abstruse metaphysical doctrines or to follow higher forms of worship. This has been brought out in several places before. Vide above p. 973 note 1593 and p. 1462. Abstruse metaphysical doctrines are likely to be misunderstood and therefore we find that there is an effort to keep such doctrines secret and frequent warnings are given in the Upanisads not to impart the knowledge of *brahman* to all and sundry and to keep it secret. Vide p. 1071-72 and Chān. Up. III. 11. 5 set out above on p. 1460, Sv. Up. VI. 22, Katha Up. III. 17, Br. Up. III. 2. 13 (Yajñavalkya and Ārtaḥhāga did not discuss *brahman* among people). The word Upanisad came to mean 'secret doctrine' (vide Tai. Up. II. 9 and III. 10). This tendency to keep abstruse doctrines secret obtained in other nations in antiquity (vide St. Mark 4. 11, 34-35). The Hathayogapradīpikā²⁶²⁸ has similar provisions (vide p. 1460 above). Many modern writers condemn people that engage in image worship. The reasons advanced for image worship by Indian works are given in note 1593 p. 973 above. The worshipper of an image of Gaṇeśa or Kālī casts the image in water (a river, sea &c.) after a day or more (when the period of the festival is over). So it is not as if he worshipped the wooden or earthen object but he has an emotional idea for the time being that God is enthroned in that object. These common people, if questioned, will say 'God is everywhere, in you, in me and in the wooden image'. The Nreimhapurāṇa 62. 5 (quoted by Aparārka p. 140 on Yāj. I. 101) says that sages declare that the worship of Hari (God Viṣṇu) may be performed in six ways, viz in water, in fire, in one's own heart, in the sun's orb, on an altar or in an image.²⁶²⁹ The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa appears to have been conscious that image worship came later in Kali age and was not prevalent

2628. एतद्विद्या परं योग्या योगिना सिद्धिमिच्छता ।
भवेद्दीर्घवती शुद्धा निर्वर्षा तु प्रकाशिता ॥ दृढयोगप्र० I. 11

2629. अल्पव्रीहयै हृदये चर्ये स्थाण्डिले प्रतिमासु च । वदन्तेतेषु हरेः सम्यगर्चनं मुनिभिः
स्मृतम् ॥ अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो . . योगिना हृदये हरिः ॥ रुद्रसिद्धिराज 62 5-6 (the 2nd
quoted in note 1593 above). Vide रुद्रसिद्धिराज (आदिक प 196 ed by Mr. Ghatpure) which quotes verses from the Smritis of Hārīta and Marīci to the same effect. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण III 93 5-7 and 20

in former ages (III. chap. 93. 5-7 and 20). The present author saw in several European Churches the images of the Madonna or the images or pictures of certain saints worshipped by Christian people that addressed prayers to the image of the Madonna or the pictures of saints for fulfilment of their desires. Therefore, he thinks that it would not be wrong for him to say that the religion of many Christians in Europe is image worship.²⁶³⁰ The several darśanas (except that of Cārvāka) were looked upon generally as approximations to truth. There was no question of all of them being false and one alone as containing the truth.

(XI) Vast Sanskrit literature.

India produced a vast amount of Sanskrit literature of a most varied character for at least three thousand years. There is no country in the world that can exhibit continuous creation of several departments of literature for such a long period. Sanskrit literature penetrated to countries like Tibet, China, Java and others. Its literature influenced the Moslem world and European world by means of the decimal place value system, its fable literature and system of Vedānta. Vide Winternitz's 'Some problems of Indian Literature' (the Readership Lectures in Calcutta University) pp. 59-81 for a brief but instructive treatment of the influence of Sanskrit Literature in the West. Its study by Europeans at the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century laid the foundation of several sciences, such as the science of language, of comparative religion, of thought and of mythology. There exist several Histories of Sanskrit Literature by several scholars such as Weber, Max Müller, Winternitz, Keith, M. Krishnamachariar, which will give an idea to any reader of the variety and vastness of Sanskrit literature.

2630. Vide 'Hinduism and Buddhism' by Sir Charles Elliot, Vol. I. Intro. p. LXX, where a similar view is expressed by the learned writer who relies also on William James' 'Varieties of religious experience' pp. 525-527. Sir Oliver Lodge in 'Man and the Universe' (London, 1908) pp. 246-247) says "There are plenty of good reasons against idolatry among intellectual and 'chosen' people but this (God was jealous of idol worship) is not one of them; nor is it to be supposed that the stock of a tree is ever really worshipped even when prostrated to. An idol, to ignorant and undeveloped people, is a symbol of something which they are really worshipping under a material form and embodiment, the sensuous presentation assists their infantile efforts towards abstract thought as material sacraments help people in a higher stage of religious development; but some of these helps should be outgrown "

India has preserved for itself and for the world a vast literature in the best part of which the principal theme is to ask men never to cease in their efforts to control the senses and to reach higher and higher heights of morality and spirituality. H. H. Gowen in 'A History of Indian Literature' (1931) observes (on p. 8) 'Indian literature has an intrinsic value which no remoteness avails to destroy. For sacredness, variety and continuity, scarcely any other may compare with it, certainly none surpasses it. As for sacredness no other scripture, not even our Bible, may compete with the Veda in its continuity or in the matter of general acceptance'. He dilates also on the variety and remarkable continuity of Indian literature. Classical Sanskrit first blossomed at least before 500 B. C. Pāṇini names at least ten predecessors and his sūtras IV. 3. 87 and 88 clearly indicate that before his time there was considerable non-vedic secular literature.

XII. Yoga : Yoga has been treated of above (pp. 1385-1462). In the whole world there exists hardly any well thought out and comprehensive system of psychical and moral discipline like Yoga. Mercea Eliade observes (on p. 359) in 'Yoga, Immortality and Freedom' (tr. by Willard R. Trask, 1958) 'Yoga constitutes a characteristic dimension of the Indian mind, is marked by reaction against metaphysical speculations and the excesses of a fossilized ritualism'. Western minds having experienced a surfeit of economic prosperity, but worried by the tensions and crises of these times are turning more and more to Yoga and to Indian philosophy such as the Vedānta. In recent years numerous books are being published that deal with 'personal philosophy', Yoga (including Tibetan Yoga), meditation, concentration, mystical experience &c. Many of these books are written by honest people after reading a good deal of literature on these subjects but they are wanting in any personal yogic or mystic experience. There are some books that are written by persons who want to take advantage of the popular craze for Yoga and similar mystical practices for the sake of wealth and fame. In 'Vedānta for the Western World' edited by Christopher Isherwood (Allen and Unwin, London, 1948) the famous writer Mr. Aldous Huxley sounds a note of warning against the plethora of books on mysticism and Yoga in the market (p. 376).

XIII. Philosophy :

The central point of much of our philosophy is contained in Chāndogyaopaniṣad VI.1, where Uddālaka inquires of his conceited

son Śvetaketu "Have you asked for that instruction by which one hears what cannot be heard, by which one perceives what cannot be perceived, by which one knows what cannot be known;" and when Śvetaketu asked for that instruction, Uddālaka expounds to him (in VI. 1-16) the subject at length and winds up with the words 'tat-tvam-asi' (thou art that Self). An inquirer into philosophy will find in the various branches of Indian philosophy a vast mass of material, hardly surpassed by any other ancient country in the world. The word for philosophy is *darsāna* and there is a famous work called 'Sarvadarśansangraha' in which fifteen different points of view apart from *advaita* Vedānta are summarised. The principal orthodox darśanas are six—Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrvaśālikā and Uttaraśālikā (or Vedānta), which have been treated above and their relation to and influence on Dharmaśāstra has been dwelt upon. The chief marks of Indian philosophy are that it concentrates on the spiritual, that philosophy has to be lived and not merely discussed, that it seeks the Reality, that for real philosophy great moral preparation is necessary, that reason has to be extensively used in arriving at the truth, that tradition and authority have to be accepted and not neglected. Almost all darśanas (except that of Cārvāka) are concerned with Liberation (variously called *Mokṣa*, *Kaivalya*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Amṛtatva*, *Niḥśreyasa*, *Apavarga*) and all (except Cārvāka) are agreed on the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma. It is not necessary to say more on Indian Philosophy in this Chapter.

XIV. Arts. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting :

Though the present author has travelled throughout India for over fifty years and seen most of the famous places rich in ancient architecture, sculpture and painting, he lays no claim to being a connoisseur in these matters and cannot give his own valuation of these relics of ancient Indian Art. The number of works on these is legion. A mere bibliography would not be of much use to the reader. Therefore, he will content himself with mentioning a few works on each of the above branches which he has read wholly or partly or which he consulted.

Among the most remarkable ancient monuments of India are the stūpa at Sāncī, the paintings in the Ajanta caves, the

Kailāsa temple at Ellora, and the Konārka²⁶³¹ temple in Orissa.

Some of the Purāṇas contain information on the above topics. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 252. 2-4) names 18 expounders of Vāstusāstra (architecture) such as Bhṛgu, Atri, Vasistha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśalākṣa, Purandara, Brahmā, Kumāra, Nandīśa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Śukra and Brhaspati. Chapters 253-257 deal with the construction of mansions and houses, chap. 258-263 with images of several deities. The Vāyupurāṇa (8.108 ff.) describes the founding of a capital. Agnipurāṇa, chapters 42, 104-106 deal with the building of mansions, houses and laying out cities. The Visnudharmottara (third section) is called *catrasūtra*²⁶³² because dancing is held to be the primary art and painting rests on it. It is further said that painting is the best of arts (III. 33. 38) and the foremost of auspicious things in a house, that the rules that apply to painting are applicable to the making of images of metals, stone and wood (III. 43.31-32). Chapters 36-43 deal with painting, chapters 44-85 with the making of images of gods and goddesses and housebuilding is dilated upon in chap. 86 ff. The *Brhat-samhitā* (ed. by M. M. Sudhakar Dvivedi, 1895) of Varāhamihira (500-550 A.D.) deals with palaces, mansions and houses of king, crown prince and others; in chap. 52 (123 verses) with temples of several gods, in chap. 53 (31 verses) with images of gods, in chap. 57 (Rāma, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra, Śiva, Buddha, Jina, the Sun,

2631. For Konārka, vide H. of Dh Vol IV of 769, Modern Review (Calcutta) for 1945 pp 67-72 with seven illustrations by Mr Prauakrushna Samal and 'A time in India' by Ross Smith pp. 198-201 on 'Konarka, its mythunas and several explanations about them'. The tower of the temple of the Sun 24 miles to the N W of Puri is 180 feet in height, the Mandapa in front is 140 feet high. In 'Orissan Sculpture and Architecture' by O. C. Ganguly and A. Goswami (1956, Calcutta) out of 41 plates, plates 21-41 relate to the Sun temple of Konārka. For Sānci, three big volumes with numerous plates have been published by the Govt. of India, the editors being Sir John Marshall, A. Foucher and N. Majumdar.

2632. Vide the present author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1961) pp. 66-72 for an account of the Visnudharmottara and its date (575-650 A. D.). Dr. Miss Stella Kramrisch has translated into English the chapters of the Visnudharmottara bearing on painting and sculpture (Cal. Un. 1928). Varāhamihira mentions several authors such as Garga and Manu on palaces (55.31), Nagnajit (57. 4) and Vasistha (57. 8) on images.

Linga, Mother Goddesses, Yama), with images or statues of five kinds of men (chap. 68 verse 30) called Hamsa, Śaśa, Rucaka, Bhadra and Mālavya and their bodily features.

There are several other works like the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja (Calcutta ed. of 1917), the *Abhilasitārthacintāmaṇi* (also called *Mānasollāsa*)²⁶³³ of king Someśvara, *Śilparatna* (T. S. S.), *Mayamata* (T. S. S.) on these subjects.

Paintings—The only famous ancient paintings are those in the caves of Ajanta, in the Bagh caves in the former Gwalior State and those in the caves at Sigiriya in Ceylon. For reasons of space it is not possible to quote the enthusiastic appreciations of Western writers on ancient Indian Art, particularly paintings and sculpture. The author would quote a few passages from Rene Grousset's²⁶³⁴ works: 'India has given a mighty art or a complete Aesthetic equal in originality and power to the Greek and Chinese. It is marked by its naturalism in depicting animals'. The same writer says about Ajanta's immortal paintings 'they count among the most moving that have ever come within human vision'. 'In civilizations of the East' (tr. by Mrs. C. A. Phillips, London, 1932 with 249 illustrations) the same author (after citing paintings of the Jātakas of self-sacrifice) remarks 'these are but a few examples, the most poetic, tender and moving that could be imagined. No better example could be found of that purely Indian sentiment of universal brotherhood, that fervour of humanitarianism which extends even to animals and plants' (p. 79). For Ajanta, there is a fine edition by Dr. G. Yazdani, the text in two parts (1930 and 1933) and there are besides many coloured and monochrome plates with an Introduction by Lawrence Binyon. There is also another small work prepared for the use of Lord Reading on his visit to Ajanta in 1924 in which Dr. Yazdani gives ten colour plates and one monochrome plate (of a bull fight) with notes on some of the scenes in several caves and appreciations by Binyon, Rothenstein, Solomon and others. Another good book is 'my pilgrimage to Ajanta and Bagh' by Sri Mukul Chandra Dey, with Introduction by Lawrence Binyon (London, 1925)

2633. The third *Vimśati* of *Mānasollāsa* deals with *Vāstuśāstra*, painting, images of gods and goddesses, planets &c. (vide part II of the work in G. O. S.).

2634. Vide 'The Sum of History' by Rene Grousset, translated by A. & H. Temple Patterson, Tower Bridge Publications, 1951, p. 105, p. 107 about Ajanta.

A third book on Ajanta is in Marathi written and published in 1929 by Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh State, with half-tone and coloured illustrations. Percy Brown on 'Indian Painting' deals with Buddhist, Hindu and Mahomedan Painting and covers a long period from 6th century A. D to 19th Century A. D. He gives two illustrations of Sigiriya paintings opposite pp. 33, 69, which are remarkably similar to some paintings in caves 16 and 17 at Ajanta. In Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' illustrations No. 183 and No. 184 are respectively from Bagh and Sigiriya.

Many modern works deal with all three viz. architecture sculpture and painting or with two of them or with one only. Some important works are mentioned here :

1. E. B. Havell's 'Indian Sculpture and Painting' (London, 1908) with 45 plates for sculpture and 8 for painting.
2. V. A. Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' with 38 illustrations (including some of Moslem Art), Oxford, 1911.
3. A. Foucher's 'Beginnings of Buddhist Art' (1917), with plates.
4. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' (1927), with 400 illustrations on 128 plates.
5. 'Ellora' by Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh with 89 half-tone illustrations, published by D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, Bombay.
6. James Fergusson's 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture', volumes I and II, London, 1910.
7. T. A. Gopinath Rao's 'Elements of Hindu Iconography,' Vol. I and II (Madras, 1914, 1916).
8. Dr. Stella Kramrisch on 'The Art of India' (sculpture, painting, architecture), London, Phaidon Press, 1954, with 156 plates and 7 coloured plates.
9. Dr. Stella Kramrisch's 'Indian Sculpture' (1933) with 116 illustrations.
10. Rene Grousset's 'The civilizations of the East' Vol. II (on India) with 249 illustrations.
11. A. V. T. Iyer's 'Indian Architecture' in three volumes (Madras)

12. Ananda K. Coomarswamy's 'Elements of Buddhist Iconography' (Harvard Un. Cambridge, U. S. A., 1935); also his 'Dance of Śiva' (frontispiece of Natarāja in cosmic dance), Foreword by Romain Rolland, 27 plates, (1924)
13. 'Indian Architecture' (Buddhist and Hindu), published by D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Bombay, with 118 illustrations.
14. Benjamin Rowland's 'The Art and Architecture of India' (Buddhist, Hindu, Jain), Penguin Books, 1956; remarks that some sculptures are worthy of being placed in world culture and the Art presents synthesis of beautiful forms and deep spiritual expression.
15. Heinrich Zimmer's 'Myths and Symbols of Indian Art and Civilization' posthumously published by J. Campbell, 70 plates from 2nd century B. C. to 19th century A. D.
16. 'Immortal India' by Alfred Nawrath, translated from German, published by D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Bombay, with 12 coloured and 106 photographic reproductions, 1956.
17. H. Goetz's 'Five thousand years of Indian Art' Bombay, 1959; 72 plates (many coloured ones) and two maps; D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Bombay.
18. Sir John Marshall's 'Buddhist Art of Gandhāra' Vol. I, Memoir of Archaeological Department of Pakistan, 1960, (111 Plates) and his work in three volumes on 'Taxila' Cambridge Un. Press 1951 for scholars, and his 'Guide to Taxila' (4th ed. of 1960) for tourists and general readers.

South Indian Architecture and Sculpture has some peculiarities of its own. Some works thereon may be mentioned here viz. 'Dravidian Architecture' by G. J. Dubreuil (1917), 'Mahabalipuram' by C. Sivaramamurti (Dept. of Archaeology) 7 full page plates, 'Art of Pallavas' text and notes by B. C. Ganguly and ed. by A. Goswami, 46 plates (1957).

Besides, on music also several works have been written: 'Music of Hindustan' (Oxford 1914) by A. H. Fox Strangway, Alain Danielou's 'Northern Indian music' vol. I and II (London, 1949, 1954), H. A. Popley's 'The Music of India', (Calcutta, 1950), O. Goswami's 'The story of Indian Music' (Bombay, 1957), G. H. Ranade's 'Hindustani Music and Outline of its Physics

and Aesthetics' (Poona, 1951). But the present author unfortunately knows little about music.

Indian architectonic and iconographic symbolism spread to Java, Bali and other parts of Indonesia and many works have been written on this subject such as 'Barabudor' (Java) by Paul Mus, G. Gorer's 'Bali and Angkor', 'Towards Angkor' by Quaritch Wales (with a full Bibliography at end), W. F. Stutterheim's 'Indian influences in Balinese Art' (London, 1935).

A few more characteristics could have been mentioned; the present writer desists from adding them since the list is already a long one. It is not claimed that no other culture had or has these characteristics. What is claimed is that there is no other single culture in the world where all these can be found now or existed in the past and that some of these characteristics such as the noble Vedānta concept of man, lower animals and even inanimate things being one in Essence, the great tolerance throughout the ages for differing religious and philosophical views, the emphasis on *satya* and *ahimsā* are unique and not found elsewhere,

CHAPTER XXXVII

Future Trends

After the battle of Plassey in 1757 the civil government of the three large provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa came under British rule from 1765. From 1818 when the last Peshwa Bajirao II was defeated and became a pensioner, the British were in control over the whole of India except Punjab, which was subdued in 1845. The British left India in 1947. Therefore, they were rulers over a large part of India for 180 years, over the whole of it except Punjab for about 130 years and over Punjab just about 100 years. The impact of British occupation during these periods on Hindu society was tremendous in all spheres, physical, mental and moral. The changes effected during these years of British rule were of such magnitude that they far exceeded the changes that occurred in hundreds of years before the coming of the British. With the advent of British rule came a new system of Government on an all India basis, establishment of courts of justice on Western patterns, laws that applied to all Indians without distinction, modern individualistic liberty, Western pattern of living at least in towns and cities, an educational system placing all Indians on the same level, newspapers, better means of transport, study of modern science, English literature and arts &c.

The present author has no intention of writing anything on the all round changes that have taken place in India under British rule. All that he proposes to do in this chapter is to indicate *briefly* the effects that are likely to be produced on Hindu society, its ancient ideals and values in the near future, on account of science and modern ideas, the Constitution framed for Indian democracy, the idea of a secular State, socialistic pattern of society, economical planning, legislation, growth of population and means to check it.

But before he deals with the above subjects, it is necessary to give a rapid review of the state of things before Independence was achieved. Lord Ripon as Viceroy of India in 1882 started a scheme of local self-government by means of municipal corporations in the cities and district and local Boards in the rural areas. Thus after about 120 years from 1765 when British rule was first established in a large part of India, the British

thought fit to associate the conquered people in managing some of their own (unimportant and petty) affairs. Colonialism on the part of the British had reached its peak by that time. The British imported raw materials like cotton from India, processed them in Manchester and exported the manufactured products back to India's immense market. At the instance of British manufacturers laws were passed in Britain forbidding the import of Indian silk and cotton goods. India was drained of wealth by that policy for over a hundred years and India became one of the poorest countries in the world. Dadabhai Naoroji in his 'Poverty and un-British rule in India' (London, 1901, 675 pages) demonstrated this very ably. The main elements of the colonial rule of Britain were these, complete political subjection existed, the main economic activity was in the hands of foreigners, it was foreign capital that was employed in India and substantial dividends or interest on the capital were guaranteed in some cases like the Railways by the British rulers of India payable from the taxes imposed on Indian people, the control of large enterprises was in foreign hands and directed towards securing foreign interests, the land and people were used as instruments of the purposes of Britain. India got peace and political unity at the cost of enormous poverty and distress and many of the economic problems that beset present day India have to be traced back to the disastrous colonial policies of Britain.

The army of the Government of India was for over a century entirely officered by the British. There were in the 20th century about 7000 officers (lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels) among whom not one Indian held the King's commission till after the first world war. Then a few were sent every year for training to England. The examination for entry in the Indian civil²⁶³⁵ Service (the 'Steel frame' of the Indian

2635. A well known jibe in the author's youth was that an I. C. S. was neither Indian (almost all were British in those days) nor civil nor a servant (but he was the master of the destinies of poor India). Munro wrote in 1817 a memorandum to Lord Hastings from which two sentences may be quoted: 'there is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the Government of their country as in British India. Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we' pp 273-74 of 'The Making of Indian Princes' (London, 1943) by Edward Thompson. Vide G. W. Forrest's 'Selections from the Minutes and other official writings of Elphinstone' (London, 1884) p 102 for reproach against British rule in India.

administration, as one great British Prime Minister was pleased to call it) was held in England (in spite of a Resolution of the House of Commons that the examination for appointment to the Indian Civil Services in 1893 should be held simultaneously in India and England). Only a few Indians in the last quarter of the 19th century could go to England and qualify for entry in that heaven-born service. District officers such as Collectors, District Judges, Police Superintendents, Medical officers (of the Indian Medical Service) were almost all British. Almost all Professors in colleges and the head masters of even some secondary schools were Englishmen. All the books to be used in schools were prescribed by the Head of the Department of Public Instruction in the several provinces, all of whom were Westerners. Even primary education was being given only to a small fraction of the children of school-going age, even in 1947 when the British left. The elements of colonial rule by Britain and the policies pursued by the British rulers are emphasized here solely as warnings to present warring elements in our country that if they pursue their quarrels to bitter ends the nation may again be plunged into a miserable state by invasions from powerful and hostile neighbours.

Morley (who was Secretary of State for India and who was believed by many Indians to be a man of liberal or even radical views) introduced separate communal electorates for Moslems in the reforms of 1909 and he was firmly of opinion that a Parliamentary system in India should not be established in the foreseeable²⁶³⁶ future. It is unnecessary to refer in detail to Montagu's famous speech in 1917, characterizing the Indian Government as too wooden, too antediluvian for modern times, to his statement (the reverse of Morley's views) that 'the policy of the British Government is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realiza-

2636. *Vide* the volume of "Indian Speeches" by Viscount Morley (p. 92) where he says "If my existence, either officially or corporately, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, a Parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would for one moment aspire." Even so late as 1941 Sir G. Schuster in "India and Democracy" (MacMillan, 1941) strongly expressed the view that Parliamentary democracy of the Westminster pattern would not suit India and that Indians would have to work out a system of their own. He does not even indicate how, while the British ruled India, a democratic system could be evolved by Indians and in how many years.

tion of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire,' the failure of Dyarchy introduced by Montagu, the Rowlatt Acts, unrest in Punjab, General Dyer's proclamation declaring any assembly of four or more persons as unlawful, his shooting of men, women and children assembled in Jallianwallah Bagh for a meeting in defiance of the proclamation, when, even according to Government statistics, 300 people were killed and 1200 injured, Dyer's compulsory retirement and the presentation of a purse of thirty thousand pounds to him by his British admirers for saving the British Empire (as they then thought).

The introduction of education through English was espoused by Lord Macaulay in his 'Minute on Indian Education'. Why he insisted on the education of Indians through English is stated in the Minute as follows: 'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect'.²⁶³⁷ English education caused great wastage of effort in learning all subjects (including even Sanskrit) through English and led to a disproportionate pursuit of literary studies and neglect of scientific and technological subjects and created a wide gulf between the educated and the uneducated masses; it glorified Western culture and did not help Indians to study and appreciate their own culture. Educated Indians, particularly in the earlier period of English education in India, came to entertain an exaggerated respect for Western institutions and unduly disparaged their own social and religious systems.

The British Government's interest in Indian education (particularly higher education) was lukewarm. Three Universities (of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras) were first established in 1857 for the whole of India, but they were merely examining bodies. In the whole of the Bombay Presidency there was no Science Institute entirely maintained by Government till about

2637 Vide 'Speeches by Lord Macaulay' with Minute on Indian Education, edited by G. M. Young (Oxford Univ. Press 1932). The minute is on pp 344-361. On p. 349 he makes the following statement 'I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia'. Vide p. 359 of the above work for the above oft-quoted passage.

1920. An Indian could pass the M. A. examination in Philosophy without knowing anything about ancient Indian philosophy till only a few years ago. However, English education by Government and missionaries produced a result exactly opposite of what was expected by them. The missionaries miserably failed in securing the Indians (except a few among the lower castes and *ādvaitīs*) for Christ and Government found that reading the classics of English literature and works of men like Burke, Spencer, Mill and others created among the educated emotions of nationalism and discontent with their own abject political status. Political agitation daily increased. Lokamanya Tilak was called 'the father of Indian unrest' by an English writer. He passed away in 1920. But his mantle fell on Mahatma Gandhi, who while agitating for political power and eventual freedom, adopted the technique of *satyāgraha*.

It is not necessary to go into the freedom struggle from 1919 to 1947 which culminated in the British leaving India but after dividing it into Pakistan and the present India. The partition of India into two parts based on merely communal considerations let loose the most hideous conflicts, massacres and flights of millions of refugees which India had ever witnessed during its long history. The giving up of a large empire with mutual consent and without war or bloodshed is a unique and unparalleled event in the whole history of the world. The message of the King of Great Britain read by Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy to the members of the Constituent Assembly was nobly and graciously worded "With this transfer of power by consent comes the fulfilment of a great democratic ideal to which the British and Indian people alike are firmly dedicated." Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reply to the message of the King was couched in equally noble and just language "While our achievement is in no small measure due to our sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events, and last, though not least, it is the consummation and fulfilment of the historic traditions and democratic ideals of the British race" (vide 'Transfer of power in India' by Shri V. P. Menon, published by Orient Longmans, 1957, p. 415).

The Indian Independence Act^{2637A} was passed by the British

2637 A. Vide 'Transfer of Power in India'; Appendix XI sets out the Indian Independence Act, 1947 at pp. 516-532 and Appendix XII gives Congress comments on the draft independence bill with Nehru's corrections signed by him on 3-7-47 (pp. 1-9).

Parliament and Royal assent was given on 18th July 1947. A Constituent Assembly had been set up by the cabinet mission (of three cabinet ministers, Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander) and it held its first meeting in December 1946. It re-assembled in August 1947 as a sovereign body to frame a constitution for free India. Its work went on for over two years and the constitution consisting of 395 Articles and nine Schedules came into force on 26th January 1950 (except 15 Articles that came into force at once); vide Art. 394.

The Preamble to the Constitution of India declares that India is a sovereign democratic Republic. The extent of the Indian Republic even at present is vast. It was hardly ever under one Government, except possibly under Aśoka. In ancient times India had some *ganarājyas* or *sangharājyas* (oligarchic states, or republics as Jayaswal and some others prefer to call them). This question of the existence of oligarchies (or republics) in ancient India has been discussed at some length by the present author in Vol. III pp. 87-96 of the H. of Dh. He still adheres to the views there expressed. The Buddhist monks had a procedure for regulating the meetings of their *saṅgha* (as set out in the Mahāvagga IX. 3 in SBE Vol. XVII p. 264 ff and in Cullavagga IV 9, SBE Vol. XX pp. 24-27 and pp. 53 ff) and Jayaswal conjectures that the same procedure was followed in oligarchies (or republics).

There are substantial achievements to the credit of present India and its leaders during the last 14 years after Independence. Some of them may be very succinctly stated here: (1) The production of a comprehensive democratic constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and worship, freedom of the Press, protection of the rights of minorities, equality of all before the law, equality of status to women, independent judiciary; (2) Abolition of untouchability (Art. 17), (3) political integration of India without any violence, as the five hundred and odd States (except only three), that comprised nearly 1/3rd of the total land area of India and 1/4th of the population, patriotically accepted a merger of the States in the Indian Republic (Shri V. P. Menon's 'Story of the Integration of States'), (4) Reorganization of India into 15 States and six Union Territories based mostly on linguistic unity and administrative convenience, (5) holding two elections on the basis of

adult suffrage, viz. every person ^{2637b} (male or female) who is a citizen of India, is twenty-one years of age and not disqualified under the constitution or any other law, has a right to be registered as a voter at elections to the House of the people and to the Legislative Assemblies of States (Art. 326); (6) Socialistic pattern of society as the goal (Art. 38, 39), (7) Two five year plans have been carried out and a third Five Year Plan has been set on foot (under Schedule VII, list III, item 20). The creation of a democratic republic was something that India had not been acquainted with for at least twelve centuries (even if *ganarājyas* were held to be republics and not merely obligarchies). From Rgvedic times there was a hereditary monarchical form of rule. Vide Rg. VII, 33.3 and 5, VII 83. 7-8, where the battle of ten kings (daśa rājanah) with king Sudās is mentioned; vide also the story of Devāpi and Śantanu in Rg. X, 98 expanded in Nirukta II. 10-12.

Some criticism may be offered against the Constitution. In the first place, it is extremely bulky and goes into too many details and is a hotchpotch of provisions from several sources. Some provisions are derived from England, the directive principles of State policy are derived from the constitutions of Ireland and other countries of Europe, some are borrowed from the Government of India Act of 1935. Several of these need not have been put in a Constitution but should have been left to ordinary legislation. In spite of such a lengthy constitution there are many omissions. Nothing is expressly said about political parties, about industrial corporations, about relation of religions and the State. The Constitution makes a complete break with our traditional ideas. Dharmasūtras and Smritis begin with the dharmas (duties) of the people (varnas and āśramas). Prime Minister Pandit Nehru himself says in his Azad Memorial Lectures on 'India to-day and to-morrow' (1959) p. 45 'All of us now talk of and demand rights and privileges, but the teaching of the old dharma was about duties and obligations. Rights follow duties discharged.' Unfortunately this thought finds no place in the Constitution.

One fact of the greatest importance in the life of India is the accession of the masses to power, not only political, but also

2637 b. Women had no votes in Great Britain till the first war and even now in Switzerland women have no votes (vide p. 31 of 'Switzerland in perspective' by George Soloveyichik (1954)).

social, economical, intellectual and moral. The Constitution engenders a feeling among common people that they have rights and no obligations whatever and that the masses have the right to impose their will and to give the force of law and justice to their own ideas and norms formed in their own cottages and tea shops.

The Constitution of India has no chapter on the duties of the people to the country or to the people as a whole. Art 19 confers the right to seven freedoms, one of which (c) is to form associations or unions and sub-article (4) enables the State to make laws imposing, *in the interest of public order or morality*, reasonable restrictions. The framers of the Constitution forgot to include what Britain had, provided long before in 17 and 18 Geo 5, Chapter 22, Article 1, part of which runs 'any strike is illegal if it is *designed or calculated* to coerce the Government directly or by inflicting hardship on the community'. The eyes of some of the framers of this constitution were opened by the strike of Government servants in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs by which, if it had continued for even a fortnight, crores of people would have had to submit to incalculable hardships and the action of the strikers in essential services would have been like a rebellion by some lakhs of people against over forty crores of people. The right to strike by workers tacitly given in the constitution is in imitation of similar rights enjoyed in industrial countries like Britain only for the last few decades and the framers should have restricted the right to strikes between private employers and employees as an experiment in the first instance

Another criticism is that there are too many amendments. From 1950 there have been ten amendments, while in the U S. A. there have been only 22 amendments during a period of about 170 years. The very first amendment was made within less than a year and a half from the day the Constitution came into force. It affected about a dozen Articles, among which there were three Articles dealing with fundamental rights viz. 15, 19, 31. One fails to understand the meaning of the words 'fundamental rights' in a constitution which took over two years of deliberations, if they could be changed within a year and a half. The amendment made in Article 31 prohibits a person from challenging in a court of justice a law about the compensation to be paid to a person for compulsory acquisition of his property. This is a serious inroad on rights to private property

and smacks of spoliation and arbitrariness. In the House of the People the quorum is only 50 and if 50 persons are present and a majority of them (say 26) decide that a certain amount of compensation should be paid for compulsory acquisition of several properties of a person and the compensation is felt to be ridiculously low he has no remedy in a court of law at all. Besides, the Welfare State is, if at all, foreshadowed in the Directive Principles of State Policy (Art. 38, 39 etc.), but these principles are not enforceable in a court of law and, therefore, they are inferior to fundamental rights, the breach of which can be examined by the High Court or Supreme Court, which is invested with the power of issuing writs. Parliament (Lokasabha) has over 500 members and the quorum is 50 and yet this small number is not often present and the Speaker has several times to reprimand the House of the People on this score.

Another criticism may be offered as to the inclusion of Universities in list II (of schedule 7, State List, No. 11) and not in the concurrent list. Vocational and technical training of labour is in the concurrent list (Item 25). Is not University education throughout India of as much importance as the training of labour? Only items 63-66 (of list I, Union list) are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Central Government.²⁶³⁸ There is hardly any weighty reason (except chance) why the Benares Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, the Delhi University and Santiniketan should be treated as the exclusive concern of the Central Government and the other Universities be not placed even in the concurrent list.

The Constitution in its 8th Schedule recognizes fourteen languages as the national languages of India, while Article 343 (1) makes Hindi the official language of the Union, but sub article 2 (of Article 343) provides that English will continue to be used for all official purposes for fifteen years and sub-article 3 provides that Parliament may continue even after 1965 the use of English for purposes specified by Parliament. Even such a small country as Switzerland has three official languages. The Constitution should have provided at least two Official languages for north India and two for South India, when even

²⁶³⁸. Vide 'Our fundamental rights' by D. N. Banerjee for an exhaustive and trenchant criticism of the change made in Art. 31 (2), the speeches of the Prime Minister and of Hon'ble Mr. G. B. Pant (pp. 316-336) Calcutta, 1960

in 1950 the population of India was about 36 crores. This sweeping decision to make Hindi the only official language instead of helping emotional integration of Indians produced great strife. An official language is not the only means of emotional integration, nor even the chief one. The Govt. should begin with the children in the schools, should instil into their minds the fundamental cultural Unity of India, and that India has been looked upon as one by all foreign invaders, steps should be taken to make every Indian feel that he is the inheritor of the vast ancient wisdom and spiritual culture of India, that he must contribute to the conservation of that culture, and must add to its greatness in the future, and free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 should have been achieved in ten years as foreshadowed in Art 45.

A plan and programme to instil among all grown-up citizens the ideal of national integration must be prepared, insisting on our common past, common interests, common future and on elements like the wisdom and thought embodied in Sanskrit and the regional languages, the tolerance shown by our people through the ages.

The Constitution has also committed several mistakes in the allotment of subjects in the 7th Schedule as Union list, State List and Concurrent list. For example, the production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of intoxicating liquors are put in the State List (item 8 in List II, State List) This has led to prohibition in some States, but also its absence in other States.

The above discussion is enough to show that the Constitution framed after more than two years' cogitation is unsatisfactory in several ways.

Ours is a democratic Republic. The most famous definition of democracy is Lincoln's viz ' Government of the people by the people for the people '. All three must exist in a proper democracy. In the Greek city States such as Athens all adult citizens (except slaves that outnumbered citizens) could assemble and could directly participate in discussion and the framing of laws and regulations. But this is impossible when crores of people spread over a vast country are voters. Therefore, one part of Lincoln's definition becomes watered down. Crores of people cannot govern themselves, which is a physical impossibility. All they can do is to choose some men as their rulers. In former ages when monarchy

was the prevailing form the ruler came to be so by succession or by conquest i. e. by breaking heads. Now, under democracy, the ruler or rulers are chosen by the mere counting of heads. As observed by Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Kalkin or the future of civilization' (4th ed. of 1956) 'Democracy in actual working rarely permits a country to be governed by its ablest. The opinions of the mass prevail over those of the thinking few. We must strive for some better way for conducting human affairs than the lottery of the ballot-box' (pp. 20-22). René Gusnon in 'Crisis of the modern world' (translated by Arthur Osborne, London, 1932) remarks 'the law is supposed to be made by the opinion of the majority, but what is overlooked is that this opinion is something that can very easily be guided or modified i. e. opinion can be manufactured. The majority on whatever question it may be called on to give its opinion is always composed of the incompetent, whose number is vastly greater than that of the man who can give an opinion based on a full knowledge of the subject' (p. 108).

These words of René Gusnon refer to conditions in European countries in most of which there has been almost cent per cent literacy for some decades. Parliamentary democracy assumes that voters understand the policies and programmes of different parties and cast their votes accordingly. It presupposes some education, intelligence, respect for the rule of law, tolerance, a sense of brotherhood for at least one's countrymen, and a more or less homogeneous society. But when, as in India at present, the vast majority of voters are illiterate, the state of things becomes far worse. We can and must tolerate democracy in India as a first step towards better days, though at present it is a mere shell and is ridiculed by some unsympathetic foreigners.²⁶³⁹ The census of 1961 discloses that literacy which was only 16.6 percent in 1951 is 23.7 percent in 1961. Dean Inge in 'Christian Ethics' (1930) remarks about politics in England where almost all voters are literate 'our politics are so corrupt that many would welcome a dictatorship.' (p. 385). About the U S A, a recent work 'Corruption in Washington' by Blair Bolles (Gollancz, London, 1960), which makes rather dismal reading, indicates the terrible moral predicament of the honest man in power caught between public responsibility and loyalty

²⁶³⁹ A. Koestler in 'Lotus and Robot' (London, 1963) remarks 'India is a democracy in name only, it would be more correct to call it Bapocracy' (p. 156).

to his friends and associates. In our country also ministers and officials must be in a similar predicament, particularly when there exist numerous rules and regulations about permits and licenses galore.

The Directive Principles of state policy are contained in Articles 37 to 51 and it is provided in Article 37 that they shall not be enforceable by any court, but that they are *fundamental* in the governance of the country. Article 45 enacts that the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution *for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years*. It is more than twelve years since the commencement of the Constitution. In spite of the fact that about 7000 crores of rupees were to be spent on grandiose schemes in the two Five Year Plans, this fundamental provision was not implemented. Even free and compulsory primary education of all children up to the age of *eleven* years (instead of 14 as envisaged in Article 45) is not accomplished and it is promised that in the Third Five Year Plan (which envisages an expenditure of over ten thousand crores of rupees) this may be accomplished. But, if the huge sums for the third plan be not forthcoming, the first casualty will be education. The education of the masses who are to be voters and indirectly rulers of the nation continues to be sadly neglected even after Independence.

It is remarkable that the directive principles of state policy mostly contain provisions on the economic system for raising people's standard of living (Art. 43, 47 &c.), i e. it lays emphasis only on the material things for the people. It seems to be assumed that if material prosperity or benefits are assured for all, then there is nothing more to be done by the State. The present author feels that the Directive Principles should also have put equal or greater emphasis on moral and spiritual values and should have called upon the State to promote among the people high moral standards, self-discipline, co-operation, sense of responsibility, kindness, high endeavour. Man is a many-sided being. The satisfaction of mere physical needs is not enough. Man has intellectual, spiritual, cultural and social aspirations also. The socio-economic pattern for the future must be based on the foundation of the best part of our traditions, the rule of dharma, the duties common to all as declared by Manu X. 63 and Yāj I. 122. A secular state should not and does not mean a godless state or a state that has nothing to do with moral and

spiritual values. Prime Minister Nehru himself emphasizes this, when he says 'whether religion is necessary or not, a *certain faith in a worth-while ideal is essential* to give substance to our lives and to hold us together. We have to have a *sense of purpose beyond the material and physical demands of our daily lives*' (in 'Today and tomorrow' p. 8). It may be stated that for most common men and women it is religion that sets worth-while ideals.

The third item in Lincoln's definition is 'for the people'. That is, the Government must look to the good of the people as a whole and not to that of any class or a community in the country. Modern democracy has come to mean parties and it has to work on decisions of the majority. It often happens that, there being several parties, no one party has an absolute majority over all other parties put together. It may often happen that one party secures 40% of the votes actually cast and the other parties (that differ in ideologies) secure, say 25, 20, 15, percent of the votes, then the first party with only 40 percent of the total votes cast rules, though it does not represent the majority of the whole country. The party system generally leads to a struggle for power and lowers the moral standards of the whole people, particularly when hardly one-fifth of the voters (both male and female) can read and write their own regional language. The present author does not hold that illiteracy necessarily means absence of intelligence. But, unless a man can read for himself and ponder over what he reads, he can hardly be a good judge of the *pros* and *cons* in relation to a measure or policy placed before the voters. Besides, the emphasis laid on standards of living without any direct reference to moral and spiritual values has already led to this result that in India the desire for material comforts and positions of power dominates almost every one and there is no corresponding urge or even idea to do one's best for producing goods. The laws are drafted in the English language. Most of the speakers in Parliament use English (a few only speak in Hindi) and complicated laws are said to have been passed by a majority or unanimously as the case may be. That country may be said to be the best governed which is least governed. There is a spate of legislation in the House of the People. In the seven years from 1950 to 56 nearly 450 laws were passed by the central legislature alone. Some of these laws vitally affect Hindus in their family relations and in other respects. A few examples only can be cited here. The Hindu Adoption Act went far beyond the ancient Hindu principles, which were two viz. that

only a male could be adopted for purposes of spiritual benefit to the adopter and the person to be adopted should be in age and other matters like a son. Women could not adopt to themselves but a widow could adopt a son for the spiritual benefit of her husband. These principles have been thrown to the winds as will be seen from the criticisms of the present author above on pp. 1337-1338. But one thing must be mentioned. In some enactments affecting Hindu Law, customs have been abrogated vide Hindu Marriage Act 25 of 1955, Section 4, Hindu Succession Act 30 of 1956, Section 4 (1) The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (78 of 1956) prescribes that the person to be adopted must not be more than 15 years of age (section 10 item IV) and that there should be a difference of 21 years between a male adopter and a female adoptee and between a female adopter and a male adoptee (sec. 11 items iii and iv). But the provision in Sec. 10 is made subject to a custom to the contrary. It passes one's understanding why custom was allowed to prevail over the law in this case. The Hindu Marriage Act, 25 of 1955, has made sweeping changes of which the vast majority of Hindus are blissfully ignorant. Before the Act a Hindu could in theory (and rarely in practice) have two or more wives living at the same time and even an *anuloma* marriage (i. e. the marriage of a male of a higher *varna* with a woman born in a *lower varna*) was held to be invalid by some High Courts in India such as those of Allahabad and Madras. Now under the present Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 the marriage is a monogamous marriage (section 5) and a person belonging to any caste may marry a woman of any caste how highsoever or lowsoever she may be by caste; and further marriages between spouses belonging to the Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Jaina religions are now declared valid. It was suggested, while the marriage Bill was in the Committee stage, that the provision as to monogamous marriages should become compulsory when a similar provision would be made applicable to Muslims (who under the Koranic law can have four wives at the same time). But this was brushed aside through fear of antagonizing Muslims. Other provisions about Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs being Hindu for the purposes of the Marriage Act, being a sweeping one at one stroke, is likely to be resented by almost all illiterate Hindus and likely to lead to tension and bitterness in many rural families and to break-up of the family as a central and compact unit in Hindu society. The orthodox people do not like such mixed marriages. It is not

unlikely that the orthodox sections in the country may join hands with the ignorant masses and set back the hands of the clock, when some years hence the ranks of the towering personalities of the Gandhi era whom people want to humour have become thin.²⁶⁴⁰

One of the outstanding characteristics of Hindu society for several millennia has been the joint family system of the *Mitāksarā* type which prevails in the whole of India (except in Bengal which is under the *Dāyabhāga* system). Its peculiarity is that all male members in the family form a coparcenary, that if any male of the family dies his interest devolves by survivorship on the remaining male members including his own male issue, if any, that females have no rights in the family property except marriage expenses and maintenance and no member of the joint family could transfer any part of the family property by will (not even the father) or by sale or mortgage except for certain recognised family necessities. This joint family system and the caste system were the bulwarks that kept together Hindu Society for centuries, inspite of foreign invasions and misrule. The Hindu Succession Act (30 of 1956) makes two sweeping changes in the *Mitāksarā* joint family system. The explanation to Section 30 of the Act provides that any male Hindu may dispose of by will his interest in the coparcenary property. This is one drastic change. A similar drastic change was made by section 6, its proviso and explanation read together. Briefly it comes to this. If a Hindu coparcener of the *Mitāksarā* system dies after the Succession Act comes into force, leaving him surviving no son, but a daughter or the daughter of a predeceased son or the son of a predeceased daughter or daughter of a predeceased daughter, his interest in the coparcenary property will not pass by survivorship to the other surviving male members of the coparcenary but to the above mentioned descendants of his and the interest that would pass to these descendants would be the share in the coparcenary property that would have been allotted to him if partition of the coparcenary property had taken place immediately before his death. Before this Act, the daughter or the other heirs mentioned above would have got nothing in the coparcenary property when any male member of the family died sonless. These two changes make of the joint family of the *Mitāksarā*

2640. Vide what Mr Frank Moraes says (on p 85) in his biography of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1956) about people being anxious to humour him.

type a mere shell. It was suggested when the Bill was before Parliament that Parliament should provide that the joint family system of the Mitākṣarā type has been abrogated and that all members of the joint family after the passing of the Act would be only tenants-in-common. But this was not done. Why the Minister in charge or the members of Parliament felt squeamish about ending the coparcenary system of the Mitākṣarā is not clear to the present author. It looks like straining at a gnat while swallowing a camel. These and other changes in the old Hindu Law are possibly motivated by the desire to do justice to the rights of women. But in some cases this is done with a vengeance. For reasons of space only one example of this type is cited. Under Section 8 of the Hindu Succession Act and the Schedule of heirs in class I and class II, if a man dies possessed of property leaving only his mother and father (and no sons or wife or other persons) the mother will take the whole estate of her son absolutely to the entire exclusion of the father, since the mother is placed among heirs of class I., while the father is placed in class II and the rule in Sec 8 (a and b) is that heirs put in class II succeed only if there is no heir in class I. Under Yāj II 135 the order of heirs to a man dying without male issue is first the widow, then daughter, then daughter's son or sons, then parents (*pīturau*, the dual is used). Some commentators held that the mother is to be preferred as heir to the father, others held that the father is to be preferred to the mother, while still others held that both parents should succeed together. In the Council of States (*Rājyasabha*) the father was put in class I along with the mother, but in the House of the People the mother was put in class I and the father was put as heir in class II. Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex, religion, race &c. What difference can be made between the mother and the father of a man as heirs except on the ground of sex? Probably, the legislators wanted, in however small a way, to compensate women for past injustices to them. The Hindu Law of Succession of 1956 goes even beyond Muslim Law in that it recognizes twelve categories of persons (in class I of Schedule) as entitled to succeed simultaneously and take the property of the deceased. In a few cases it is possible that the heirs of class I taking the estate of a deceased person may be twenty or even more, if the latter leaves five sons and five daughters, besides some children of predeceased sons and daughters. There is probably no country in the world where so many persons are entitled to succeed simultaneously to

a deceased person's estate. The result would be that there would be great fragmentation of property and constant wrangles and litigation. This amounts to distribution of poverty. Under the Hindu Law before 1955 women as heirs to males took as a general rule a limited estate (i. e. a life estate) For example, if a man died leaving his wife and a brother or a brother's son (but no children) his widow would take a limited estate i. e. on the widow's death, the estate would go to the brother (if alive) or to the latter's sons &c. Now (after 1956) the widow would take an absolute estate and she would be able to dispose of it as she pleased (by sale, gift or will). Vide Section 14 of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. Not only this, that section has retrospectively conferred an absolute estate on the widows who succeeded as limited owners before 1956. Suppose a person died in 1950, leaving a widow and a brother. The widow would take only a limited estate and she could not sell it or will it away, if she died before 1956 the husband's brother would have succeeded to the estate. But suppose she is alive and in possession of her husband's estate when the Act of 1956 was passed. Her estate is at once enlarged. She can donate it to any one or leave it by her will to her own brother and entirely destroy the expectancy of the husband's brother to succeed to her husband's estate. This is equality of women with a vengeance. The mass of people know nothing about this at present. But when many cases come before the courts and the common people come to know the present law whereby the expectancies of male members of her husband's family are set at naught by the widow transferring the property to persons that are strangers there is bound to be great trouble. Of all the revolutionary changes in India none will have more pervading influence and meaning than the drastic changes in the legal status of women made by the laws affecting Hindus passed from 1954 to 1956, which enforce monogamy, make polygamy punishable, which provide the minimum ages for the marriage of women and men at 15 and 18 respectively, which allow divorce to both sexes on the same basic rules, which confer rights of inheritance and absolute ownership on a daughter and her children, that allow the husband or the widow of a person, if the deceased had not already adopted a son and a daughter before his death, to adopt a son and a daughter.

Several States (e. g. Bombay by Act LXVII of 1948, sec 5) have passed laws putting ceilings on the extent of the holding

of lands up to 48 acres or 24 acres according as the land is ordinary or *bagari* (irrigated). This is felt by common people as a great injustice, when there is no ceiling on the wealth of big merchants and the like. It may be argued that these very rich people pay income-tax and other taxes. The agriculturists also say that they pay taxes and that inflation has made the price of bare necessities go up.

Before leaving the subject of legislation vitally affecting Hindu society, some remarks will have to be made about the mentality of several Congressmen who appear to have great faith in making men moral by legislation. Article 47 provides that it is among the primary duties of the State to raise the level of nutrition, the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and that, in particular, the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health. The Bombay State and a few other States in India embarked on a policy of total prohibition of intoxicating drinks. If there was to be a total prohibition of intoxicating drinks, it should have been an all India measure. Several States refused to have the prohibition law because there is loss of revenue in two ways, viz. the income from excise duties on liquors is lost and large sums of money have to be spent on establishments for preventing people from manufacturing illicit liquor. Art. 45 about free and compulsory education of children of school-going age (up to 14 years) was not strenuously observed by the Bombay State but it wanted to enforce Art. 47 at all costs. Besides, there being no prohibition on an all India basis, what is an offence under law in the Bombay State is not an offence in Delhi and some other States at all. That takes away the moral basis from the measure. Besides, prohibitionists forget human psychology. When something is prohibited or becomes rare, many feel a fascination in breaking the law or trying to possess what is rare. Illicit liquor produced and kept under the most unhygienic conditions is being sold on a large scale and persons knowing this dare not inform the police for fear of being stabbed or killed by distillers of illicit liquor.^{2640a} A

^{2640a}. L. P. Jais in "Near the brink" remarks 'Social Reform might be defined as the process of creating the social problems of tomorrow by Acts of Parliament designed to solve the social problems of today' (p. 116) and on p. 118 he says that he never saw so many drunken people as during the years when prohibition was in force.

Minister's cook was found engaged in manufacturing illicit liquor. In the present author's opinion prohibition has turned out to be a dismal failure, it tends to corrupt the police, it reduces revenue much needed for development purposes, illicit distillation has become a cottage industry and boot-leggers have acquired a vested interest in prohibition. Why horse-racing and betting are not prohibited by law is inexplicable, except on the supposition that many people entertain that Government is afraid of displeasing rich people who indulge in it. Wins and gambling have been besetting sins from the times of the R̥gveda. Vasistha pleads for forgiveness of sins from Varuna in R̥gveda VII. 86.6 saying that 'it is not one's own power that leads one to commit sin, it is fate, wine, anger, dice (gambling) and thoughtlessness'. In R̥g. X 34 a gambler laments over his own frailty. Therefore, all that can be reasonably attempted is temperance and reducing the spread of the drinking habit; otherwise new and greater evils not contemplated in the ardour for suppression emerge. Vide p.1338 above for the warning given against startling changes based on Mr. Aldous Huxley's words. Another faddist attempt at improving morals by legislation is the recent Act prohibiting dowries, which came into force on first July 1961. The giving or taking or abetting the giving or taking of dowry or demanding a dowry directly or indirectly from the parents or guardians of a bride or bridegroom is punishable with imprisonment extending to six months or with fine extending to five thousand rupees or with both. The definition of dowry punishable²⁶⁴¹ under the Act is rendered practically nugatory by the explanation that presents made at the time of a marriage to either party to the marriage in the form of cash, ornaments, clothes or other articles, shall not be deemed to be dowry within the meaning of the section, unless they are made as consideration for the marriage of the said parties. This, instead of relieving the parents of marriageable girls from the payment of a dowry, would give rise to blackmail on the part of busy bodies in the town or the village of the parties. If this latter does not happen the Act will ordinarily remain a dead letter.

2641 The Act defines 'dowry' as 'any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly (a) by one party to the marriage to the other party to the marriage or (b) by the parents of either party to a marriage or by any other person, to either party to the marriage or to any other person at or before or after the marriage as consideration for the marriage of the said parties, but does not include dower or Mahr in the case of persons to whom the Muslim Personal Law applies'.

Article 40 of the Constitution calls upon the State to organize village Panchayats and to endow them with the powers and authority necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. In ancient and medieval times, village Panchayats played an important part. Under the British this system (which trained people in democratic functions on a small scale) was practically done away with. Now after about two hundred years the present Government wants to revive Panchayats. In the different States of India village Panchayat Acts have been passed. Until a large percentage of villagers become educated, self-reliant and men of character, the village Panchayats cannot function as the foundations of real democracy. It is very likely that either the dominant castes or the leading families or the bullies (*gundas*) in the village will capture the village Panchayats and use them for their own benefit. A recent book 'Panchayt-i-raj' by Shri S. A. Dey (published by Asia Publishing House, 1961) paints a very roseate picture of Panchayats functioning in the 550 thousand villages of India. It all depends on disinterested workers of high character, otherwise this project will meet the same fate that overtook Brayne's work in Gurgaon after Brayne left.

Some people took it into their heads to decide that agricultural land should belong to him who tilled it. Therefore, in Bombay and some other States legislation was enacted, first holding that he who tilled another's land for six years was to be regarded as a 'protected tenant' (i. e. practically a permanent tenant); later on the owner was prohibited from selling the land to a non-agriculturist and ultimately (by Bombay Act. LXVII of 1948, sec 32) the tenant was made the owner, being liable to pay to the original owner the price fixed by the Revenue authorities spread over twelve yearly instalments. Whatever may be the case in Zamindaris, in the Deccan and some South Indian States the Ryotwari system prevails and persons belonging to the lower middle class purchased lands at high prices (not getting more than three or four percent as rent on the money invested) as land was deemed a stable investment. The present author, having been a practising lawyer for forty-five years, knows personally thousands of village people. In many cases although four or five years have passed away, the Revenue authorities have not yet decided the prices of the lands over which ownership of erstwhile tenants has been declared. Most of the erstwhile tenants (now become owners) have not paid a pie for four years

and the real owners have been robbed of the benefit to be derived from the price, if paid. Supposing Government was solicitous of increasing production by making tenants owners there is no reason why Government should not have recovered the price or instalments as a revenue demand. There is no judicial probe in the ordinary courts of law, the appeal lies only to the Govt (that means to the Collector), no owner is entitled to engage a pleader (sec 80 A) and very complicated provisions are made if the former tenant fails to pay each instalment. But the present state of things is sheer spoliation and looks like robbing Peter to pay Paul and is a sample of what democracy might mean to people of the lower middle class. There is no evidence that by these measures production of food grains has greatly increased. But Congressmen are complacent because they know that in the elections the vast majority of illiterate agriculturists who are to benefit by such legislation will cast their votes in favour of 'oxen' adopted as symbol by the Congress party. Many States have introduced by legislation ceilings in land holdings, viz no man or family is to hold more than 48 acres of dry land and no more than 24 acres of irrigated land. Even agriculturists have now begun to grumble and to ask why no ceilings are placed on the accumulation of wealth, when they see rich people flaunting their wealth in cars eighteen or twenty feet in length, obstructing narrow roads and causing serious casualties ²⁶⁴². Most people complain that the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer under the policies of the present Government. Government is not able to hold the price line and agriculturists, workers in industries and the lower middle class are dissatisfied and there is great danger of communistic ideas spreading among the majority of the inhabitants of this ancient land, that once honoured sages. Prime Minister Nehru said on the Congress manifesto for the elections of 1962 ²⁶⁴³ 'If the great majority of people in India for some reason or other become communists in the sense of thinking that way, it may be good or bad, I do not know, but I

2642. A survey carried on by the Police authorities for some months in Greater Bombay (population 41 lakhs) this year disclosed that motor accidents on an average caused one death every day, 13 people were injured and several dozens of accidents occurred every day in which motor cars were involved but no man was killed or injured.

2643. Quoted in Prof V K R V Rao's paper in 'Changing India' p. 241 in the Volume of papers presented to Prof. D R Gadgil on his 61st birth-day

am quite convinced it would not be India, then it would be something else. I do not want that to happen, even though I want India to take up modern scientific techniques, scientific theories, economic theories, economic organizations. I accept all that to the extent it is good for India. It is for us to choose. I do not rule out any-thing but I rule out being uprooted from India'.

What is ordinarily meant by 'Socialism' is collective farming, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and State Industrialization. Merely saying that the land should go to the tiller and carrying out that by legislation is simply robbing one person to benefit another. It is a long way off from that to socialist farming which would make the tiller a landless worker on the collective farm.

It is often said that ours is a 'Welfare State' and that what is aimed at is 'a socialistic pattern of society'. The Constitution does not employ these very words. But Art 38 appears in substance to mean that India would be a Welfare State, as it provides 'The State shall *strive to promote the welfare of the people* by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic, political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.' In the report of the Planning Commission on the 2nd Five Year Plan (which was accepted by the Government) the meaning of 'socialistic pattern of society' is set out as follows :²⁶⁴⁴

The task before an underdeveloped country is not merely to get better results within the existing framework of economic and social institutions, but to mould and refashion these so that they contribute effectively to the realisation of wider and deeper social values. These values or basic objectives have recently been summed up in the phrase 'socialist pattern of society'. Essentially this means 'that the basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gain and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relation should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increase of national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth.' 'Major decisions regarding production, distribution, consumption and investment

²⁶⁴⁴ Vide p 9 of a draft outline of the 2nd Five Year Plan pub by the Planning Commission in February 1956

must be made by agencies informed by social purpose. The benefit of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society and there should be progressive reduction of the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power. The problem is to create a *millet* in which the small man who has so far had little opportunity of perceiving and participating in the immense possibilities of growth through organized effort is enabled to put in his best in the interest of a higher standard of life for himself and increased prosperity for the country'. It appears from this and from what follows that 'socialist pattern of society' is not to be regarded as some rigid or fixed pattern. It is not rooted in any doctrine or dogma.

A booklet published by Sriman Narayan for the All India Congress Committee (2nd ed. of 1956, New Delhi) embodies the notable speeches of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He starts by saying that private enterprise is useful so far as our country is concerned, that we wish to encourage it, but the dominance which private enterprise had throughout the world during a certain period is no more and that for a planner it has now a secondary place. Later on (p. 2) he states that he uses the word 'socialistic picture of society' as meaning largely that the means of production should be socially owned or controlled for the benefit of society as a whole. On p. 12 he says (at Avadi Session) 'we have laid down that certain basic industries must necessarily be state-owned and there are other industries we should try to encourage the State to start. The plan is an integrated whole and in that integrated whole the public and private sector must also be integrated. They are not rival shows.' On p. 19 he says 'The national aim is a welfare state and a socialistic economy.' 'Finance is important, but not so much as people think' 'What is important is trained personnel. The only thing we have to guard against is inflation. Inflation is avoided if there is production corresponding to the money thrown in'. (p. 20). 'Everyone in the country should have the primary things of life like food, clothing, housing, education, sanitation, medical help, employment, work' (p. 27). 'The objectives of India's Planning should be socialistic pattern of society. It cannot be achieved by mere legislation, but it is all a question of planning' (pp. 30-31). 'Both Congress and Parliament have said that we want a socialistic pattern of society. Why have we used this vague language? We have done

so deliberately because we do not want to commit ourselves to any rigid formula' (p. 55). 'India wants a social revolution by peaceful means, peaceful methods, by mutual agreement, by working together. Hard work is the only way to progress.' Russia had to use force to do in 20 or 25 years what England did in 100 years (pp. 60-66).

These quotations taken from the speeches of the Prime Minister clearly establish that he does not want a totalitarian communism in India. He appears to favour a democratic socialistic pattern. But he himself admits that vague language about socialistic pattern has been deliberately used and that his idea is to build up in India by trial and error a sort of democratic socialism. But there is great danger in this. The present author is not aware of any large country in the world where a democratic socialistic pattern purposely clothed in vague language has been tried and succeeded. The language being vague and no definite procedure being chalked out, a socialistic pattern would mean all things to all men and the socialistic pattern of society is vague enough to allow diverse interpretations.

Russia and China have been and are under totalitarian socialism. In Soviet Russia under Lenin and Stalin peasants, working men and intellectuals became statesmen and military commanders, the old economic principle of supply and demand was replaced by central control of all commercial relations, of all production and distribution among the large populations of Russia spread over vast areas, individualistic agriculture gave place to huge co-operative farms managed under the directives of the State, aristocracy and democracy were abolished and dictatorship of a party that monopolized all power emerged. Our leaders appear to have borrowed the ideas of co-operative farming and the State control of production and distribution of several commodities from the Russian example, but the present writer is afraid that without the coercive methods employed by dictators like Stalin, our experiments will not in a measurable period of time lead to the results desired and expected by our leaders.

Those interested in democratic socialism may profitably read Shri Ashok Mehta's work on it (published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959)

What appears to the present author is that our country is to have a mixed economy, in which private and public enterprise are supposed to work together to narrow the disparity or gulf between a small minority of haves and a vast multitude of have-nots. For example, Atomic energy, Railways, iron and steel, aircraft, ship-building are among Government industries, while the private sector is to be concerned with the manufacture of textiles, cement, aluminium, machine tools, chemicals and pharmaceuticals &c.

The present writer does not think that he is competent enough to criticize the means and methods that are being adopted by the leaders of the country and to say whether they are enough to meet the high promises made and the hopes raised by certain Articles in the Constitution such as 39 (part a of which declares that the citizens have the *right* to an adequate means of livelihood), 41 (providing for securing the *right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement*), 43 (the State shall endeavour to secure to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, *work, a living wage, decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities*); vide Articles 45 and 47 already quoted above (on pp. 1669, 1675)

But he will say a few words. The mass of people cannot be kept at a high level of self-sacrifice, great ideals and hard work for long. A dynamic and revered leader like Buddha may succeed for a time in securing this. But, when he passes away, there is gradually a relapse into conditions worse than what they were before. For the vast majority of people anywhere private gain is the chief motive for hard work and not mere requests or sermons. If that motive is abolished, then the majority will not work hard at all, though a few individuals of high ideals and moral character may work as hard as before. Or there will have to be a dictatorship, coercion and fear of being liquidated. In the absence of these, production will be enormously reduced and there will be no improvement in standards of living. Russia and China are not under a Parliamentary democracy and they can therefore make people work without trammels, but in countries like U. K., U. S. A., even Japan the appeal of the motive of private gain is the chief factor. Even in Russia incentives have to be held out for extra work and it is admitted that even after forty years of totalitarian rule, there are great inequalities of income, since the wages of

an Academician and an average worker are in the ratio of 62:1, and (apart from academicians) the wages of high-placed executives and common men are in the ratio of 20:1 and there are no ceilings on income.²⁶⁴⁵ Shri Vinoba Bhave placed his target about Bhūmidāna at fifty million acres but he got only about five million acres, half of which are not arable. Now the emphasis has shifted to 'Sarvodaya'. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who was first a Marxist out and out, then joined the P. S. Party, is now advocating the principles of 'Sarvodaya' in²⁶⁴⁷ 'Towards a new society' published by Mr. Prabhakar Padhye for the Congress for cultural freedom (New Delhi, 1958). Sarvodaya planning seems to be based on the assumption that a radical change in human behaviour and attitude to work and property will take place on a large scale without coercion. There is hardly any basis for any such assumption at present. The Prime Minister himself admits (vide p 240 of Prof V. K. R. V. Rao's paper in 'Changing India') that adequate motives and inducements have to be provided. The Indian Government more than any other purely democratic country in the world has extended the scope of public administration to embark on the production and distribution of economic goods while keeping at the same time full Parliamentary democracy. Gandhiji also called upon the millionaires to hold their vast fortunes in trusteeship. One should like to know the names of even a dozen millionaires in India that dealt with their wealth like trustees even in Gandhiji's lifetime.

Let us now turn to the third Five Year Plan.²⁶⁴⁸ The vital

2645. Vide 'The Democratic alternative' (p. 16) by Miss M. A. Devaki, published in 1959 by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, Bombay

2647. Sarvodaya ideal is not different from the well known verse 'सर्वेभ्यः सुखिनः सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निराश्रयाः । सर्वे भद्राणि कल्पन्तु मा कश्चिद्दुःखमाप्नुयात् ॥' which means 'May all here (in this world) be happy, may all be free from diseases. May all see prosperity and may no one experience sorrow'.

2648. 'Third Five Year Plan', published by the Government of India, Planning Commission, 1961 (774 pages). While these pages were passing through the press the author came across a book called 'Planning in India' by Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari (Orient Longmans, 1961) who was a member of the Planning Commission from March 1950 and Deputy Chairman from February 1953 to June 1960. It is a valuable book based on official information and containing numerous tables and details. It requires to be carefully studied and invites criticism, but that cannot be done in this place nor

objectives of the planners are stated on p. J. 'Rapid economic growth and expansion of employment, reduction of disparities in income and wealth, prevention of the concentration of economic power, and creation of the values and attitudes of a free and equal society. Where the bulk of the people live so close to the margin of poverty, the claims of social justice, the right to work, of equal opportunity and of a minimum level of living have great urgency'. On p 48 the principal aims are further elaborated and it is stated on p. 49 that the first priority belongs to agriculture and therefore the total outlay provided is 1718 crores of rupees as against 950 crores in the Second Plan and fertilizers to the extent of 800,000 tons are provided for as against 110,000 tons in the 2nd Plan.

Our country's great handicap is population and food production. Statistics for the growth of population²⁶⁴⁹ are '(in millions). 1901 (235.5), 1911 (249), 1921 (248.1), 1931 (275.5), 1941 (314.8), 1951 (356.9), 1961 (438). This indicates that by about 1966-1967 the population of our country may be about 480 millions. Article 39a (referred to on p. 1666) requires the State to direct its policy towards securing that every citizen has the right to an adequate means of livelihood. Our country has been an agricultural country from time immemorial, yet we have to import millions of tons of wheat and other grain for feeding our large population. The finance minister in his speech on the Budget for 1961-62 stated (p 79 para 36) that in May 1961 an agreement under P. L. 480 was signed by India's minister with the U. S. A. for the import in four years of 18 million tons of wheat, one million tons of rice and also certain quantities of maize, cotton, tobacco and soybean oil. This is the biggest agricultural commodities agreement ever signed between two countries. There were four previous agreements commencing from August 1956 but they were all on a lesser scale. The fifth agreement of May 1960 was for agricultural commodities worth 1369.8 million dollars (= 655.8 crores of rupees). The average intake of food in India is below the nutritional standards laid down by scientists. Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world as the following table²⁶⁵⁰ for national income 'per capita for 1957 will show

2649. Vide Tata Industries 'Statistical Outline of India for 1959', Table 8 for population.

2650. Vide Tata Industries 'Statistical outline of India' 1959, Table No 2. Vide 'Communist China today' by S. Chandrasekhara (p 136), who shows that the present figures about China are not reliable owing to a change of policy in modern China.

Country	Rupees	Country	Rupees
India	289	Italy	1922
Australia	5114	Japan	1200
Burma	222	U. K.	4561
Canada	4946	U. S. A.	10124
Ceylon	553	W. Germany	3530

These figures show that in Ceylon the per capita income is double that of India, in Japan it is four times as much and in Germany over twelve times that of India. Both Germany and Japan were devastated by the 2nd World War and yet the people of both countries have in less than 15 years improved so much in production that both are giving substantial assistance to India. Our people and leaders should deeply ponder over this state of things and should strain every nerve in an all out effort to improve the country's lot instead of talking and mutual bickerings.

While these pages were passing through the Press, the author got a copy of 'India's Food Crisis and steps to meet it' which is a report (of 254 pages) made in 1959 by a Ford Foundation Team of thirteen American Technicians and agriculturist specialists at the invitation of two Indian Ministers of Food and Agriculture and Community Development and co-operation. It is a very important document, discusses seventy aspects of the problem and deserves close study by all Indians interested in India's welfare. It is issued by the Govt. of India. One or two striking matters can alone be referred to here. The report points out that the total population of India will be about 480 millions at the end of the Third Five Plan in 1966, that the target of 110 million tons of food grains by 1965-66 is reasonable and is necessary to provide food enough for the added millions and to provide for some dietary improvement and a safety margin for poor crops and other emergencies. The report recognises that India is making steady progress in food production, but the rate of production must be tripled to meet the Third Plan target. It gives the warning that if India's food production increases no faster than at present rates, the gap

between supplies and target will be 28 million tons by 1965-66, this would be 25 per cent shortfall in terms of need and that no conceivable programme of imports or rationing would meet a crisis of this magnitude (pp 3-4). The report suggests several emergency measures and measures to be carried on over a long period, which cannot be set out here. It stresses the need for research in agricultural economics. It recommends (p. 11) that the entire nation must be made aware of the impending food crisis and steps must be taken to meet it and warns that adequate supplies of food are essential to the survival of democracy. Two short-comings of the report may be pointed out. It does not tell us what funds would be required for research and for implementing the numerous other suggestions it makes. Besides, it says nothing about the birth rate in India and measures to curb the phenomenal rise in population.

According to U. N. Demographic Year book (August 1960) there are about 2900 million people in the world. More than half of the world's inhabitants live in four countries viz. China (669 millions), India (438 millions), Soviet Union (209 millions), U. S. A (178 millions). Population growth depends upon the birth rate and the death rate. Owing to scientific discoveries, epidemics or such diseases as malaria, typhoid, cholera, influenza are either eliminated or brought under control and therefore the death rate tends to be lower and lower. It is the birth rate that has to be controlled. The following table²⁵ for comparative birth rate and death rate in 1957 for eight countries is interesting:

Country	Birth Rate per thousand.	Death rate per thousand.
India	24	12
Australia	23	9
Canada	28	8
Ceylon	37	10
France	19	12
Sweden	15	10
U. K.	17	12
U. S. A.	25	10

²⁵ Vide table 12 'Comparative vital statistics, 1957' in the Tata Industries' Statistical Outline of India, 1959'

This table shows that the birth rate in our country is not very high or abnormal and the death rate is also similar to that of such progressive countries as France and U. K. Many Western countries have no definite population policy at Govt. level. But the case of our country is entirely different. Our country has already a huge population, most of which is on the margin of subsistence level. Supposing that by means of our two Five Year Plans the national income in the ten years (1951-1961) increased 30 percent, the growth of population in the same period would come to about 22 percent, so that most of the additional wealth produced would be eaten up by the new mouths that have to be fed and the standard of living of the average Indian would practically remain the same. Therefore, the main problem that faces the Government, the planners and the people is how to control the large growth of population. Population control will not solve all the problems of our country, but our other problems will not be solved without solving that problem. The Government of India and the Planners had no well thought policy about the control of population. Government appears to lay far more emphasis on industrialization and agricultural production than on population control. In the first Five Year Plan only 65 lakhs of rupees were allocated to the schemes of population control, in the 2nd Five Year Plan the allocation was raised to five crores. The Planning Commission has now realized the gravity of the problem of the enormous growth of Indian population, has provided 50 crores of rupees in the Third Plan for the various schemes of population control (vide pp 676 ff of Third Five Year Plan). In the whole world about 100 people are born every minute, about 6000 persons every hour, about 140,000 every day and about five crores every year. This problem of the phenomenal growth of population overshadows in urgency and importance almost every problem of the contemporary world, much more so of India. Very little is being done to control systematically the terrific growth of numbers. Sweden in the early 19th century was a poverty-stricken country, but now it is one of the progressive and prosperous countries of the world owing to hard work, co-operation, honesty, social and personal discipline. Birth control is a very difficult and delicate problem. Religious beliefs and prejudices have to be taken into consideration. In Rgvedic times the prayer to God Indra for a newly married bride had been 'O bountiful Indra! may ten sons be born of her and make her husband the eleventh (member of the family).' Later on

some kindly soul took compassion on women and made the blessing to be 'of eight sons'. The *Mahābhārata* said that a sonless man does not reach blessed worlds (heaven &c). By the birth of a son the father was deemed to have discharged his debt to his ancestors and the water and pindas (balls of cooked rice) offered by the son to his deceased father and other deceased ancestors were supposed to be of great efficacy for the peace of the departed souls. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 560-61, 799 and above p. 1626 This importance of a son or sons is believed to this day by almost all illiterate or educated people in India except a few men and women of advanced views. Educated brides sometimes request that the old mode of blessing for eight sons should not be followed. Therefore, in such cases the formula has to be changed to 'may you have as many sons as you desire'. The *Smṛtis* lay down that the husband has to cohabit with the wife after the first few days of her monthly illness and that he incurred the sin of embryo murder if he refused to do so without good cause. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 570-71 and note 1327. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Chap 14. 5-6) goes a little further and gives a story in which the husband who neglected this owing to his partiality for another charming wife had to undergo torments of hell. The present high prices of the necessities of life induce many people to limit families by various devices. The Planning Commission is going to try various measures such as intensive education, provision of facilities and advice on the largest scale possible, providing family planning services at 1864 rural and 330 urban medical and health centres, numbers of sterilization centres, opening 6100 clinics in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas (in 2nd Plan only 549 urban and 1100 rural clinics), distribution of simple contraceptives, research programme for more effective contraceptives etc. The 3rd Plan reports that in the 2nd Plan period 125000 sterilization operations were carried out (p. 678 of Third Plan). The present author is not an expert in these matters and so will content himself by pointing out that sterilization and, particularly contraceptives, are double-edged weapons. Sterilization for males is easy and may become popular among well-to-do men for selfish reasons (such as not wanting children and not undertaking the task of bringing them up). Therefore, a rule would have to be made and rigorously enforced that no sterilization will be done unless the man has three children or more. Vide a very thoughtful work 'Fertility and Survival' by Alfred Sauvy tr. from French by Christine Brooke-Rose (1961). Birth control is practised in

West Europe, North America, Japan exclusively by the well-to-do type of people. The same might happen in India. The most serious objection against contraceptives is that they will lead to immorality and encourage promiscuity in both sexes. Gandhiji in his 'Self-restraint versus self-indulgence' (3rd. ed., 1928) stated that so far as India is concerned there is no case for contraceptives (p. 3) and advised self-restraint. But he might have changed his opinion if he had been alive today. To advise poor people to practise self restraint, when most of them live in hovels of one room or two rooms, who are uneducated and have no ambitions and pass life in abject poverty, sounds to them as a huge joke. The well-to-do have many interests in life and several outlets for their energy but for the poor there are very few. It is interesting to note that the Prime Minister in his 'Autobiography' (1936) strongly criticizes Gandhiji's praise of poverty, suffering and ascetic life as utterly wrong, harmful and impossible of achievement (p. 510) and regards Gandhiji's attitude to sex as extraordinary (p. 512).

Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Religion and Society' (published in 1947) concedes (p. 189) that the use of contraceptives cannot be altogether forbidden, quotes Dawson to the effect that birth control by abstention is either ineffective or, if effective, pernicious (p. 90), that objections to birth control by contraceptives are due to their abuse and that in the present conditions facilities for birth control must be available, especially to poorer classes (p. 191). Contraceptives would have to be harmless to use, cheap, easy to use and absolutely reliable. The author is not sure if there are contraceptives of this type. Japan, a small country of islands, was compelled by the rapid growth of population to legalise abortions. Vide 'Aggression and Population' by F. James Dawson (London, 1946) for a thoughtful book on how to check worldwide growth of population. A thoughtful and exhaustive work is 'Population and planned parenthood in India' by S. Chandrasekhar, Director of Indian Institute for population studies, Madras (revised Edition of 1961).

The total investment programme for the Third Plan comes to Rs. 10400 crores (p. 109), Rs. 6100 crores in the public sector and Rs. 4300 crores in the private sector. The public sector has to find Rs. 7500 crores in all (that is Rs. 6300 for investment plus 1200 crores for current outlays in personnel &c (p. 91)

TABLE 3.

	CENTRE	STATES	TOTAL
1. Balance from current revenue	410	140	550
2. Contribution of Railways	100	...	100
3. Surpluses of other public enterprises	300	150	450
4. Loans from the public	475	325	800
5. Small Savings	213	387	600
6. Provident funds	183	82	265
7. Steel Equalisation Fund	105	...	105
8. Balance of miscellaneous capital receipts.	428	258	170
9. Total of 1 to 8	2214	826	3040
10. Additional Taxation	1100	610	1710
11. External Assistance	2200	...	2200
12. Deficit financing	524	26	550
Total ...	6038	1462	7500

Besides the States have resources for 3rd Plan amounting to 1416 crores.

The two five year plans have given our leaders a certain mastery over the situation and some confidence about the future. But Mr. Nanda has to admit that the productivity and level of efficiency are very low. Foreign aid raises difficult questions as to how to match it with an adequate mobilization of domestic resources. The mass of people are poverty-stricken, have a low standard of living and therefore can save little. High prices, which is a concomitant of development plans in all countries, are making common people discontented.

Foreign assistance runs into thousands of crores of rupees, nearly half of which comes from U. S. A. The United States Information Service has prepared a detailed statement of assistance to India for ten years from June 1951 to 4th August 1961 and circulated it to many Indians from which some striking figures are quoted here. A statement brought up only to June 30 of 1961 gives slightly smaller numbers as compared with the statement given below which brings up the figures up to 4th August 1961.

U. S. Government aid consists of grants and loans. Grants are gifts and do not involve any repayment. The grants in ten years total 1128.5 million dollars (537.4 crores of rupees). Loans involve repayment, some in dollars and some in rupees or dollars at the option of the Indian Government. Repayment in rupees does not involve the utilization of India's foreign exchange earnings or the export of goods from India. Eighty percent of U. S. loans to India up to Aug. 4, 1961 (2192.1 million dollars) are repayable in rupees i. e. that portion of the loans is not so inconvenient as the loans repayable in dollars are.

On p. 110 of Third Five Year Plan the foreign exchange requirements are put down at 2030 crores of Rs. for plan projects. But there are other general needs of the economy by way of raw materials, components, replacement machinery to be provided for. It is estimated that Rs. 3800 crores over the five years would be not too high. On p. 114 it is stated that the total assistance for the Third Plan assured by foreign countries is 2286 million dollars (Rs 1089 crores) out of which the USA has agreed to provide 1045 million dollars (just under half of the total foreign assistance), West Germany 425 million dollars, U. K. 250 million dollars, Japan 80 million dollars, and small sums by Canada, France &c.

*U. S. Aid from the Inception of the Aid Programme to India in
June 1951, through August 4, 1961.*

	DOLLARS (Millions)	RUPEES (Crores)
Aid under Indo-American technical co-operative programme	496.4	236.4
Public Law 480, Title I	2337.3	1113.0
Famine Relief grants to Indian Government	10.4	5.0
Agricultural commodities distri- buted through voluntary agencies (Public Law 480, Title III).	116.8	53.6
Development Loan Fund	513.4	244.5
Export-Import Bank	246.9	117.6
Wheat Loan of 1951	189.7	90.3
Total ...	3910.9	1862.6

BREAKDOWN

Grants to Indian Government for economic development (not repayable)	1128.5	537.4
Famine relief grants to Indian Government (not repayable)	10.4	5.3
Agricultural commodities distributed through voluntary agencies (PL. 480, title III) (not repayable)	116.8	55.6
Loans repayable in dollars	436.6	307.9
Loans repayable in rupees or dollars	1755.6	836.0
Cooley fund for loans to private enterprises.	162.3	77.3
Amounts under PL-480 Title I reserved for US Govt. use.	300.8	143.1
Total ...	3910.9	1862.6

The preceding table shows that in the last ten years, India has become indebted to the USA in the huge sum of 2655 million dollars (some payable in dollars alone and the rest in rupees if India chose that way). In the Third Plan USA has agreed to provide India up to 1045 million dollars i. e. at the end of the 15 years from 1951 India may owe to U.S.A. 3700 million dollars, that is roughly about 1756 crores of rupees (at Rs. 4½ per dollar). India will probably owe a larger amount to all the other lending countries taken together. The most serious question is how and in how many years India will repay the debts that run into astronomical figures. The explanatory memorandum accompanying the Central Budget for 1961-62 shows that India's public debt stood at Rs. 949 crores on 31st March 1959. On the 31st March 1962 it will reach the huge figure of 5554 crores. Adding the liability of Govt. to repay various deposits placed with Govt. under the Post Office Savings Bank, National Plan Savings, Provident Funds, Saving Deposit Certificates etc. which account for Rs. 1868 crores, India's obligations would really come to 7422 crores of Rs. (5554+1868), at the end of March 1962. Our interest yielding assets are only Rs. 5725 crores. If we add to this huge sum the debts our Govt. will owe to U. S. A. and other countries as shown in the

above table, at the end of the third plan India would be indebted in the colossal figure of about Rs. 11000 crores.

While these pages were passing through the Press, the author received a statement from the USA Information Service in Bombay, which brings the figures up to 12th March 1962. It states that the American Economic assistance to India from June 1951 to 12th March 1962 totals 4118 million dollars (= 1960.9 crores of Rupees) as shown in the table below :

	DOLLARS (Million)	RUPEES (Crores)	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
1. Grant (not repayable)	1,291.2	614.8	31.3
2. Loans repayable in dollars.	608.2	289.6	14.8
3. Local Currency repayments.	2,218	1,056.5	53.9
	<u>4,118.0</u>	<u>1,960.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>

It is not necessary to go into other details. The loans are repayable at different dates, some being repayable in forty years and some carrying a very low rate of interest. It may, however, be noted that out of about 4000 million dollars aid to India since Independence over half has been in the form of P. L. 480 Food for commodities. The Food Minister of India, Mr. S. K. Patil, assures us, however, that India would become completely self-sufficient in food by the end of the Third Five Year Plan and points out that during the last decade, foodgrain production in India rose from 50 to 80 million tons a year, an increase of 60 per cent. But it should not be forgotten that the population of India in the same ten years increased by about 22 per cent over the population in 1951.

The Welfare State theoretically aims at (Sarvodaya) prosperity for all (at least for the vast majority). Up to recent times, the main obligations of the State towards its people were the administration of the country, the defence of the country and its coast against aggression or invasion, maintenance of law and order, primary and higher education. The ambition of the framers of the Indian Constitution and our leaders is to create a welfare state, and to reconstruct the present social and economic order on a socialistic pattern by subjecting the country to a planned economy. Several vital industries are now reserved

for the State and Government has assumed power to regulate production, to control distribution and to fix even the prices of some commodities absolutely necessary to all men in daily life. It has also established the State Trading Corporation. Taxation has become an ever-increasing instrument of economic policy for carrying out the plan projects. Apart from the income-Tax Act (XI of 1922 recently consolidated by Act 43 of 1961) our democratic Government passed one after another four Acts, viz. the Estate Duty Act (XXXIV of 1953), the Wealth Tax (XXVI of 1957), the Expenditure Tax (XXIX of 1957) and the Gift Tax (XVIII of 1958). There is no other country in the world that has all the above five taxes. Is India the only welfare country in the world ? There is a sense of uncertainty and fright in the middle classes and tax dodging in the rich or influential sections of the community. Reasons of space prevent the citing of illustrations of the arbitrary character of the recent four Acts. In all these Acts the opinions of the Govt. officers (viz. Gift Tax officer, expenditure tax officer, and wealth tax officer and higher officers) in an executive ladder under the same Acts on questions of fact (such as the value of a property) are final and cannot be questioned in any court of justice (i. e. in a subordinate judge's court or district judge's court or High Court). If a creditor releases a debtor from his debts (wholly or partly) the creditor will have to pay gift tax on the debt released if the gift tax officer is of opinion that he could have recovered the debt by means of legal steps. No man can make a gift of more than 100 rupees at one time to a private person or even a near relative (except to his wife) and if he makes several gifts to the same person in one year exceeding five hundred rupees he will have to pay gift tax. In all cases of questions of fact one appeal should have been allowed to a district court or where the amount concerned was more than ten thousand rupees to the High Court. It should be recognized by policy-makers that our people have great faith in the integrity of the High Courts and the district judges who are selected by the High Courts and whose promotion does not depend on the Executive. They have not much faith in the fairness and integrity of Appellate Commissioners and Tribunals that are appointed by the Ministers, when the dispute is between private persons and taxing authorities on behalf of Government. Writers on the constitutions of countries have for many years emphasized two leading features viz. the sovereignty of Parliament and the rule of law. Parliaments are cajoled into

passing legislation whereby courts of justice are evaded or passed by and the will or caprice of executive officers becomes unfettered and supreme. This is what is called the 'New Despotism' by Lord Chief Justice Hewart of Great Britain.²⁵⁵⁹ In the name of the Welfare State it seems that all power is being centralized in bureaucracy by our leaders.

Most common people in India have a very vague notion of what socialism means. They believe that socialism is based on Marxism.²⁶⁵² Marx holds that revolution is the weapon or means by which the workers are to seize power, that his theory is scientific and based on a study of facts. He himself declared that he was no 'Marxist' (vide 'Naked God' p. 3 by Howard Fast, New York, 1957 and 'New Class' by Milovan Djilas p. 4 London, 5th Impression, 1958). These words of his are explained by Dr. Radhakrishnan as meaning that he was not pledged to the acceptance of a doctrine, final, complete and oppressive (vide 'Religion and Society,' 1947, p. 25). This is not the place to discuss the premises and predictions of Marx. But a few words may be said here. Marx had predicted that communism would prevail first in the most developed and industrialized nations. What happened is quite the opposite of this. Communism occurred in countries like Russia and China that were relatively very much less developed and industrialized. Another of his predictions was that the system of private ownership would make the rich richer and the poor poorer, would

2652. Vide 'New Despotism' by Lord Chief Justice Hewart (Earnest Benn Ltd. London, 1929) p. 17 (a long passage from which is quoted by R. S. W. Pollard in 'Conscience and liberty' (Allen and Unwin, London, 1940) Vide also 'Bureaucracy triumphant' by C. K. Allen (London, 1931). All these taxing enactments have created a high ladder of officers appointed by the executive. For example, under the Wealth Tax Act there is first the Wealth Tax Officer who decides what tax is payable, then there is an appeal to the Appellate Assistant Commissioner (Sec. 23), then there is a further appeal to the Appellate Tribunal (Sec. 24), then there can be a reference to the High Court on a point of law (Sec. 27-28) and finally an appeal to the Supreme Court (Sec. 29). This is sheer harassment and practical denial of justice. After a private person has run to three different officers or official bodies then only the High Court comes in, if at all, and that too on a point of law. It should be remembered that the wealth tax officer has often to determine the value of properties worth lakhs of rupees and on points of fact there are appeals only to the first officer's superiors and there is no provision for a probe of facts by a court or judicial officer independent of the executive. A similar procedure is provided in the Gift Tax, the Expenditure Tax and Estate Duty Tax.

breed ruinous depressions and in the end the angry proletariat would revolt, would overthrow the exploiting classes and establish a communist society. This second prophecy has not materialized in almost all highly industrialized nations. On the contrary, several democratic States have provided security against unemployment, sickness and old age and in some countries employers have admitted representatives of workers into the management of industries. The 'Communist Manifesto' is the official Bible in the U. S. S. R. A recent work 'The Anatomy of the Soviet man' by Claus Mehnert, translated from German by Maurice Rosenbaum (1961), appears to the present author to contain a balanced and fair estimate of the working of Communism in U. S. S. R. He points out that the desire to rise socially and amass wealth and power is as common to the Soviet Union as to the rest of the world (p. 84), that the New Class does not constitute a *bourgeoisie* in the West European sense, that it is a State *bourgeoisie*, all members work for the State and are dependent on it (p. 73), that social distinctions are greater in U. S. S. R. than in U. S. A. (p. 109), that the greatest disproportion prevails between the incomes of Academicians, artists and writers on the one hand and ordinary men and workers on the other. It appears to the present author that Communism has so far been the best means for the exploitation of the proletariat.

No great Indian leader of the present day has offered a lucid and considered statement of what the philosophical foundations of Indian socialism are or should be, nor has any leader placed before the people a clear and full picture of the Indian socialistic pattern of the future in all its aspects. In the Plan structures welfare seems to be identified with bread, physical and material comforts. Marx denied God and advocated the forcible liquidation of the exploiting classes. Our Constitution does not mention God (except in schedule III about oaths and affirmations of Ministers and M. P.'s) nor does it emphasize moral and spiritual values, though the founding fathers of the U.S.A. prescribe (in the Declaration of American Independence) "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". Of course it is wrong and unscientific to say that all men are created equal if literally construed (as even children of the same parents are not equal in height, strength and mental equipment). All that is meant is that all men are equal in the eye of the law or have the same rights before the law. Truth

and non-violence are not mentioned in our Constitution, though these were the basic principles from Upanisad and Smṛti times (as in Chāndogya III. 17.4, Manu X. 63, Yaj I. 122) and for Gandhiji by whom all Congressmen and their leaders swear. Lands of thousands of men of the middle class of small means were taken away from them by changing the fundamental right to property bestowed by Art 31 (as originally enacted), by preventing recourse to law courts and by giving illusory hopes of some compensation not yet even determined after several years. This may not be liquidation of opponents, yet it is a cruel thing all the same in the name of democracy and Welfare State.²⁶⁵³

Borrowing in the country itself and from foreign countries has been resorted to on an increasing scale.

Table 3 above (p.1689-90) will convey some idea of the vast amounts of debts our country owes and will owe to U. S. A. and other countries. How and in how many years the nation will be able to pay back these debts with interest is to ordinary men a source of grave anxiety and an insoluble problem. Among the sources for the plan are included Provident Funds, Post Office savings bank accounts, National Plan Certificates &c. These are really debts, though not demandable on any one date or year. Deficit financing which did not form part of the central budget in past years has now become a regular item. The budget of the central Govt. for 1961-62 exceeds 1023 crores. For 1962-63 the revenues are estimated at 1329.87 crores of

2653. Vide a book called 'Social Welfare in India' issued on behalf of the Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 1960. People are likely to make a confusion between 'Welfare State' and 'Social Welfare'. The latter phrase refers to more specialized work for the weak or more vulnerable sections of the population (such as women, children, physically handicapped persons like the deaf, dumb and blind, mentally retarded, scheduled castes and tribes and backward classes). A Welfare State wants to change the pattern of life of the whole community or country. Our Constitution in Article 15 (paragraphs 3 and 4) authorizes the State to make special provisions for women and children and for the advancement of backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and Article 16 para 4 authorizes the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens. Articles 338-342 deal with the appointment of a special officer for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and with the appointment by the President of India of a Commission to report on the administration of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes and for specification from time to time of the castes, races or tribes in a list of the scheduled castes and tribes.

rupees and the expenditure at 1381.65 crores of rupees and it is announced that a total deficit of about 150 crores would have to be met partly by additional taxation of 60 crores and 80 lakhs of rupees. It must be remembered that most of these taxes are indirect and the major part of the income from such taxes is due to levies on articles of everyday necessity to common people who are already groaning under high prices of absolutely necessary commodities. The Bombay Government's Budget for 1962-63 intended to tax the poor man's *bidis* and *gur* (jaggery). About 7000 crores were put in the State sector in the 1st and 2nd Plan projects and 7500 crores are proposed to be spent in the Public sector in the 3rd plan period. Thus at the end of the 3rd Plan (in 1965-66) Government will have spent about 15000 crores of rupees. Tremendous power will be concentrated in the hands of ministers and the official bureaucracy. It is not generally known how Government has dealt with or will deal with this vast amount, what projects have been undertaken, which of them are completed, the cost of the completed projects, yearly yield from the projects that are completed, steps that are being taken to repay debts and to what extent. There are fervent appeals made by leaders to common people to co-operate with Govt. but the Govt. does not seem to be anxious to take people into confidence by widely circulating through newspapers, press-notes or otherwise information on the above mentioned matters. The vast sums spent on projects have caused inflation. Besides, during the two five year Plans population increased by 77 millions. This accentuated the problem of unemployment and on p. 47 of the book above referred to it is admitted that at the end of 10 years the backlog of unemployment is estimated at nine millions.

Sir W. Beveridge in 'Pillars of Security' (1944) names five giants with which humanity has to struggle viz. want, disease, ignorance, equality and idleness. (p. 43) The last, that is, unemployment, should be the first point of attack. Art. 41 of our Constitution confers the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and in certain other cases. It is not easy to give full employment for all. The State must try to limit numbers and provide not merely for literary education but also for vocational and technical training on a very extensive scale. Industrialization is necessary but it is not an unmixed blessing. Discussion of these matters would require far more space than can be afforded in this chapter.

One last word before taking leave of the subjects of Democracy, Welfare State, Socialistic pattern, legislation, planning for social and economic reconstruction. In the new set-up public administrators have become the brains behind the production of economic goods. They have, however, to do in the new sphere work which is entirely different from their traditional work in the Government of former times. Production activity in modern days demands bringing together and co-ordinating various skills and complex tasks to which administrators in Govt. offices are often strangers. How far they will be able to accomplish the new tasks undertaken by them is a matter which admits of no certain answer. But the most perplexing and baffling question is: Can all-comprehensive national plans under which the State either owns or controls most aspects of economic activities in Agriculture, Industry and Trade be implemented democratically by Parliamentary control? The present author is very much afraid that the combination of economic and political power in the hands of a few ministers, high ranking officials and politicians would be so overpowering as to reduce the present Parliament (based on universal adult suffrage, only 23 percent of the population being literate) to a mere shadow and may in some respects at least narrow the liberties of men almost as much as the totalitarian State does.

Let us now turn to the reform and reorganization of Hindu Society and religion. The Portuguese came to India towards the end of the 15th century and acquired some territory on the Western coast of India. But owing to religious intolerance and persecution by them not much impression was made by them on Hindu society. But the case was different with the British, who did not imitate the Portuguese in the matter of religion, but wanted trade, wealth and power. On account of the British rule established over a large part of India from 1765 A. D. Indians came in contact with modern English literature and modern science. The earliest Indian reformer in modern times was a Bengali, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). He founded the Brāhmo Samāja in 1828. Some of the great names in the effort to reorganize and reform Hindu society and religion are those of Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905), Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-1884), Ishvarachandra Vidyasagar, Dayānand (1824-1883) who founded the Āryasamāja in 1877 and who regarded only the Vedas as authoritative, Rāmakrishna Paramahansa (1834-1886) and his great disciple Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), who founded the Ramkrishna Mission

for propagating Vedānta and doing charity work among the poor and the needy, M. G. Ranade (1842-1901) who was closely connected with the Prārthanāsamāja of Bombay, Agarkar, Phule, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), Gandhiji (1869-1948), Dr. Karve (who founded the Women's University in 1916). Those interested may usefully read 'A Century of Social Reform' by S. Natarajan (Asia Publishing House Bombay), G. N. Farquhar's 'Modern religious movements in India' (Macmillan, 1917), W. T. de Bary's 'Sources of Indian Tradition', New York, 1958 (pp. 604-659).

There is a great ferment of ideas in India at present. Many of our countrymen, whether young or old, do not derive any inspiration from their religion. It is not the fault of religion, but the fault lies with us and our predecessors who did not and do not exhibit to us the core of our culture and religion, do not sift the essentials and separate them from the unessential accretions due to superstitions and wrong emphasis. Ordinary men of to-day feel bewildered by the disagreements between scientific knowledge and the traditional beliefs. The result is that traditional values and codes of conduct are disintegrating and various views are being bandied about. There are now several distinct thought-forms on matters religious or spiritual. One class calls itself *sanātanis* whose view is that the traditional codes of conduct and beliefs were established by the all-wise sages of old and therefore modern half-baked reformers have no right at all to introduce changes in them. There is another class (allied to these) of those who have studied such modern sciences as eugenics and biology, who oppose change on the ground that our traditions embodied in the caste system and the restrictive rules about marriage are most scientific and no change should be made in them and if made disaster will follow. There is another class of people who say 'why do you quarrel with us? Time will bring about all necessary changes'. There are other people who go to the other extreme and deny the existence of any divine or spiritual realities and values in the world. Some believe in the efficacy of laws to introduce desired changes. There are people who say 'take the essential values of Indian culture as foundation and build thereon a structure in keeping with the needs of the times'. Hinduism has always been growing and changing traditions (vide for examples above pp. 1267-72 and 1471). The changes, however, were not brought about by legislation but were the work of commentators and digest-writers, the result being a bewildering variety of

laws, customs and usages, religious and spiritual views in different parts of India. India, being always divided into many kingdoms before the advent of the British, there did not exist any legislative authority that could pass laws for the whole of India. Ancient and medieval Dharmaśāstra writers held the view that the king had no authority to interfere with Śāstric rules governing *varnas* and castes. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 98-101 for the proposition that there was almost total absence of legislative power in the king according to Dharmaśāstra writers. Changes in practices and beliefs, however, did take place, but it was learned commentators that by various devices tried to support changes that had already taken place (vide pp. 1267-1272 above). There are really three well-marked classes of people, viz. *Sanātānis* or no-changers, the iconoclasts and those who want a synthesis of the old and the new.

The question is what should be conserved or discarded from the old practices and what new ideals or values should be added and assimilated. Reasons of space forbid saying much about values here. Values are largely moulded by environment. Only a century or two ago, slavery or racial inequality and pride, sweating children of tender age in factories were accepted in Christian countries as morally neutral or at least not disreputable. But at present some of these, if not all, are generally condemned as immoral. In India also values have changed from time to time. At one time animal sacrifices were quite reputable and of high other-worldly value. Later in the Upaniṣad times *Ahimsā* came to the fore. But there are certain values of our culture that have endured for three thousand years, viz. the consciousness that the whole world is the manifestation of the Eternal Essence, restraint of senses, charity and kindness. Now we are in an age of democracy and the important values of democracy are justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. But unfortunately many of those who sing paeans of democracy in India hanker after power and are in the grip of selfishness and hatred. Lord Acton wrote "All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Kautilya said more than two thousand years ago that power warps (intoxicates) the mind. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 114 and n. 151 for quotations.

Many young men have in these days hardly anything which they believe as worth striving for whatever the cost may be, and hence they have nothing to practise as an ideal. We have to preserve a religious spirit among common men and

women, while getting rid of superstitions and beliefs opposed to all science and common sense. It is not the age-old principles of Hindu religion that are at fault, it is modern Hindu society that has to be reorganized, particularly when ours is now a democratic republic; and our leaders must make supreme efforts for many years to preserve equality in the midst of very great economic inequality, liberty which is likely to be overwhelmed by mighty parties and social groups and democracy against demagogues on the one hand and plutocrats on the other.

We must not shut our eyes to the peculiar and formidable difficulties of our country.²⁶⁵¹ Even the present India (i. e. Bhārat) is a vast country. There are in present India adherents of eight great religious systems (Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, Moslem, Parsi, Christianity and Judaism), besides some tribes following none of these, but their own primitive systems; there are different States based on 14 different languages (mentioned in the 8th schedule to the Constitution of India), besides six Union territories and about 200 recognized dialects. These are likely to produce movements towards complete provincial autonomy and cultural separation. There are great contrasts among the inhabitants, at one end the primitive tribes and the people who were untouchables and at the other end highly educated men and, in between the two, groups of illiterate people numbering at present about 77 per cent of the whole population. *After centuries of conquests by alien people our country has gained independence.* This opens

2654 For a somewhat captious and depressing portrayal of our difficulties by an apparently unsympathetic and unhelpful critic, vide 'India, the most dangerous decades' by Selig S. Harrison (Oxford University Press, 1960). The trend of the whole book is mainly to drive home one point viz. that democracy will not live or be successful in India. The book, it is believed, is mainly intended for non-Indian readers. The author insists too much on the obscurantist tendencies of some Indian people in the matter of caste. If he felt real sympathy and real friendship for the new democracy in India, he should have emphasized the points that make for unity in India, viz. the absence of an organized Church (like Protestant or the Roman Catholic Church), that Hinduism is a personal religion, that Hindus can easily adapt themselves to the requirements of modern democracy as shown by the three elections held so far without any serious disturbances when there were millions upon millions of voters, men and women. If he really wanted to help the Indian people, he should have stressed matters that favour democracy and not constantly harped on North India and South India, on Hindi and anti-Hindi, many States and language difficulties.

for us a new vista of creative thinking and work. We need not give up the basic principles of Hinduism, but should reorientate them to meet new and more complex conditions and work out a changed social order. Everybody says that what is wanted is an emotional integration of Indians and some have suggested that the caste system should be destroyed. If the caste system were a tangible thing it could have been easily and quickly destroyed. But it is not tangible. Legislation cannot destroy it. Only a change of heart with appropriate remedies and vast efforts persistently made over a long period may accomplish this Herculean task and not glib talk by people that hardly ever practise in their lives what they preach. In the present author's opinion States purely on linguistic basis should not have been created at all, but once it was resolved to create them, that should have been strictly adhered to and clear definite principles should have been laid down by the Central Government about assigning border villages to one State or another. The Central Government leadership has been most vacillating in this respect. For example, there were at least five different proposals put forward on Bombay City alone viz. a bilingual state (in which Bombay City was merged), a city State for Bombay alone with separate states of Gujarat and Maharashtra, central administration for five years, a return to the bilingual formula, and lastly separate Maharashtra (including Bombay City, Berar and Marathwada) and a separate State of Gujarat, with about 200 villages taken over from the Khandesh and Thana districts that had been part of Maharashtra for over one hundred years.

The caste system, the joint family system and the laws of succession and inheritance that are peculiar to Hindus are really social matters and not religious matters at all. Our Constitution and recent legislation deal with all the three, holding that these are social matters. As shown above, the Constitution abolished untouchability, the Hindu Marriage Act has done away with all prohibitions against marriages between persons of different castes and a Hindu can have marriage relations with any Hindu (including Buddhist, Jain and Sikh) and can take any Hindu woman as spouse subject only to the rules of *sapinda* relationship and prohibited degrees for marriage. The Hindu Succession Act has practically done away with the joint family system as shown above, though it has not been expressly abrogated

What is wanted is not more declamations against the caste system and fervent appeals for emotional integration of all Indians but a comprehensive code or scheme of beliefs and day to day conduct. The present writer cannot enter here into a detailed code or scheme which might require a volume by itself but some concrete proposals if set out here may induce more competent writers to give better and more exhaustive patterns. Let there be churning of thoughts. It is possible that in the beginning one may meet with formidable and fearful difficulties as in the mythological churning of the ocean, but let us hope that, even after the emergence of frightful things, the final result would be blissful, as in the churning of the ocean poison emerged but the whole effort was crowned with the appearance of *amṛta* at the end.

We must not despair of solving our difficult problems. Despair means destruction and death. We must not lose courage by the condition of our country for the last few centuries. We should rather look to our achievements during about three thousand years and take to heart the following advice of ancient sages of the Dharmaśāstras such as that of Manu. Manu says (IV.137)²⁶⁵⁵ 'one should not despise oneself on account of previous failures; one should seek (make efforts for securing) prosperity till one's death and should not regard prosperity as unattainable.' To the same effect is Yāj. when he says 'One should *never* despise a learned brāhmana, a serpent, a ksatriya (a king) or *oneself*; one should desire to secure prosperity till one's death and should not touch (i. e. make public) another's weak points (misdeeds &c.)' We are over 43 crores of people, we are proud of the achievements of our forefathers. If we work hard in a concerted and intelligent effort for years with the sole object of bringing about the highest development of the country and without ambitions of securing individual profit or fame there is no reason why our country should not outstrip or at least equal other countries in the world. The Īsopanisad 2 (Vaj. S. 40.2) ordains for all common men 'one should wish to live for a hundred years, always doing here (in this world) actions (prescribed by the śāstra).' The Ait. Br. (chap. 33.3), in the story of Śunahśepa insists on men being always active and emphasizes that prosperity does not come to him who does

2655, नात्मानमवमन्येत पूर्वाभिरसमृद्धिभिः । आ सुत्यो. श्रियमविच्छेदयेत् न मन्येत
 दुर्लभाद् ॥ मनु. IV. 137; विद्याद्विद्यात्मानो नावक्षेयाः कदाचन । आ सुत्योः
 श्रियमाकाङ्क्षेत् कश्चिन्मणिं स्पृशेत् ॥ या I 153.

not work hard (nānāśrāntāya śīrastiti). So early as the Rgveda (IV. 33.11) it is emphasized that Gods do not befriend anyone who has not become tired by hard work (na rte śrāntasya sakhyāya devāh).

In 1934 some persons under the guidance of Swāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai (Satara District) started a society which later came to be named 'Dharmanirnaya-mandala'²⁶⁵⁶ (society for arriving at definite conclusions on matters of Dharma). The Swāmī was a very learned man and a Sannyāsin, did not know English, but he held very modern views. There were fourteen original founder members of whom the present author is one. From 1934 to 1959 eleven sessions attended by hundreds of people were held at Thana, Poona (twice), Lonavla (thrice), Ahmednagar, Badalapur (Dist. Thana), Vardhā (in Berar), Akolā (in Berar), Wai and Bombay. At the different sessions resolutions were passed (in all 82) on several social and religious matters and a committee was appointed to prepare model *prayogas* (procedures) for Sandhyā, congregational (*Sāmudāyika*) prayer, *upanayana*, marriage, *untyestī* (funeral rites), śrāddha, remarriage (of widows), re-conversion to Hinduism &c. That Committee prepared under the guidance of Swāmī Kevalānanda such *prayogas* shorn of unnecessary details and with translations in Marathi, which can be had from Mr. Kokaje of Lonavla. Among the resolutions the following deserves special mention: usages have been changed from time to time by former learned men (*śīstas*) and the learned men of the present day have the authority to introduce changes in usages as the present circumstances may require; that the untouchability of the people of certain castes be abolished (Art. 17 of the Constitution of India subsequently did this), that those sub-castes that have similar usages,

2656 The original name was 'सत्त्वनिष्ठ-परिवर्तनवादिपरिषद्' (Assembly of people who favoured the making of changes based on some fundamental principles). Seven of the original fourteen members died subsequently viz. Swāmī Kevalānanda, Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīdharaśāstri Pāthak (who became a Sannyāsin under the name Sankarānanda-bhārati), Sadāśivaśāstri Bhide, Dr. K. L. Daftari, Mr. J. S. Karandikar (editor of the Poona 'Kesarī' newspaper), Mr. C. M. Saptarshi (Advocate, Ahmednagar) and Prajñānēśvarayati, Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstri Kokaje of Lonavla (Dist. Poona) was the Secretary. Among the other original members are Mr. N. G. Chapelar (a nonagenarian, retired First Class Subjudge), a scholar of wide reading including Vedic literature, Dharmasāstras, sociological studies and Tarkatīrtha Lal Smarṭasāstri Joshi of Wai, who knows English well, studied all Dharmaśāstras and Sāstras under Swāmī Kevalānanda and is a critical scholar.

samakāras and rules about food should merge and such merger is not against Dharmaśāstra; there is no objection to any Hindu sitting in the same row with other persons of different varnas provided vegetarians are served vegetarian eatables; that Hindus including untouchables are entitled to study the Veda and have upanayana performed with Vedic mantras and priests conversant with the upanayana procedure should be ready to do so, if invited; if any one takes to another religion owing to force or fraud or of his free will and wants to revert to the Hindu fold he should be allowed to come in after proper expiation and after undergoing a simple *vidhi*²⁶⁵⁷; marriages of spouses of the same gotra and pravara should be allowed provided there is no bar on the ground of sapinda relationship (vide Hindu Marriage Act, 25 of 1955, sec. 5 items 4 and 5); that divorce be allowed among the castes in which it is not allowed at present on the ground of conversion to another religion of one of the spouses &c. (almost the same grounds as in sec. 13 of the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955); a Hindu widow succeeding as heir to her husband takes an absolute estate except when any of the following relatives of the husband are alive, viz. daughter, daughter's son, mother, father, brother, brother's son, paternal grand-parents, paternal first cousin (vide Hindu Succession Act, 30 of 1956 sec. 14 which goes further by omitting the near relatives specified above). Most of the decisions mentioned above were proclaimed from ten to twenty years before our Constitution came into operation.

Among the standing complaints against brāhmanas one has been that they debarred millions of people called 'Śūdras' from Vedic studies. Therefore, the Mandala announced that all Hindus (including the so called untouchables) should observe the worship of the sun, repetition of the Gāyatri-mantra (Rg. III. 62.10, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4, Vaj. S. III. 35) and reading or recital of the Bhagavadgītā (whole or part) every day, since these common observances would help in creating the sentiment of

2657. Vide H. of Dh Vol IV pp. 828-830 where the 'Hindūkarana-vidhi', prepared by the Dharma-nirṇaya-maṇḍala for re-admission to Hinduism is set out in Sanskrit. This re-admission *vidhi* (in Sanskrit) has been translated into Marathi and Hindi.

cultural equality among all Hindus. The procedure of morning and evening (sandhya) worship is brief and is quoted below.²⁵⁵⁸

In order to cultivate a sense of unity among all Hindus (including the so-called untouchables), the Mandala prepared a congregational prayer (to be recited by all Hindus in a congregation once in a month) consisting of the following eleven passages culled from the Vedic literature, viz. Atharvaveda X. 8.1, Rg X. 82.3, I 164.16, Vaj. S. 25.21, Rg. X. 121. 10, Tai. Ār. 4.42.5, the Gayatrimantra, Br. Up. I 3 28 (asato mā sad-gamaya, tamaso mā jyotiḥ-gamaya, mṛtyor māmṛtam gamaya !, Rg. X. 191.2-4. In many villages some people tried to introduce this congregational prayer, but after some time most people complained that they found it difficult to commit to memory and recite the Vedic passages and requested that similar congregational prayers be prepared in Hindi and therefore the Mandala prepared a brief prayer of five verses in Hindi.

The above lines would only briefly illustrate how we would have to proceed if we want an emotional integration of all our countrymen, particularly on the social and religious plane. But we must not forget what the foundation of our culture and civilization has been throughout the past ages. Ancient sages laid the foundation by insisting upon this that there is and must be harmony between man's spirit and the spirit of the world and man's endeavour should be to realize in his actions and in his life this harmony and unity.²⁶⁵⁹ The Upanisads teach that man gains by giving up (by renunciation) and exhorts man not to covet another's wealth (Īsopanisad I 'tena tyaktena bhunjītha mā gṛdhaḥ kaśya svid dhanam').

2658 प्रातः स्नात्वा पूर्वोभिमुखः, सायं दक्षिणो पादौ च प्रक्षाल्य पश्चिमाभिमुखः आसने उपविश्य आचम्य पाणानायम्य श्रीपरमेश्वरमीत्यर्थं प्रातः सन्ध्योपार्ति करिष्ये इति प्रातः सङ्कल्पं कुर्यात् । श्रीपरमेश्वरमीत्यर्थं सायंसन्ध्योपार्ति करिष्ये इति सायम् । ततः अर्घ्यप्रदानम् । ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः । तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् । श्रीसूर्याय इदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मन इति त्यागः । इति त्रिवारम् । अथ प्रातस्त्यागः सायमासीनः । अष्टोत्तरशतं दशवारं वा—ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः । तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ इति मन्त्रद्वयं जप कुर्यात् । ततः उपस्थानम् । पूषन्नेक्यं यम सूर्यं राजापत्यं व्यूतं रश्मीन् समूहं तेजः । यत्ते रूपं कल्पयाणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि । योऽसावसौ शुक्लः सोऽहमस्मि (ईशावास्योपनिषद् 16) इति । ततः कर्मसन्मार्तिं सोदकं धूयात् । अनेन सन्ध्योपासनाख्येन कर्मणा भगवान्परमेश्वरः प्रीयताम् । ओं तन्नम् । इति द्विराचामेत् ।

Two lines referring to Gotra, Pravara, Veda, Śākhā and Sūtra and to making an obeisance to Guru are omitted

2659 Many thoughtful men in the West have been influenced immensely by the *advaita* Vedānta and its emphasis on sound moral
(Continued on next page)

The Bhagavadgītā emphasized doing one's duty without hankering for the rewards thereof. Science cannot answer such fundamental questions as occur to every thoughtful person viz. what is the ultimate cause, is it *brahman*, what is our origin, by what are we sustained, what is our destiny (goal), being influenced by what do we persist in paths leading to pain and misery (Śr. Up. I. I.). They are answered by the ancient²⁶⁶⁰ Upanisads, but not by science so far.

The chief aim of Indian culture and civilization was not to attain military and political power over other countries and peoples; it neglected to organize Indians for offensive and defensive purposes, nor encouraged the starting of immense corporations for the acquisition of wealth. But in these days of keen competition between nations and peoples we must not only keep a vigilant eye on the eternal principles of our culture but also on the worldly happiness of our countrymen in the midst of the warring elements in the world. Our people often took and take to premature *vairāgya* (renunciation), while Western nations and men have been laying for the last few centuries great store by extreme activity. Now that our leaders are thinking of remodelling our society and spiritual life they must cultivate qualities whereby they at least will be *śhūtaprajña* i. e. fully developed or ideal souls (Bhagavadgītā II. 55-68) or men of God (Gītā XIII. 13-18). Social reforms and politics have to be preached through our age-old religion and philosophy.²⁶⁶¹ If a large majority of our people and the leaders throw away or neglect

(Continued from last page)

preparation before one can realize the One Essence underlying the universe; vide 'What Vedānta means to me a Symposium edited by John Yale (Rider & Co, London, 1961), in which the views of 16 writers are set out. That of Aldous Huxley summarizes (pp. 19-20) the Upanisadic doctrine in the same words as on p 1631 above. The same summary he gave in his novel 'Time must have a stop' 1945, p. 289

2660. ब्रह्मगदिनो वदन्ति। किं कारणं ब्रह्म कुतः स्म जाता जीवाम केन क च संसृतिष्ठाः। अधिष्ठिता. केन सुखेतेषु वर्तमाने ब्रह्मविदो व्यवस्थासु। श्वेताश्व. उप. I. 1; को न आत्मा, किं ब्रह्मेति। छा उप. V, 11. 1.

2661. Our politicians seem at present to be treading the path humorously quoted from an American writer long before Independence by Prime Minister Nehru in his Autobiography 'Politics is the gentle art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich by promising to protect each from the other' (p 131). In the same work Panditji says that Gandhi's reference to Rāmārājya as a golden age jarred on his ears and that his close associates half humorously said that when *svarājya* (Independence) came those fads must not be encouraged (pp. 72-73).

religion and spirituality altogether, the probability is that we shall lose both spiritual life and social betterment. This is not the place to say more on this point. Vide pp. 1478-79 above for the sound moral preparation required before one realizes the pervasion of everything by *brahman* and pp. 1623 ff. for the proposition that the One Principle is variously named by sages, which taken together lead to universal brotherhood, kindliness and tolerance. From time immemorial all religious cults in India (except Buddhism and Jainism) recognized that there was One Principle (or Deity of some kind) and in the immortality of the soul. The tremendous march of science and mastery over some of the forces of nature has gone to the heads of many modern men and made them conceited. Science can disclose to us at the most secondary causes; but it has to be silent as to the ultimate cause and the ultimate destiny of man. It cannot tell us what the purpose of life is, it cannot tell us anything about moral values. The present and the following generations have to be trained in an environment where spiritual life, love of truth, sense of and belief in the brotherhood of man or at least of our own countrymen, love of peace and sympathy for the oppressed would be held to be supreme virtues to be attempted by all people.

It is most difficult to suggest in a brief space a code of conduct for all the millions of India. But for men of limited education and busy life a few suggestions by way of illustrations may be set out. The idea of pollution by the touch of men belonging to certain castes must be given up and much more therefore the idea of pollution by the mere shadow of certain people.²⁶⁶² Swāmi Vivekānanda (Works Vol. V. p. 152) was so angered as to say "The religion of India is at present doing touchism". Reason and science must be resorted to for checking or abandoning dogmas based on ancient authority. The myths and legends of the Purāṇas on the origin of the universe, about eclipses and so forth that are not credible in the light of

²⁶⁶². Vide H of Dh of Vol II p. 173-174 on the Smṛti rules about shadow (chāyā) showing gradual excess of exclusiveness in later times मक्षिका विमृष्टाया गौरस्य चयस्त्वय । रजो दूरादुत्तिष्ठति त्वर्क्षे मेध्यानि निर्दिशेत् ॥ मनु V. 133, मिश्र 23.51.

Vide above p 242 where it is established that long before the first half of the 6th century, Indian astronomers had arrived at the correct causes of solar and lunar eclipses but even up to this day educated men often act in such a way that it seems that they believe in the demon Rāhu being the cause of eclipses

science should not be included in the religious creeds of these days and should be treated as mere myths and legends. Many Christians even in these days (and most Hindus and Moslems) believe in a heaven above and a hell or hells below. But Śabara²⁶⁶³ (in the first centuries of the Christian era) holds that heaven is not a place (vide pp. 1211-1215 above). Therefore, heaven and hell as described in ancient Sanskrit works cannot be made an article of faith for modern men. It is often said that myths may be represented as facts to simple people for the sake of beneficial results (e. g. for inducing them to perform sacrifices or to observe rules of morality &c). But this is not proper as there are dangers in this. In these days of growing popular education, when the myth becomes exposed, the men who once believed it not only give up that myth but also might give up everything contained in ancient works as unbelievable. Space does not permit any elaborate cataloguing of what should be given up and what striven for in these days. Values, aims and institutions that were accepted by almost all people only a few decades ago are now challenged and new patterns are in process of being moulded. The chief catalytic agencies are modern science and Western thought and literature. The old structure of beliefs is tottering and laxity in morals has made great headway. But whatever happens, we must so regulate society that the family as a social unit²⁶⁶⁴ is preserved and safeguarded, every child of whatever class or race must have equal opportunities of education, man's daily work must be held to be divine work and worship, great inequalities of wealth and possessions must be eliminated.

Swāmi Vivekānanda uttered the following exhortation long ago " The ignorant Indian, the poor and destitute Indian, the Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian is my brother. " " Repeat and pray day and night ' O Lord of Gauri ! make me a man ' " quoted in " Sources of Indian Tradition " by W. T. de Bary and others (New York, 1958) p. 659. Vide Atharvaveda XII. 1.45 for universal brotherhood of all men whose mother is the Earth.

2663. Vide above pp. 1224-25 for criticism of Śabara's view that Veda invented stories that never happened.

2664. In ' This I believe ' (philosophies of 100 thoughtful men and women in all walks of life) edited by E P Morgan (London, 1953), Sir Charles Darwin (author of ' New conception of matter and the next million years ' and grandson of the author of ' the Origin of species ') emphasizes ' the importance of family as the continuing unit of human life ' (p 30).

This volume (the last in the History of Dharmaśāstra) may be brought to a close with a quotation from the Kathopanishad²⁶⁶⁵ and another from Rabindranath Tagore's Gītāñjali :

'Get up, awake and having secured highly gifted (teachers) understand (the Truth), the sharp edge of a razor is difficult to pass over, thus the wise say that the path (to Realization) of Self) is hard' (Kathopanishad).

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by
narrow domestic walls ;
Where words come out from the depths of truth ,
Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country
awake.

2665 उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत । धुरस्य पारां निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्त-
रक्षय्यो वदन्ति ॥ कठोप. III. 14

EPILOGUE

Many friends and well-wishers of the author and some readers of the volumes of the History of Dharmasāstra have often (personally and by correspondence) pressed him to furnish some biographical details about himself, about the circumstances in which he launched on this undertaking, about the preparations he made, about the time and labour that this undertaking cost him and also what money it brought to him (a few asked even this).

To write an autobiography is a most difficult and delicate matter. In an autobiography one has often to use the words 'I', 'Me', 'My' etc and the writer is liable to be charged with egotism. If he is very frank about his own failings and faults, he may be accused of exhibitionism. I do not propose to say much about my parents or my ancestors or about my marriage and family life or my likes and dislikes. I had my own share of anxieties, troubles and sorrows, but I shall not say much about them, since the blessings that were showered on me far outweighed the anxieties and sorrows. A brief account of some aspects of my long life may, I hope, be of some interest and help to those who have to face problems similar to those that I had to face.

I was born on 7th May 1880 in a village called Pejhem or Paraśurāma [because it has a large and famous temple of Paraśurāma, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and the patron saint of several brāhmaṇa sub-castes (such as the Citpāvana)] near Chiplun in the Ratnagiri District at my maternal uncle's house. My father belonged to a priestly family in a village called Mordem near Khed in the Ratnagiri District. My father had learnt by heart a great deal of the Rgveda and was being trained for priesthood till the age of 18. He did not like the profession of a priest and left for Poona to learn English along with a friend of his boyhood, the late Shankar Balakrishna Dixit, who later on became famous for his Marathi work on Indian Astronomy which was admired by Dr. Thibaut. Mr. Dixit and my father passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University in 1873. My father studied for the Pleader's examination held in those days by the Bombay High Court, passed it and began to practise as a Taluka lawyer at Dapoli in the Ratnagiri District from 1878. Besides Vedic lore, my father studied the principal Upaniṣads

and the Gīṭa and had many of the former by heart. He practised as a lawyer for about forty years, then retired and passed away in 1925. We were nine children, six brothers and three sisters. I was the eldest of the sons and one sister was older than myself. In my early boyhood my father taught me some elements of astrology and advised me to commit to memory the verses of Amarakośa (of which I had 400 by heart before I was 12 years of age). In 1891 I joined the S. P. G. Mission's English High School at Dapoli and passed the Bombay University's Matriculation Examination in 1897 and stood high among the successful candidates. While at school, I began to suffer from hyper-acidity, consequent acute stomach pains and vomiting at the age of 16 and had to leave school for nearly a year. At the time when I passed the Matriculation there was an epidemic of Bubonic Plague in Bombay and Poona, where there was high mortality. My father was not willing to send me (whose health was already delicate) to those places where alone College education could then be had. So he asked me to study law under him. I studied it for two weeks, but being repelled soon by the dry study of law, I wrote a letter to Dr. Machichan, who was then Principal of the Wilson College in Bombay (and reputed to be very kind), conducted by the Scottish Mission, asking him whether I could be enrolled as a student *in absentia*. He asked me to send Rs 36/—, a term's fee, get myself registered as a student and stated that as the epidemic was at its height the University might condone absence. The Bombay University later on did so. I did not attend College in the first term. The epidemic abated, I joined College in June and appeared for the first year's examination of the Bombay University in November 1898 (which was then called the Previous Exam.) and was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 175 and a prize of Rs. 100 for being the first among the students whose second language was Sanskrit. This was the first lucky accident in my life. Life is a mysterious business. It is full of lucky incidents or chances and one must be able to take advantage of them by one's own efforts. There have been many such incidents and disinterested friendships in my life and I have hardly ever had an enemy to my knowledge in the whole of my rather long life. The ailment of my boyhood pursued me at college, pursues me even now, and has become worse, but I did not allow myself to be much disturbed by it, controlled my diet and led a regular and strict life. At the second year's examination in Arts (called Intermediate) I was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 180

(lump sum) for standing first among students taking Sanskrit as a second language. Two years afterwards I appeared for the B. A. examination in 1901 and was awarded the Bhanu Daji Prize for proficiency in Sanskrit and stood first among the students of the Wilson College. An idea about how delicate I was in 1901 when I was 21 years old may be had from the fact that, though I was 5 feet 4 inches in height, I weighed only 98 pounds. After the B. A. examination I was a Dakṣiṇā Fellow at the Wilson College for two years and lectured to the first two years' classes at the Wilson College on Sanskrit about three hours a week. In 1902, I passed the First L.L. B. examination in the First class and in 1903 the M. A. examination and was awarded the Zala Vedānta Prize of Rs. 400. The peculiarity of this prize is that the paper set is in Sanskrit, the answers are to be written in Sanskrit in three hours, the chief examiner was to be a Śāstri who was proficient in Śāṅkara Vedānta and had studied it under the old traditional methods. As my father had yet to spend for the education of several sons he asked me either to enter the Education Department as a High School teacher or to become a lawyer in a subordinate court. I did not like the latter idea and applied to the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, for appointment as a teacher in a Govt. High School. Here again Dr. Machichan helped me by recommending me highly to the D. P. I. I was appointed a teacher in the Govt. High School at Ratnagiri in August 1904 on a salary of Rs. 60 per month raised to Rs. 65 per month after a few months (having been an M. A. with five scholarships and prizes in Sanskrit). I was at the Ratnagiri Govt. High School for three years. I appeared for the S. T. C. (Secondary Teacher's Certificate) Examination held by the Department in 1905 and stood first in the whole of the Bombay Presidency (including Sind in those days). In the same year I submitted an essay on 'Aryan Manners and Morals as depicted in the Epics' for the V. N. Maudlik Gold Medal of the Bombay University and was awarded a prize of books worth Rs. 150. For this essay I read both the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. Till now I have read the Mahābhārata thrice and I have yet got the notebooks of extensive extracts, particularly from the Mahābhārata. In the next year I appeared for a Departmental Examination for Honours in Teaching and secured first class in 'Logic in relation to teaching'. The same year (1906) I submitted a paper on 'the History of Alaukika Literature' for the V. N. Maudlik Gold Medal again and was awarded the medal. At the end

of this year I lost my younger brother by T. B. I was transferred at my own request to the Elphinstone High School in Bombay as 5th assistant on Rs. 75 in April 1907. There were over 40 teachers in that High School and about 750 students from the 4th to the 7th standard. I was made Head Sanskrit teacher (there were three teachers of Sanskrit and 12 classes in Sanskrit). Towards the end of 1907 the post of Assistant to the Professor of Sanskrit at the Poona Deccan College (on Rs. 125 p. m.) fell vacant and I applied for the post. But I was not appointed and another person who was an M. A. in Sanskrit, but had won no prize, scholarship or medal in Sanskrit at any examination from the Matriulation to the M. A. and who was 9th Assistant in the Elphinstone High School (where I was 5th assistant) was appointed to the post, because he was a favourite student of the D. P. I. when the latter was Principal of the Deccan College. I sent a protest through the Principal of the High School. I was informed that a competent authority in Sanskrit had recommended that the person chosen was superior to me in Sanskrit and when I requested the D. P. I. to let me know the name of the competent authority I was informed that my letter was an impertinent one and deserved no reply. This added insult to injury. This happened in December 1907. I decided to appear for the 2nd LL. B. examination in November 1908 and then to leave Govt. service. My supersession created a great deal of criticism in the Department and almost all persons sympathised with me and helped me in various ways. I appeared for the 2nd LL. B. examination in November 1908 and passed it. This created an impression in the Education Department that I meant serious business. Therefore, as a sop to my injured feelings, I was appointed to act as Professor of Sanskrit at the Elphinstone College from February to April 1909 in place of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar who had been deputed on some Govt. work. I reverted to the High School at the end of April 1909 and began to cast about where to practise as a lawyer. I was not inclined to practise as a lawyer in subordinate courts and decided that, if I left service, I would practise on the Appellate side of the High court, where it is a battle of wits and of hard work and one had not to do what a lawyer practising in the subordinate courts had to do. At that time, the late Mr. Daji Abaji Khare was almost at the top of the Appellate side Bar (called Vakils of the High Court). He had some large estates at Dapoli (my native place) and knew my father and myself. I approached him for advice. He told me that I must

have with me at least two thousand rupees in cash, if I wanted to practise in the High Court and to stick to it. I had then not a pie with me and my father who was already sixty years old and had to educate other sons, declined to help. In less than two years from June 1909 I brought out two school books and one annotated book in Sanskrit (the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*) for College students and was also appointed an examiner in Sanskrit at the Previous and Intermediate Arts Examinations. I thus collected two thousand rupees, resigned from Govt. service at the end of June 1911 and applied for a Sanad (after paying Rs 500 as fee for enrolment as a Vakīl of the High Court of Bombay) with a certificate of good moral character from Mr. Khare and was enrolled as a Vakīl of the High Court on 5th July 1911 when I was in my 32nd year.

Work was slow in coming and the first two years were rather bleak. Having not much to do, I appeared for the LL. M. examination in Hindu and Mahomedan law in 1912 and passed it. From 1911 to about 1918 I brought out every year some book or books such as the *Kādambarī* of Bāna in three parts with ample notes, the *Harsacarita* in two parts, and the *Uttararāmacarita*. I also conducted a private law class for coaching students for the High Court Vakīl's examination (in which 60 percent marks were required for passing). This brought in a steady income of about Rs. 100 per month for four years from 1913 to 1917 and, what was more important, this task of teaching single-handed the vast field of law made me proficient in all complicated legal topics. In the meantime, in 1913 I was appointed Wilson Philological Lecturer to deliver six lectures on Sanskrit, Prakrit and allied languages for a lump sum of Rs. 750. In 1913 I became an ordinary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and a life member (by paying a lump sum of Rs 500) in January 1915. At the beginning of 1915 I was appointed by the Bombay University a Springer Research Scholar for two years on a salary of Rs 100 per month, the subject of research being 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra' (part published in JBERAS, Vol XXIV for 1917, pp 613-657). In 1916 I worked as Honorary Professor of Sanskrit at the Wilson College, when Prof. S R Bhandarkar, who was permanent Professor, fell ill, and I lectured for three hours a week to B. A. classes on the most difficult part of Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra.

In 1917 June I was appointed as a Professor of Law in the Govt.

Law College at Bombay. This was again a case of an unexpected event. The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court had recommended for a vacancy in the law college two names from among the Vakils on the Appellate side Bar of the High Court, one a very senior gentleman and myself who had less than six years' practice. The senior gentleman for some reason (not given out) refused at the last moment and on 20th June, the day on which the Law College was to open, I received a wire in the Vakil's room from Government stating that Govt. proposed to appoint me as a Professor of Law from that day and that if I agreed I should see the Principal. This was a comfortable job, the salary being Rs. 350 a month and the duties light viz three or four hours per week in the evening from 5-45 p.m. to 6-45 p.m. I was Professor of Law for six years (1917-1923). Hardly any Vakil with less than six years' practice on the Appellate Side of the High Court had been appointed before me as Professor of Law.

I had undertaken about 1911 an edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha with explanatory notes on the advice of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar who was one of the General Editors of the Bombay Govt.'s Sanskrit Series. But, owing to fluctuations in my own fortunes, I had neglected the work and had almost decided to give up the undertaking altogether. The Bombay Govt.'s Sanskrit Series came to be transferred by Govt. to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute that had been started in Poona in 1917. The authorities of the Institute pressed me to carry out my undertaking. I agreed and began to read the vast Dharmasāstra Literature for that purpose. The edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha of Nilakantha (text based on three printed editions and eight mss., an Introduction of 47 pages and exhaustive notes) was published in 1926 by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. In the brief Preface to that edition of 1926, I announced that I had undertaken to write the History of Dharmasāstra Literature

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar had expressed a desire to donate his large library of thousands of books to some Institute that would properly house them, take care of them and make it a centre of Sanskrit studies. Dr. Belvalkar, Dr. Gune and several others supported the idea and about thirty people including myself contributed Rs. 500 each for the purchase of a big vacant plot of 30 acres in Poona and, after setting aside nearly half of the purchased plot for

the Institute to be named after Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, distributed the rest among the original contributors as plot-holders. The public and Govt. supported the Institute and the famous Tatas donated money to construct a suitable building. The first project undertaken was the publication of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. Govt. made grants, transferred the Bombay Sanskrit Series to the Institute, the Chief of Andh promised a lakh of rupees for the Mahābhārata edition with pictures and later the Nizam of Hyderabad contributed a large sum for building a guest-house for scholars from India and abroad.

The first volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra, which was published in 1930, deals with the chronology and relative importance of famous and less known writers and works and covers 760 pages. As I regarded myself as one of the original founders of the B. O. R. I. and as I was a successful lawyer on the Appellate side of the High Court, I offered the volume to that Institute for publication without any agreement about payment. The Preface to the first volume makes it clear that I intended to finish the whole history in two volumes and that even at that time I suffered from a painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) which has dogged my footsteps throughout up to this day. The second volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra covering 1368 pages (including about 300 pages on Śrauta ritual, not included in the original plan) was published in June 1941 (i.e. eleven years after the publication of the first volume), when I was already 61 years old and pursued by an implacable ailment. The third volume containing 1088 pages was published in October 1946 and deals with only three topics 'Rājadharmā, Vyavahāra, and Sadācāra' (customs and customary law). On account of the 2nd world war there was paper shortage and the finances of B. O. R. I. were at a low ebb. I had therefore to advance three thousand rupees to the B. O. R. I. and had to purchase paper worth several hundred rupees for expediting the printing, in view of the fact that I was in my 67th year and that my physical condition was causing anxiety. The 4th volume is spread over 926 pages, was published in October 1953 (when I was in my 74th year) and deals with Pātaka (sins), Prāyaścitta (expiation), Karmaṇipāka (fruition of evil deeds), Antyeṣṭi (rites on death), Āśauca (impurity on death and birth), Śuddhi (purification), Śrāddha, Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimages to sacred places).

The (fifth and) last volume deals with numerous topics, as the Table of Contents will show. The first part of 718 pages dealing with Vrata (sacred vows, observances and festivals) and Kāla was separately published in 1958 (as I had then an attack of heart trouble, and it was thought that I might not survive, being more than 78 years old at that time). The second part now printed deals with Śāntis, Purāṇas in relation to Dharmaśāstra, causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India, Tantras and Dharmaśāstra, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Tarka and Dharmaśāstra, Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra, Cosmology, doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, dominant characteristics of our Indian culture and civilization and future trends. This volume has been in the press for over five years and has involved an enormous amount of varied reading and writing for over eight years from 1953.

In describing how and in how many years the H. of Dh developed, I have not said anything about the environment in which I had to work. From about 1918 I began to have good work as a lawyer. I not only conducted cases in the Bombay High Court, but I appeared before the District Courts of the mofussil in several districts such as Khandesh, Nagar, Poona, Sholapur, Satara, and Ratnagiri. I owe a great deal to my college friends, to my students that passed the High Court Vakīl's examination after attending my private law class and to Mr. M. K. Athavle of Sangli and Mr. C. M. Saptarishi of Ahmednagar for sending me much legal work.

I took part in many of the intellectual activities in Bombay and Poona. I was a member of the Senate of the Bombay University from 1919 to 1928, I have been throughout a member of the Regulating Council of the Bhandarkar Institute and of its other bodies. I was closely connected for over 40 years with the Marathi Granthasaṅgrahālaya of Bombay in various capacities and with the Brāhmanasabhā of Bombay in many capacities as Chairman of the Managing Committee, a Trustee for 21 years and Adviser from 1918 to this day.

I had argued gratis several cases for some societies and individuals. Mr. Javdekar, lawyer of Dhnlia, espoused the cause of people who had grievances against the Indian Railways. I conducted many such railway cases and cases of poor and helpless people. One of these latter was that of a poor untensured brāhmana widow who had been prevented by the priests in the temple of Vithoba at Pandharpur

from offering worship to the image by placing her head at the feet of the image (because she was untonsured) as all Hindus, male or female, of all castes were allowed to do I had to go to Pandharpur thrice at my own expense and spent in all seven days in court. The court decided in favour of the widow The case is referred to in the History of Dharmashastra, vol II p 593 and the arguments are set out on pp 587-593 of the volume.

Another case that I conducted gratis is that of the Deccan College, Poona This College was started by Govt. but a Parsi Baronet, Sir Jamsetji, made in the early sixties of the 19th century a munificent donation of about two lakhs with the stipulation that it was to be maintained as an educational Institution for ever on the lines already laid down The British Govt on the suggestion of an Indian Minister wanted to close the College and made a contract for sale of the site and buildings for a Parsi Public School. Some of the Old Boys of the College such as Prof S. G. Sathe and Dr Belvalkar consulted me what to do, though I was not an old boy of the Deccan College. I first suggested that a member of the Bombay Legislative Council should ask a question whether the Deccan College was not an Institution held in trust by Govt. The Govt replied that it was a trust property, but that Govt. would approach the District Court of Poona for permission to sell it for the purpose of a public school. Govt applied to the District Court at Poona for permission to sell it for the purpose of a public school I appeared for the old Boys' Association and requested that the Association should be made a party to Govt's application. The Court allowed the application I had agreed not to charge any fees. I suggested that Mr. M R. Jayakar, who had a great regard for me and was a very successful advocate in Bombay (who later became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England), should be briefed in the matter The Association said that they had not money enough to pay Mr. Jayakar's heavy fees. I requested Mr. Jayakar not to charge any fees He complied with my request and the whole case took about 15 working days in court, besides many days of preparation. Mr. Jayakar, having once agreed to work without fees, put his heart and soul in the matter and the District Court in a long judgement of about ninety typed pages held that the Deccan College was a trust and could not be sold Govt went in appeal to the High Court of Bombay, but by that time a popular Ministry with the

late Mr. B. G. Kher as Chief Minister had come to power and compromised the matter by agreeing to conduct the Deccan College as a Research Institute for Vedic studies and classical Sanskrit, Ancient Indian History etc. The Association made Mr. Jayakar and myself Honorary members of the Old Boys' Association. I have been on the Managing Council of the Deccan College Research Institute since 1938 to this day.

In 1944 I was appointed by the Bombay University Sir Lallubhai Shah Lecturer and delivered four lectures on Hindu customs and modern laws. The lectures have been published in book form by the University

In 1927 at the time of the Ganapati festival in Bombay, a *mela* (party of worshippers) of the Mahar caste (held untouchable) approached the authorities of the Brāhmanasabhā for permission to come for *darśan* of the image installed by the Sabbhā and stated that they would be content if they were allowed to come as near the image as Parsis, Christians and Moslems would be allowed to do. I was then Chairman of the Managing Committee and called a meeting of the Committee to decide whether the request should be granted. In the Committee the voting was exactly half for and half against. I had to give a casting vote for granting permission, since I was of the opinion that the request was a very modest one and in view of the changing times should be acceded to. A suit was filed in the Bombay High Court by certain orthodox people against the Brāhmanasabhā, against myself as Chairman of the Managing Committee and the Secretary for a temporary injunction restraining us from bringing the Mahar Mela inside the building where the image was and for a declaration that the Sabbhā through its office-bearers had no right to do what had not been previously done. It must be said to the credit of the members of the Sabbhā that in a meeting of the general body of members my action was supported by a very large majority. There was great excitement and it was feared that violence might result. The High Court refused to grant a temporary injunction and later the suit was withdrawn by the members seeking legal relief. Our Constitution has abolished untouchability but that was in 1950 and this excitement arose in 1927.

I have been a member of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Asiatic Society for about 45 years, a Vice-President and one

of the editors of the Journal of the Society for many years. I contributed many long articles to the Journal of the Society and to the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute. In 1946 at my request Dr. B. C. Law, a great scholar, whom I had never seen but who had become an admirer of my books, donated Rs three thousand (for purchase of books for the Society) and donated five thousand rupees for founding a medal called P. V. Kane Gold Medal to be awarded once every three years to a scholar who had done substantial research in subjects in which I was interested.

On 7th May 1941, in honour of my 61st birthday 'A volume of studies in Indology' was presented to me edited by Dr. S. M. Katre and Prof P K. Gode and published by Dr. N. G Sardesai of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona My friends and admirers had formed a Committee with Dr. V. S. Sukthankar as Chairman and invited papers Many contributions came in, of which 74 are contained in that work, mostly written by Indian scholars (a few by scholars from abroad also).

In 1942 the British Govt conferred on me the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya and the Allahabad University conferred on me the Honorary Degree of D. Litt In 1946 I was asked to preside over the All India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur. In 1947 Mr. B G. Kher, then Chief Minister of the Bombay State, pressed me to become Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University for two years and I agreed after some hesitation owing to my age (about 68). There was no salary attached to the post nor was there any sumptuary allowance nor any other allowance In the years 1947 to 1949 I had three matters on my hands, my legal practice, the History of Dharmaśāstra and the work as Vice-Chancellor (which was heavy in those days, sometimes three hours a day). Mr Kher pressed me to remain Vice-Chancellor for three years more, offered to make it a salaried post of 2000 Rs per month and requested me to give up practice as Advocate. The then Governor of Bombay, Sir Maharaj Singh, as Chancellor, also pressed me, but for various reasons (the foremost being that the work on the History of Dharmaśāstra would make slow progress if I spent five or more hours a day in the University) I declined. The Session of the All India Oriental Conference was held in Bombay in 1949. I was Chairman of the Reception Committee. On my request the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa was performed in Sanskrit with songs, the director being Mr K C.M.

Bhatawdekar who is a fine-looking and tall man, an excellent actor, a good Sanskritist and a singer. It was a great success Emboldened by this success I suggested that other Sanskrit dramas should be put up on the stage. Mr. Bhatawdekar and Mr. P. P. Joshi, two enthusiastic workers of the *Sanskrit Samiti* (Cultural Committee) of the Brāhmanasabha at Bombay, worked hard and at different times and in different places (Delhi, Bombay, Ujjain, Poona) put up on the stage ten Sanskrit dramas, Śākuntala, Mṛcchakatika, Ratnāvali, Venisaṁhāra, Uttararāmacarita, Mudrārāksasa, Vikramorvaśya, Mālavikāgnimitra, Svapnavāsavadattā and Saṅgita Saubhadra (translated into Sanskrit by Mr. S. B. Velankar, Indian Postal Service, from the original Marathi by Anna Kirloskar). These performances became very popular. The sale of tickets yielded 150,000 Rs. out of which about thirty thousand were saved after meeting all expenses as a fund to fall back upon when they performed one of these plays at different places.

The International Congress of Orientalists was held in Paris in 1948. The Indian Govt. sent a delegation of three, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as leader and Dr. S. K. Chatterji and myself as two members. In 1951 the International Congress met in Istanbul and the Indian Govt. sent a delegation consisting of myself (as leader), Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. Siddiqui. At this conference I sponsored a resolution that the Unesco should make a substantial grant to the project of a Sanskrit Dictionary on Historical Principles undertaken by the Deccan College and it was unanimously passed by the Conference and subsequently Unesco made a grant of 5000 dollars to the Deccan College. In 1954 the Session of the International Congress of Orientalists was held at Cambridge to which the Govt. of India sent a delegation consisting of myself (as leader), Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. From Cambridge I went at my own expense to U. S. A. and visited the Library of the Congress in Washington for two days, the University of Princeton, Harvard University and the University of Rochester, where my younger son was studying for the Ph. D. degree in Atomic and Nuclear Physics. The Governing Body of the London School of Oriental and African Studies of the London University was pleased to nominate me as an Honorary Fellow, I being the only Indian among the present 25 Honorary Fellows of the School. In December 1953 I presided over the session of the Indian History Congress at Waltair.

In November 1953 the President of India was pleased to nominate me as a member of Parliament i e of the Rājyasabhā (Council of States) and when my term expired on 1-4-58 I was again nominated for six years. While in Parliament I worked on several committees such as the Committees for considering the Hindu Adoption Act, the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act. I pressed on the Govt. that they should start a Central Institute of Indian Studies This has been now accepted in principle and a committee has been appointed to suggest a constitution and other matters I have also been a member of the Central Sanskrit Board. On 15th August 1958 the President of India was pleased to grant me a certificate of merit and an annuity of Rs 1500 a year. In August 1959 the President was pleased to nominate me as National Professor of Indology for five years on a substantial salary, the only condition being that I should carry on research as I have been doing. I resigned from Parliament in September 1959, because as I held an office of profit under Govt, I had to do so according to law. In 1960 the University of Poona conferred on me the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters.

From the beginning of 1955 I did not take any fresh legal work and by March 1956 I got all my cases disposed off. Since April 1956 I have systematically refused all pressure to accept briefs. Since April 1956 I have devoted my time to Parliamentary work (till September 1959 only) and to the last volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra

I had substantial legal work from 1919 to about 1949. For the benefit of those who made inquiries and of those who desire to pursue literary studies while working as lawyers, I shall briefly state how I saved time for literary work The High Court worked for five days in the week I always utilized all holidays for literary work, Saturday and Sunday have always been my busiest days. There were always two Benches (sometimes three Benches also) on the Appellate side of the High Court Often ten appeals were placed on the hoard for each Bench every day, since the practice of the Court has been that if an Advocate had two matters, one in each of the different courts and he was engaged in one court, his case in the other court was kept back till he became free So when an advocate had even one appeal in one court and that too very low down in the list, even then he had to be present in court from the beginning, since appeals

lower down on the Board might be taken up by the Court if the lawyers therein were available. Most lawyers when free spent the time in chitchat in the Advocates' room. I spent such time in the Library for preparing my briefs that were likely to be taken up in the next few weeks. I hardly ever read my briefs at home. Therefore I could devote every day some hours in the morning and evening to my work on Sanskrit studies. I always worked for eight or nine hours a day and sometimes ten to twelve hours from 1911 to 1948, except when I was not in Bombay. I have never slept or even taken a nap by day from 1904 to 1958; even when I went to see a drama at night and came home at 2 A.M. I awoke at 6 A.M. and slept a little earlier on the following night. After the mild heart trouble in 1958, I tried sleeping a little by day, but not being used to such a thing I gave it up in a few months. For fifty years I have been taking morning walk for about one hour on the Chowpat sea face in Bombay and at the Hanging Gardens since 1912, but stopped going to the Hanging Gardens from about 1956.

That I had duodenal ulcer was discovered by x-ray therapy about 1925. Some doctors advised an operation. Others opposed it. I consulted the then most eminent surgeon in Bombay, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, and he advised me not to go in for it. Again in 1937 when I undertook a trip in European countries for three months, I consulted in Vienna an eminent German doctor who advised me to continue my dietetic methods and not to undergo an operation, when I was nearly 58 and the disease was of very long standing.

A few words about my method of collecting materials for my History of Dharmaśāstra. I have about a hundred note-books, some of them subjectwise and some with pages marked from A to Z, in which I noted important pages and passages extracted from the works read. For example, I have a big oblong notebook (leather bound) of about 500 pages devoted to Purāṇas only.

As regards the writing of the History of Dharmaśāstra my method was as follows: I wrote in my own hand a first draft, collected a hundred pages or so and then carefully read those pages. Sometimes I tore off several pages and prepared a new draft. I cannot type well, having had no time to cultivate the habit of using a typewriter. Then I got the matter typewritten by an excellent typist, Mr. G. R. Barve, who was my neighbour and who could decipher my bad writing tolerably well and paid him his usual

charges. I sent to the Press only the handwritten original of the first volume. It was from the 2nd volume onwards that I got one or two copies typewritten (two when there was danger of bombing Bombay in 1942) and sometime afterwards I read the typed copy myself and put in the diacritical marks. This was sent to the Press in Poona. I examined three (rarely four) proofs of all forms myself, but the press had directions to send a copy of the third page proof to a good Sanskrit scholar in Poona who was to read it and make corrections (not in the matter but only as to diacritical marks, spelling, stops etc.) and to send the corrected proof to me and I incorporated his corrections (if accepted by me) in my own copy of the third proof, which was sent to the Press as the final proof. The Indexes to all the five volumes were prepared by me. The Indexes to volumes I-IV alone come to 289 pages. The total printed pages of all works written and printed by me and of the numerous papers that I contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and to other Journals would come to at least twenty thousand pages. To the typewriters of vol. II to V, I paid about 2500 rupees out of my own pocket and about 600 rupees to the correctors of the page proofs (of volume II to V). I went to places that had collections of Sanskrit Mss such as Poona (very often), Baroda, Benares (several times), Madras (several times), Tanjore and Ujjain at my own expense for reading several mss and getting copies made of a few of them. In our country, there are no large libraries like those in Europe and U. S. A. So I had to spend money on securing micro-films of certain articles in foreign journals and copies of certain Mss. I have no accounts of the travelling charges but about making copies of some mss. and microfilms I can say that they came to about 200 rupees. The Press was in Poona and I was in Bombay and the proofs (along with the original copy at the time of the despatch of the first proof) had to be sent by post for about 35 years (sometimes one form, sometimes two and rarely three at a time). Besides, the original ms. had always to be sent in small packets (of from 50 to 100 handwritten or typed pages) by registered bookpost. No accounts are kept of this but probably Rs. 400 would be a very modest estimate. The honorarium paid (and to be paid) to me for all the five volumes is given in the table below

For the information of those who have already inquired or

might inquire hereafter about the cost of this undertaking viz History of Dharmaśāstra, a table is appended:—

Volumes	Year of publication	Cost of Printing, paper, binding	Honorarium
		Rs. as.	Rs. as.
I	1930	4814 - 12	2433 - 0
II			
pts. 1 and 2	1941	8828 - 12	4239 - 0
III	1946	8605 - 12	2256 - 0
IV	1953	11092 - 9	2873 - 0
V			
part I	1958	25,000 - 0	7000 - 0
part II	1962	(Approximately)	(Approximately) the II part is to be hereafter published
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		58341 - 13	18802 - 0
		18802 - 0	
		<hr/>	
		77,143 - 13	

3900 copies of volumes II-V are unbound as follows:—

	Copies unbound
Vol. II parts 1 and 2	1000
Volume III	800
Volume IV	1000
Volume V pt. 1	1100

3900 copies

The charges for binding these 3900 copies at Rs. 2/- (per copy) would be Rs. 7,800 (3900 x 2)

Thus the cost of the whole series would be Rs. 84,943-13-0 (77,143-13 + 7,800). It must be mentioned that the Executive Board of the B. O. R. I. paid me Rs. three per page as to Volumes I, II and IV and only Rs two per page for vol. III and propose to pay me Rs. four per page for Vol. V, leaving me to bear all expenses for typewritten copy, for correction of one proof by a third person, all postage, travelling expenses and for copies of mss. and microfilms.

The usual method in India as regards Histories or Encyclopædias in several volumes (running into thousands of pages) is to appoint a Director or Chief Editor (on a salary of Rs 1500 per month), an Assistant Editor (on a salary of Rs 600 or Rs 750 per month) and to pay contributors at Rs five or so per page, beside an office and a staff of clerks and typists. The Director's salary on the usual scale for one year alone would come to Rs. 18,000. The payments made and to be made to me for writing a work of over six thousand pages spread over 37 years come practically to one year's salary for a Chief Editor (or rather less by Rs 3700 which were spent for typewriting, correction, and copies etc as stated above). I do not like this distasteful task I had, however, to write about this matter because I wanted to dispel the queer notions about my profits that some people appear to entertain and made inquiries. It is owing to one individual's sacrifice that all the volumes (containing over 6000 pages) can be sold by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute for only Rs 180. If the usual method had been followed, these 6000 pages would have had to be priced at Rs 400 or more.

I could not arrange or plan my life. I had to oscillate between education, literature and law, between Government service and an independent profession like that of law. I have, however, lived a very active, full and varied life for over sixty years. Thinking over the vast Sanskrit literature and the labour and time that I had to spend on one branch of it, I am inclined to close this Epilogue with two lines from Browning's poem "The last ride together"

'Look at the end of the work, contrast
The petty done, the undone vast'

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND THANKS

During the last thirty-seven years from 1925 to this day I have received from hundreds of friends and others, institutions and books, assistance of various kinds. Now that this undertaking is drawing to a close, I should like to mention with gratitude all of them that I can remember. In the Prefaces to the several volumes of this History I have acknowledged the help received from individuals in writing the separate volumes. Here at the end of the whole work,

I shall try to mention in one place the Institutions, the series of books and individuals to whom I have been indebted.

INSTITUTIONS

Among Institutions the first place must be assigned to the Library of the Bombay Asiatic Society (formerly called Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society). It was in this Library that I passed several hours almost every day (except on holidays), when I was in Bombay. It has also a large collection of Sanskrit Mss. The materials for the first four volumes were collected mainly in the rooms of this Library. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to this Library and to all persons in the service of the Library from the highest to the lowest. I must next mention the Library of the Bombay University, which was also of great use to me. The Library of the Bombay Asiatic Society is a circulating Library with a large membership, but the Bombay University Library permits only the members of the Senate to have books issued to them for reading at home. I could secure books urgently needed by me from this Library, when I could not get them from the Asiatic Society's Library (because some members had taken them). Besides, it possesses a large number of Sanskrit Mss. I tender my thanks to the Bombay University and its Library, to the staff of the Library and particularly to Mr. D. N. Marshall, the present Librarian. Since November 1953 when I was nominated a member of Parliament (Rājyasabha) by the President of India, two more Libraries became available to me. One was the Library of Parliament which contains a large number of books on many subjects including Sanskrit Literature, Ancient Indian History, and the Library of the Archaeological Department in New Delhi. I thank the staff of the Parliament Library. Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, made special arrangements for seating me in the Archaeological Library and made me a corresponding member. Dr. Chhabra, Joint Director of that Department, also was very kind and helpful. I am under great obligations to these high Officers. When at the end of 1953, I went to the Library of the Archaeological Department, the Librarian was a young man, Shri L. G. Parah, a double M. A. of the Bombay University, a B. T. and holder of a diploma in Librarianship. He is a very industrious and enthusiastic young Librarian, who made great efforts to keep the Library

full of Sanskrit books, full of books both on ancient and medieval history of India and of other countries, and of books on all archaeological studies, such as architecture, iconography and painting, kept the Library uptodate and took a keen interest in my work and a great deal of trouble to accommodate me in various ways (too many to mention) from 1954 to the present day. Much of the material for this lengthy 5th volume was collected in the Archaeological Library and a good deal of the text also was written there. I am under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Parab and also thank all his assistants, particularly Messrs. Kapur and Mr. A. S. Dhavle and his Jamadar, Bhagavat Sahai.

Then I must mention certain Series of books and certain Presses that have printed and published a large number of books, such as the Anandāśrama series (Poona), the Bibliotheca Indica Series the Bombay Sanskrit Series, the Kāvya-mālā and the Nīrṇayasāgar Press, Calcutta Oriental Series, Chowkhamba S. Series, Cultural Heritage of India, volumes I-IV (Calcutta), the Gujarati Press and its Sanskrit Series, the Gaikwad Oriental Series (Baroda), Haridas Sanskrit Series (Benaras), Harvard Oriental Series, Kashī Sanskrit Series, Jīvanand Vidyāsāgar's numerous publications, Prājñāpāthasāla Mandala's volumes of Dharmakośa and Mīmāṃsā-kośa (Wai), Kashmir Sanskrit Series, the Manikyachandra Digambar Jain Series, Jain Grantha-mala Series, Pālī Texts Society's Series, Prince of Wales Sarasvatībhavana Series of texts and Studies, Pandit S. D. Satavalekar's Series of Vedic Saṁhitās, Sacred Books of the East Series (50 volumes including the valuable Index Volume), St. Petersburg Dictionary by Bohtlingk and Roth, the Vaidika Saṁśodhana-mandal's volume of 18 Upanisads with valuable footnotes and Index (Poona), Trivandrum S. Series, Vedic Index (in two volumes) of Macdonell and Keith, Vijaṇāgram S. Series.

Among periodicals I must mention, the Epigraphia Indica, the Indian Antiquary and those indexed under the word ' Journal '.

I am highly obliged to many scholars who contributed appreciative and encouraging reviews in several journals and newspapers. The first and third volumes received the largest number of reviews. I shall mention only a few for each volume. The first was reviewed in the Bombay Law Reporter, volume 32 (Journal pp. 94-95), in J. A. O. S. for 1931 volume 61 pp. 80-84 by Prof. Hopkins, in J.R.A.S. for 1932 pp. 158-161 by Prof. S. V. Fitzgerald, I. H. Q.

for 1932, pp. 805-807 by Amareshwar Thakur, J. of Oriental Research, Madras, for 1931 pp. 231-233 by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, by the 'Kesari' of Poona in three issues dated 7th, 10th, 14th March 1931 (in Marathi); Volume II was reviewed by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in very eulogistic terms in Adyar Library Bulletin for 1944 pp. 75-86, in J. R. A. S. for 1942 pp. 106-107 by Prof. Brough; Vol. III was reviewed in "Indian Culture" by Dr. B. C. Law, Volume XIII for 1947 pp. 119-23, in Journal Asiatique for 1948, vol. 236 pp. 149-150 by Prof. L. Renou' and also in his book "Sanskrit et Culture" (Paris, 1950) pp. 126-136, in J. A. O. S. Vol. 67 pp. 232-234 by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, in M. L. J. Vol. 93 for 1947 (Journal pp. 33-38), in newspaper "Hindu" of 25. 5. 1947 (Madras) by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, in Bom. Law Reporter for January 1947 (Journal pp. 13-15), in the "Bombay Chronicle" of 9-2-1947 by Mr. Prabhu and in the 'Times of India' of 13. 6. 1947, by Mr. N. C. Kelkar in "Kesari" of 2nd and 5th December 1947, in 'Prabhāt' (a Marathi newspaper) in seven issues in March and May 1947 by Shri N. G. Chapekar; Volume IV was reviewed at some length by Prof. Hans Losch of Bonn in Z. D. M. G. Volume 107 pp. 217-221, and in 56 Bom. L. R. (1954 pp. 34-35 Journal), in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, volume X pp. 168-172, in J. A. O. S. Vol. 74, pp. 271-273 by Dr. Sternbach, in the Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, Volume 17, part 3 for October 1955 pp. 620-21 and in the "Kesari" of 26th September 1954 by Mr. J. S. Karandikar; Volume V part I was reviewed in J. A. O. S. for 1959 by Dr. Sternbach, in J. R. A. S. 1960 pp. 193-194 by Dr. Derrett Volumes I to IV were reviewed by Prof. V. I. Kalyanov in the Quarterly Journal of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, volume VII No. 4 pp. 7-10 (1960) The number of individual authors whose works I read or whom I consulted in 37 years may run into thousands. Authors and works referred to only once or twice are not collected here, but they have been mentioned in the several separate Indices to the five volumes. Only very eminent writers or authors who wrote several valuable works and papers or were personally consulted are named below.

Abhyankar, Vasudevasastri (M. M. Pandit); Prof. K. V. Abhyankar (son of the preceding); Aiyangar (Krishna), (Prof.) K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Dr.

A S. Altekar, Arthur Avalon (Sir. John Woodroffe), Mr M. B. Arte, Sri Aurobindo, Prof P. V. Bapat, Shri N C Bapat, Prof A. L. Basham, Mr Y A Bhat, Dr S. K. Belvalkar, Pandit Bhagavad-datta, Dr D R. Bhandarkar, Prof G H. Bhatt, Mr (and now Dr.) Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Dr Benoyatosh Bhattacharya, M. Bloomfield, G. Buhler, A Burnell, Dr Caland, Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M. M Cakravarty, Mr. N G Chapekar, Mr. M A. Chinnaaswami Sastry, H T Colebrooke, A Coomaraswamy, E. B Cowell, Dr K L Daftari, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. Matilal Das, Prof Das Gupta, Datar Chintaman Sastri, T W. Rhys Davids, Prof S. K. De, Paul Deussen, Dr (Miss) Indu Dike, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Mr P. C. Divanji, Shri R. R. Diwakar, Pandit K S Dravid (Sāmaveda expert), Prof P. E Dumont, Will Durant, M. N. Datt, Prof. Edgerton, Julius Eggeling, V. Fausboll, Prof. Filhozat, J F. Fleet, A A Fuhrer, Dr. D Gastra, Dr. G. S. Gai, Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri, R. Garbe, G T. Garrat, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr G. S. Ghurye, Prof P. K. Gode, Prof. N. A. Gore, M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj, G. Gorar, H H Gowen, R T. Griffith, F. Hall, Martin Haug, Dr. R. C Hazia, A. Hillebrandt, Prof. M Hünayana, Dr. R Hoernle, Prof. Hopkins, R E Hume, Col. G A Jacob, H Jacobi, W. James, K. P Jayaswal, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Julius Jolly, Dr B S. Joshi, Tarkatirtha Lakshmana Sastri Joshi, Mr. S. N. Joshi (Poona), Pandit Kamalkrishna Smrititirtha, Mr S. L. Katre Dr. S. M. Katre, A. B Keith, H. Kern, Mr. Kesavan (National Library, Calcutta), Dr S V Ketkar, Swami Kevalānanda, Mr. G. H Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, F. Kielhorn, W. Kirfel, Tarkatirtha Raghunath Shastri Kokye, Sten Konow, Prof Kunhan Raja, Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri, Shri Kuvalayananda, Dr. B C. Law, Sylvann Levi, H. Luders, A A. Macdonell, MacTaggart, Dr. R C. Majumdar, V. N Maudhik, Prof. Mangal Deva Shastri, Sir R P Masani, F. Max-Müller, Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Rajendralal Mitra, Dr. M. M. Umesha Mishra, Dr. R. K. Mukerji, Mr. Y. M. Mulay Prof Neugebauer, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, K. L. Ogata, Hermann Oldenberg, Pandit J. S. Pade, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Prof A. M Paramasivanandan, Prof. V. G. Paranjipe, Peter Peterson, A S Pringle-Pattison, Mr P M. Purandare, Dr. A. D Pusalker, Dr. S Radhakrishnan, Ranga-charya Raddi Shastri, Dr V Raghavan, V. K Rajwade, Prof. R D. Ranade, Prof P T Raju, Prof. L Renou, R Roth, Mr R. S. Srinivas Prof G. Sartou, Miss Kunda Sathe (now Mrs.

Savkar), P. P. S. Sastri, Pandit Aiyarath Sastri, Dr. Dakshinaranjan Shastri, M. M. Sridhar Sastri Pathak, Satyavata Sāmastra, Mr. S. N. Savadi, Pandit Srijiya Nyāyatirtha, Pandit V. A. Ramswami Sastri, Pandit S. D. Satavalekar, R. Sham Sastri, V. A. Smith, Prof. P. A. Sorokin, Dr. Sternbach, Pandit Sudhakar Dwivedi, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Dr. A. Schweitzer, W. W. Tarn, C. H. Tawney, R. H. Tawney, K. T. Telang, G. Thibaut, K. P. Trivedi, Prof. A. N. Upadhye, Prof. H. D. Velankar, Swami Vivekānanda, Prof. A. R. Wadia, A. Weber, H. G. Wells, W. D. Whitney, Monier Williams, H. H. Wilson, M. Winterutz, R. C. Zaehner, H. Zimmer.

I beg to be pardoned if, through loss of memory, I have omitted the names of persons to whom I have been indebted for advice, guidance or information.

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Q = quoted by or in

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- Abhayamudrā, defined and illustrated, 1131n.
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- Acyutarāya Modak of Nasik, a. of 'Aśvaśika-dhikkṛti', severely handled the cult of Makāras 1080; a. of Prāradha-dhvānta-saṁhṛti, 1600-1604.
- Adbhūta, meaning of, in Rgveda, in Gṛhyasūtras and in Śāntis 741-742; sometimes used as synonymous with *Utpāta* 742; due to the wrong-doings of men that anger deities 742.
- Adbhūta-brāhmaṇa, is part of Śad-vimśa-brāhmaṇa (i e. V 1-10), contains Śāntis for utpātas, 734-741 and partly agrees with Āt. Gr. parīkṣita.
- Adbhūtasāgara of Ballālasena, a huge work concerned mostly with rare natural phenomena viz. halo, rainbow, hurricanes, *dyūdāka*, comets, meteors, red rain, shower of fish etc 763; 526, 530n, 531, 587n and 637 (quoting Garga), 712n, 734 (on Śāntis), 735, 741n, 742n, 743n, 745n, 746n, 761, 767-69, 773, 775-776 (on dreams), 777n, 779n, (quotes same four verses from Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara), 780n, 788n, 790, 792 (quotes Vasantarāja), 806, 870n, 877-8.
- Adbhūtasāgara, (in Rg. X. 85 16), meaning of 1600n.
- Adhikamāsa or Adhimāsa. (vide Intercalary month): 257, 489, 671.
- Adhikāra and Adhikāraṇa (qualifications or title of a person to do a certain act): (vide pratidinī): Adhikāraṇa 1318; everyone belonging to the three upper classes has a right to perform Vedic sacrifice. 1318; many rules of PMS (Chap. VI) deal with *pratidinī* (substitute) 1319-20; one who has incurable defect (such as blindness from birth) has no right to perform Yāga but one who has some curable bodily defect would have the right when the defect is removed 1718; sixth chap. (with eight *pādas*) of P. M. Sūtra deals with various aspects of the question of A, 1317-1321; when a Vedic text provides 'one desirous of securing heaven should offer a Yāga,' heaven is made the principal factor, Yāga becomes subsidiary matter and the qualification (adhikāra) of the performer is laid down by the word *Svargakāma*, 1317.
- Adhikāraṇa (often called *nyāya*, i. e. conclusion on topics for discussion): has five constituents acc to most, some make them six 1182.
- Adhikāraṇakaumudī of Rāmakaṣṇa, 1162n.
- Adhikāraṇakaumudī of Devanātha, 1283n.
- Adhīśima (or -oma) Kṛṇa, 6th (or 5th) in descent from Arjuna, during whose reign Purāṇas were narrated to sages

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 Adhṛigu-praśa, 724 recited by
 Hoti priest in Paśubandha
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 A. in P M S and some of the
 unfamiliar words therein are
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 Adhvāra-mīmāṃsā-kūṭūhalavṛtti
 of Vāsudeva Dīksita, 1163n
 Ādiparva, 90n, 126, 130, 466,
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 (on *sūta* and *māgadha*), 908,
 914 (has the famous verse about
itihāsa and *purāṇa*), 915n, 945,
 1178, 1219, 1281n (Subhadra
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 Ādityapurāṇa, 51n; Aparārka
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 Ahi, means in the Ṛgveda 'serpent' and also 'a demon' 126.
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- Br. in 'Our Heritage' Vol. V part 2, 1386n, 1493, 1497-98, 1525n, 1631n.
- Artareya Upanisad, 918, 1362, 1471, 1499, 1501-2, 1541 (quotes Rg. IV. 27. 1), 1586 87.
- Aiyangar, Prof. K. V. Ranga-swami, 30, 42n, 870, 885; several verses from Purāṇas and other works that eluded him, identified, 905n, 906n, 908u, 929n, 947n, 1448n, 1458n.
- Aiyangar, Presentation Volume, 1016n.
- Ajāmila, a sinner who had abandoned his brāhmaṇa wife and kept a mistress, became a saint, 969, 972, story of, is liable to be misunderstood and may create complacent belief and attitude in a sinner 973
- Ajapā-japa, 1416n
- Ajātaśatru and Gārgya Bālākī, dialogue of 1579-80.
- Ajavithi, meaning of, in Yāj., Viṣṇupurāṇa, Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas 826 and n.
- Ajñāna (same as *avidyā*), explained in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 1417n.
- Ājyabhāga (oblations), 733.
- Ākhyāna, distinguished from upākhyāna 558n
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- Alberuni, a. of a work on 'India' composed in 1030 A.D., 516n, 517, 656 (on Harṣa era), 659, 685, 691 (names 14 Manus), 699, 701, 830-1 (furnishes two lists of Purāṇas), 885-6 (mixes up Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas in his list and gives details about contents of some Purāṇas), 1019 (collected with the help of Hindu Pandits vast materials).
- Ālekhaṇa, mentioned in P.M.S., is quoted at least 16 times in Āp. Śr. Sūtra, his views being frequently in conflict with Āsmarathya's, 1174
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- Allen, D. C., a. of 'Star-crossed Renaissance' 543n, 550n.
- Allen, a. of Catalogue of Gupta coins, 186, 901.
- Allen, on Sāvitrivrata, 94.
- Altekar, Dr A. S., on Gupta gold coins of Bayana hoard, 186, 651n, 845; paper of, on 'Sṛāmaneratīkā' on Ācārasāra, 1023n; paper of, on 'Sanskrit Literature in Tibet' 1041.
- Alvar literature, mentions five-fold nature of God, 954a.
- Amānta reckoning, 659.
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- pūrta'), 1113n, 1132, 1210 (Buddha is sarvajña), 1293n, 1378, 1422 (defines Yama and Niyama), 1514.
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- Amhaspatī or Amhasaspatī, 13th additional month was so called 671, 672.
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- Amoghavarsa, vide under China 1040.
- Amṛtasiddhiyoga (fortunate conjunction), defined 707.
- Anadhyāya (not to study Veda at certain times or on certain days), applicable only to actual study but not to the employment of Vedic mantras in sacrifices, 1154.
- Anāṅmāta, meaning of, 739n.
- Ānandagiri, a of Śaṅkaravijaya, 1136n; a of com. on Brhadā-ranyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika 1183n.
- Ānandatīrtha, see under Mādhyā.
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- Angavidyā (palmistry and *śakuna* from throbbing of limbs, dreams etc.), 801n, mentioned by Kāśikā and Manu, 527n, 801n.
- Angaviṣṭā (Angavidyā), a prakṛit work, 801n
- Angiras, 48, 51n, 106n, 775 (about dreams), 810n.
- Animal Sacrifice Manu (V 41-44) allows the killing of animals in Madhuparka, sacrifices to gods and in rites for pitṛis (Manes) and that in such sacrifices allowed by the Veda there is no hiṁsā, 1262, offering of bull or cow in Madhuparka was allowed acc. to At Br, but later prohibited as Kahvarjya, 1269n, Yāj. (I 258-260) provides the periods of time for which pitṛs are gratified by the offering of sacrificial food (such as rice or sesame), various kinds of fish and the flesh of several animals, but the Mīt states that, in spite of Yāj., in its day brāhmanas should offer only food fit for *muni* (rice etc.), flesh by Kṣatriyas and varṣas and honey by Śūdras, 1269.
- Amruddhabhūta, a of Hārṇatā and Pitṛdayitā and gurn of Balladacn, 870n
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- Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, 3, 72n, 75n, 78n, 79n, 90n, 91n, 110n, 114n, 116n, 125n, 132n, 144n, 165n, 194, 212n, 213n, 220n, 650n, 685, 816, 834n, 836, 844, 865, 978, 1041, 1115 (on a modern Siddha Śivayogin), 1149, 1159n (on Bhavadāsa), 1172n (on Gītā 13 4), 1186 (present author's paper on 'Brief sketch of the PMS'), 1198, 1200 (present author's paper 'Pūrva-mīmāṃsā'), 1301n, 1404n, 1406, 1408n, 1590 (Śaṅkha-dharmasūtra).
- Antarābhavadeha, 1600.
- Ant-hill, made in a house is evil omen and house is to be abandoned acc to Grhya-sūtras 730.
- Anthony, H D, a of 'Science and its background' (on who introduced the date of creation in Anglican Church) 1506n
- Antiquity, journal so called, 481n.
- Antyajas (lowest in Hindu social grade), seven in some smṛtis, 810n
- Anubandhas (indispensable elements), in each śāstra are four 1179.
- Anudeyī meaning of, in Rg. 1542n.
- Annkramanī of the Rgveda 129, 692, 728n.
- Anumati (Pauṇamāsī mixed with 14th tithi) treated as a deity in Rgveda, spoken in the same breath with Varuna, Soma, Brhaspati 63
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- Āpastamba-grhyasūtra, 497n, 524n, 534-35, 605 (time for *caula*), 610, 733 (sānti for unusual appearances), 802n (view of com. Tātparyadarśana), 1257 (P. M. S. VI 8. 23 contains the very words that Ā employs)
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- Āpavarga (meaning 'liberation'), occurs in Y S, Raghuvamśa, Mantri Up and Nyāyasūtra 1515
- Appayya Dikṣita, a of Kalpataru-parimāla 1160, a of Vaidhirasāyana, 1199 (conflict about his date), 1219n, a of Madhvatantramukhamardana, 1519n
- Appolonius of Tyana, life of, by Philostratus, states that A received seven rings from Iarchus, an Indian king, which A. was to wear on each week day, 600, 688.
- Apratiratha anuvāka 786n
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- Āpūreca (invisible, mysterious or subtle potency), idea of, explained, being one of the fundamental doctrines of PMS 1210-11, 1231. proved by Ārthāpatti and not by any other *pramāṇa* 1210; resides in the man (the agent) or an invisible effect arises from the sacrifice, 1210
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- Arabs, admit that they borrowed astronomy from the Siddhānta 508
- Ārādūpakāśa, are acts or rites prescribed without being meant to do something about substances and are directly the aṅgas of the principal rite, for example Prayājas, Āghāras and Ājyabhāgas in Darśapūrnāmāsa, 1354
- Arberry, a of 'Asiatic Jones' 1594
- Archaeological survey of India, 174n, 485, 993n
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- Archaeological survey of India, Memoirs, 1131n (Memoir 66 for illustrations of Abhayamudrā).
- Ārdhodaya-yoga, 261, 706
- Argument from silence, not very strong ordinarily, 1157n.
- Aristotle, believed stars to be divine and endowed with independent volition, 546n
- Arjuna, 1502n, came to country of Nāgas and made Ulūpi, a Nāga princess, his wife 126-127, fight with Babhravāhana at Manipura, in which he was killed but was restored to life with Saṅjivana jewel 127
- Arjunamīśra, commentator of Mahābhārata 1367n
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1241-42, *Smṛtis* abound in A. illustrated, 1242-43, some Vedic passages contain words like 'hi' (meaning 'because'), the conclusion being that such passages (called '*hetuvan nigadas*') are also commendatory 1239-1240, three kinds of A. viz. *gunavāda*, *anuvāda*, *bhūtārthavāda*, exemplified 1240-41.

Arunaketukacayana, 24

Arunānyāya, 1294-95 (explained), 1340

Arṇodaya, (last half quarter of night), 260.

Āryabhata, 484, 676, 679, born in 476 A. D. 649, 1477, view of, that earth revolved round itself and that stars did not revolve round earth 1477.

Āryabhatīya, work of *Āryabhata*, 649n, 676n, 679, 80 (mentions Thursday), 684, 696n, 1477, edited by W. E. Clark, 1477.

Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, names and defines 108 *Mudrās* 1129, says combinations of mantras and mudrās bring success in all actions and that no tithi, nakṣatra, nor fast required 1129.

Āryāsaptasati of *Utpala*, 602 (deals with predictions based on time of question asked).

Āsādha, most important tithi in, is *Ekādaśī*, 95.

Āsana or *Āsanās* (vide under *Āheraṇḍasamhitā*, *Hathayoga*, *Inscriptions*, *Śivasamhitā*) 1424-1431, an āṅga of *Yoga* and defined as what is stable and comfortable in Y. S. (i. e. bodily posture) and in *Ghṛā* means seat covered with Kuśa

- grass, deer-skin and garment, 1424, handbook on, published by Śrī Kuvalayananda, with 78 figures 1425, is first anga in Hathayoga, of which there are 84, most important being Siddhāsana 1426-28; names of 84 āsanās 1428, Padmāsana mentioned by Daksasmṛti and by Śāṅkara 1425n, 1426, photographs (108) of Ā in Dr. Goswami's work, 1394 sixteen figures of Ā in Dr. Behanan's work and more figures in other works 1425-26, ten Ā. named by Yogabhāṣya 1425-26, Yāj Smṛti (III. 198) seems to have Padmāsana in view 1425 and n.
- Asaṅga, a of Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, ed by Levi 1050n, great teacher of Yogācāra 1050n, Tibetan tradition that A introduced Tantricism in India examined 1033n, view of Dr. Bhattacharya that A is the a. of Guhyasamājatantra criticized 1050n
- Āśānta, meaning of, in Tai S 723n.
- Asat, meaning of, in Bg. X 72 2, Chāṇ Up III 19 1, Br Up. I 4 7, Tai Up II 7, 1488n
- Āśauca (days of impurity on birth or death), does not affect king in doing regal duties nor any one who is engaged in vrata or sacrifice, marriage etc. occurring after any one of these is begun 48.
- Asceticism, not prescribed for all by Śāstras 1628
- Ascetics, forbidden by Manu to secure alms by fore-telling results of portents or bodily movements 527; had to give up all property and beg for livelihood 944, many kinds of m. in Brhaj-jātaka 1645
- Asiatic Researches, volumes of 253, 498
- Āślesā, vide Gomukhaprasavaśānti; Śānti for birth of a son or daughter on certain parts of Ā 771-72; serpent, presiding deity of Ā. 771n.
- Āśmarathya, quoted by both P. M S and V. S. and is quoted at least 16 times by Āp Śr. sūtra, his views being often in conflict with Ālekhaṇa's 1174.
- Āsmatā (in Yoga) defined, 1409n, 1417.
- Āśoka, 493; *Aśvinsū* of A. was qualified 1015, appointed officers called Mahāmātras to look after Buddhist Saṅgha, Brāhmaṇas, Ājivikas and all other sects 1012; 12th Rock edict of, requires honour to be shown to all beliefs and sects 1012, 1481; edict 13 of, shows that he sent missionaries to five kings of the Near East about 258 B. C., edicts 2 and 3 refer to Yavanas (Yona) 1634n; emphasized moral endeavour, disliked sacrifices, believed in gods and desired that people should strive for heaven 1016n; employs regnal years in his edicts 647; forbids festival meetings (samāja) 1017; his regulations about not killing birds and animals and about the sale of fish must have caused

great hardships to poor people, 1015n; in later life appears to gloat over the fact that gods worshipped as divinities in Jambudvīpa had been rendered false 1015-17; Revenue settlement officers called Lājukas were given by A. powers of life and death 1015, Rock edicts 4 and 5 mention 'Kalpa' 686; Rupnath Rock Inscription words about gods have been differently interpreted by different scholars 1016-17, was not trained in Pali books and never mentions in all edicts fundamental tenets of early Buddhism such as four noble truths, noble eightfold path 1016n.

Āśokāvadāna, charges Pūṣyamitra (called Maurya by it) with persecution of Buddhists, but Rhys Davids reserves judgement on this point 1008n, 1010

Āśramas, each has its peculiar signs as characteristics (linga) 868n; Hindu scheme of, highly praised by Deussen 1026n, theory of, highly eulogized by Deussen 1643; word not found in Veda, but only in Śv. Up though some āśramas were well known even in Vedic times 1643-44.

Āśramavāsika-parva, 616.

Āstakā (8th tithi after full Moon in any month, particularly in Māgha) 65.

Āstakavarga, astrological theory about seven planets and Lagna 591.

Āstobha, meaning of, 1182 and n.

Astrologer, an established officer in Italy and later in French court, 543n, came to be looked upon in India as all important for the king 543, professional A (for money) was looked upon as an unworthy Brāhmaṇa till about 500 B.C., 543.

Astrology (vide under Ātharvāna Jyotiṣa, auspicious days, Babylonians, bhāvas i. e. houses in horoscopes, Greeks, Mahābhārata, planets, predictions, Ptolemy, Rāmāyana, Utpala, Varāhamihira); among Assyrians A was concerned with the interpretation of celestial phenomena 521, 548, Ātharvāna Jyotiṣa divided nakṣatras into nine classes (each of three nakṣatras) and sets out what should be undertaken on each of nine classes 532-34, 579; based on Nakṣatras had been well developed in India before Ptolemy 558-61, 579, 597n; belief in A. was common throughout Europe and among Greeks after Alexander 548; believers in A. should now rest content with the simple rules of Grhyasūtras and Manu as regards Upanayana and marriage 639; birth of a boy on Jyesthā or Viśat (Mīla) held in Ātharvaveda to be evil for the boy or parents 524; criticism of the main doctrines of Indian A. including drsti, 635-638; dilemma for those who believe in A. 639; firm hold of A. on Indian mind for two thousand years or more and

even in modern times 626-27; general A (not horoscopic) like that in Reports of Babylonian priests prevalent in India, centuries before Christ 570, generally ignored by modern Western philosophers and scientists 630, high claims about importance and utility of A. made by Varāhamihira and others 546-48, horoscopic A is later than natural A. 521, in Varāhamihira is not borrowed from Greeks 585, in ancient times the words 'astronomy' and 'astrology' were synonyms 483, 521, Indians who knew Nakṣatra a. centuries before Christ probably adopted it to rāśis on seeing zodiacal signs in Babylonian monuments about the time that the Greeks derived it 598-600; influence of, in England shown by several English words, 552-53, Kautilya knew general A. but not horoscopic 569-70, knowledge of A. found in Vedic works 521-525; long list of Varāhamihira's predecessors in A 591-94 most important matters in Indian A are rāśis, the planets and the twelve bhāṅgas 635 prejudice in ancient India against astrologers and star-gazers 527; Ptolemy's arguments in support of, 553-54, serious consequences of belief that planets caused persons to do certain things, 634, some predictions came true 631-32, spread from Greece to Rome about 2nd century

B C 549, two circumstances that tended to weaken the influence of A. in Europe 551; was comparatively more scientific than hepatoscopy 522n, was cultivated by the side of astronomy in European Universities 551, works on Indian A gradually disappeared owing to the excellent works of Varāhamihira 601, works on A recommended that a child born on Āśleśā or Mūla nakṣatra or on *gandānta* should be abandoned 632-33, world wars provided a powerful fillip in modern times for spread of A 531

Astronomers, Indian, of medieval times believed that all planets including the Sun and Moon were together at sunrise on Sunday of Cartra Śukla pratipad at beginning of Kaliyuga and of Kalpa 649; three schools of, (1) of Sūryasiddhānta, (2) of Brahmasiddhānta, (3) of Āryasiddhānta 649; two main points on which the schools of A in India differ viz (1) length of year, (2) the number of revolutions of the Sun, Moon and the planets in a Mahāyuga 711

Astronomy (see 'Astrology', Greeks, 'Siddhāntas'), both a. and astrology are equally ancient and acted and reacted on each other 483 Cambridge Ancient History holds that whole science of a. is due to astrology, while Prof. Neugebauer and Mr. Doig hold that

there is no evidence for this 483; discussion of Greek influence on Indian a. is of little interest, since most of the Greek material was well-known in Mesopotamia in the middle of the 2nd Millennium B C, 518n, extensive Sanskrit Literature on Hindu A. perished 521, 531; in China, assumptions of antiquity of astronomy, should not be accepted at face value 509, Indian A. held by Dixit to be independent and based on Indian observations 484; Indian A. cannot be said to have been directly based on Ptolemy owing to serious discrepancies in essential matters and no direct evidence of being based on Hipparchus or other Greek writers 520-21, knowledge of, in Homer's and Hesiod's works not better than that of Vedic Indians 513, Sanskrit literature on a. and astrology falls into three slightly overlapping periods 484, study of constellations by monks was allowed by Buddha, though foretelling the future was condemned by him 527; works on Hindu A. recommended for reading 484-85.

Asuri, acc to Sāṅkhya-kārikā, Yogasūtrabhāṣya and Śānti-parva received Sāṅkhya system from Kapilamuni and expounded it to Pauṇḍrīka, 1356, 1372-73; an A. occurs in Vamśas in Br. Up, as pupil of Bhāradvāja 1373; no quotation from him cited by any

Sāṅkhya writer 1374.

Asutosh Mukerji (Sir), Silver Jubilee Volume 843.

Āsvaghosa, a. of Saundarananda 941, a. of Buddhacarita 1378.

Āśvalāyana-grhya-pariśista 734.

Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra 26, 35n, 36, 126, 224n, 526n, 534, 536, 605, 609, 729n, 780n, 787n, 790, 802, 1161, 1228n, 1317n; com. of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa on, 1317n.

Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra, 18n, 26n, 123n, 724n, 731n, 816.

Āśvamedha (vide under Rāja sūya) sacrifices lasted for a year in which there were 36 cycles of ten days, on each day of which the sacrificer was to listen to different branches of literature and legends 866; sacrifices performed by Pusyamitra, Bhavanāga, Pravarasena I, Samudragupta and other kings 1028-29, supposed to remove the consequences of all sins, 1589n.

Āśvamedhikapaṭva, 127, 467, 683, 744, 945 (on *ahimsā*), 994, 1371, 1401, 1446, 1519, 1537n, 1571

Āśvapati Kaikeya, boast of, in Chān. Up 943, 1584n; expounds Vaiśvānara vidyā to Uddālaka Āruṇi, 1578-79.

Āśvattha, name of Śravana nakṣatra in Kāthaka and Pāṇini, 500.

Āśvattha tree, is called Bodhi-sattva in Padmapurāṇa 893

Āśvayujī, one of the seven Pākayajnas m by Gaut performed on full Moon of Āśvina, 206.

- Āsvins, different views as to what they stand for in Rgveda, 7, spoken of as wearing blue lotuses in Rgveda 35.
- Ātatāyin, killing an Ā brāhmaṇa is not brahma-hatyā 817n
- Ātharvana-*ṛyotisā* 80, 532-34, 539, 541, 601, date of, difficult to decide 534, furnishes a scheme of nakṣatra astrology somewhat different from Vaiśākhaśāstra and *Yogayātrā* 532-34, mentions week-days but not *rāśis* 534.
- Ātharvana nakṣatra-kalpa, first part of Ātharvaparīśistas 499
- Ātharva-parīśista, 589n (on *grahayuddha*), 731, 735n, 741 (67th parīśista), 742 (on *Utpātālaksana*), 743, 745, 754, 759n, 761, 767, 770, 774, 779n, 780, 792-93, 795n, 796n, 798, 802n.
- Ātharvaśāstra, Upaniṣad 786n, 918n.
- Ātharvaveda, 12n, 20, 22, 23n, 25n, 35, 62n, 63-65, 126, 191, 196n, 463, 486n, 487, 489, 494n, 495n, 496-98, 500, 524, 526n, 528, 538n, 563, 596n, 671, 702, 719n, 720-21, 726n, 727n, 729n, 730n, 732 (verses of, used in Śāntis on dreams), 734, 739-40, 745 (on *Utpātaś*), 769 (abhaya-mantras), 771n, 796, 802n, 816, 985 (two interpretations of X. 8. 9), 1032, 1037 (magic spells in), 1036-37 (spells for softening the heart and for destroying worms), 1116 (on *dikṣā*), 1153, 1161, 1213 (on joys of heaven), 1217n, 1259n (astakāmantra 'Yām janah' etc.), 1291, 1360, 1387, 1433, 1471, 1489 (repeats 15 verses of *Purusaśūkta*), 1493-95 (hymns on Creator and creation), 1498, 1500, 1526n, 1533, 1554 (Devayāna and *Pitryāna*), 1622, 1625-26 (relied upon in V. S.), 1633, five Kalpas of A. are Nakṣatra, Vaitāna, Saṁhita, Āṅgīrasa and Śānti 735n
- Atheists, Bhagavadgītā describes their destiny 979-80
- Atideśa (process or method by which the details prescribed in connection with one sacrifice are transferred to another rite) 1321-24, vide under *Vidhyādi* and *Vidhyanta*, may be provided by *vacana* (Vedic text) or by name, 1322-23, prakṛti (model or Archetype) is the name given to the sacrifice from which details are transferred and *vikṛti* is the name given to the sacrifice to which details are transferred 1322, 7th Chap. of P. M. sūtras deals with general question of the extension of details to *Andrāgna* and other sacrifices, while the 8th Chap. deals with specific cases of A. 1321, 1323-24, Smṛtis and digests frequently resort to principle of A. 1322-23
- Atirudra, eleven times of Mahārudra 814
- Atithi (guest), flesh of an ox or goat, offered to king or brāhmaṇa coming as an A., according to Śat Br, Vāyastha, Yāj. 1267.

Ātivābika (intermediate body between dead body and the future body for soul), 1600 and n.

Ātman (vide Brahman), resides in the earth and elements, is inside them, rules them and is the soul of all human beings, 1499, description of, in Br Up. 1499.

Atomic theory; Democritus (who died in 370 B.C. in Greece) started it, 1486, in Kanāda, who does not expressly say anything about who started it, 1486; later Nyāya-vaiśeṣika writers combined two theories by saying that, when God desires to create, activity is produced in the atoms and creation starts, as stated in Tarkadīpikā, 1486.

Ātreya, on astrology, q. by Madanaratna, 736n, 789.

Ātreya, Dr, thesis, on 'Philosophy of Yogavāsistha' 1408n

Ātreya, views of, quoted in P M. S. and V. S. and called Muni by Śābara 1173-74

Atri, writer of a work on Utpātas and pupil of Garga, 591, 766

Atri, author of a Smṛti, 29n, 250, 810n, 918n, 949, 979, 1023n, 1419, 1442n, 1634n (mentions foreign tribes)

Atris, performed Saptadaśastoma three days before Visuvat and smote svarbhānu, 242; found out the sun afflicted with darkness by Svarbhānu (i.e. totally eclipsed) 982n.

Augustine, saint, called astrology a delusion 558; believed that

religions outside the Bible as interpreted by him and others was the work of the devil 1608.

Anrangzeb, issued firmans for the destruction of famous temples at Somnath, Mathurā, Benaras, 1019.

Anrobindo, vide (Vedic Interpretation), a of 'Hymns to the Mystic fire' 985, a of 'On the Veda' (published in 1956) dealing with over 60 hymns and 283 pages are devoted to the elaboration of his theory that behind the ritual explanations there is always the true and still hidden secret of the Veda, 986, a of 'The problem of rebirth', 1605, does not compare the several hundred passages in which the word *ṛta* occurs and translates *ṛta* as truth and 'truth consciousness' and '*ṛta-cit*' also in the same way 986, his theory that many whole hymns of the Veda bear on their face a mystic meaning and that the *rās* for the sake of secrecy resorted to double meanings, criticized 986-89, 991, he concedes that there are some keywords in the Rgveda such as *ṛta*, *kratu*, *śrāvas*, *ketu* (most of which occur hundreds of times) and that elaborate work would have to be done to fix their meanings, but he does not himself undertake that task and fixes the meaning of *ṛta* from three passages only 988, A and his disciple

Kapali Sastry differ about the poetic character of the mantras 987n, makes a very wide generalization with very little basis 991; A's translation of 'rtacit' is shown to be wrong 988-89, explanation why Shri Aurobindo (who is called Mahayogi by his disciples and admirers) was not mentioned in dealing with Yoga and Dharmaśāstra, 1462-63, faults that he finds with the old systems of Yoga stated and criticized 1465-66, his *sādhana* was not founded on books, but upon personal experiences that crowded upon him and he constantly heard the voice of Vivekānanda for a fortnight in the jail 1465, life of A written by Shri R. R. Diwakar (wherein he speaks of him as 'Mahayogi') published in 1953, 1466n, life of A by G. H. Langley (1949), 1466n, lived as a recluse from 1926 to his passing away on 5th December 1950 and gave *darśana* to people only on four days in the year, 1463 and n, long statement on 15th August 1947 (Independence day) in which he referred to the several dreams of his youth which he thought were on their way to fruition 1463-64, recent work 'Integral Philosophy of Aurobindo' containing 30 papers by Indian and Western scholars (1960), 1467; A sets his heart on the unity of the human race to be achieved by

inner oneness and purpose and not by an external association of interests, but his own efforts (in that direction, except by writings) are not discernible 1464-65; writings of, are many and voluminous, his *magnum opus* being 'Life divine', which is not easy to understand for men of ordinary intelligence 1466-67.

Auśanasa-smṛti 819.

Auspicious days, reference to, occurs even in the Rgveda 522, Soma sacrifice did not require auspicious day or nakṣatra 523

Auspicious mubūrta, for constructing a house 540.

Auspicious nakṣatras, for caula, punsavana, marriage, 535, for wearing new garments or ornaments for the first time 626.

Auspicious objects, see Vasantrajāsakuna, 778, to be touched when leaving house after bath and home on business 905.

Auspicious times, for all rites for gods 536, times for caula, upanayana, godāna, and marriage according to grhyasūtras 224, 535, A. times prescribed by Bṛhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad for rites to be performed by individuals 524, 534, A. nakṣatras and seasons prescribed for solemn Vedic sacrifices by Brāhmaṇa texts and Kalpa-sūtras, grhya and dharma sūtras 534, year for caula, 535, Avalon, Arthur (Sir John Woodroffe, which see), 178n, 1033n, 1048n, (a of 'Principles of

Tantra), 1060 (a. of 'Serpent Power'), 1048n, 1129n, 1131n; published many of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, 1050, 1105.

Avama-dīna, explained 263.

Avantivarman, king of Kashmir 1075.

Āvāpa (decentralisation or scattering); example is Darā-pūrnāmāsa, which are really two sets of sacrifices, 1332.

Avatāras (vide 'Bhāgavata', 'Buddha', 'Reincarnation'), 992-998; Agnipurāna describes the characteristics of the images of ten a 996; all ten avatāras of Viṣṇu had become recognized throughout India at least before 10th century A D. 996; are dwelt upon at great length in Purānas 992; Buddhists in the Mahāyāna teachings made Buddha go through many a. as Bodhisattva 993; conception of, may be traced to the Śat.Br. 992; conception of a. increased Dharmaśāstra material and gave rise to numerous vratas and festivals called Jayantis 992, 998; derivation and meaning of the word 992; in modern times some persons pose or are made to pose as avatāras by their admirers 993; Indian theory of a. is connected with the theory of yugas 993; Kumārila (7th century A D.) did not regard Buddha as avatāra of Viṣṇu 997; Lakṣmī follows Viṣṇu in all avatāras 996; *Locus classicus* on a. is Bhaga-

vadgītā IV. 7-8, 993, none of the ten avatāras except Kṛṣṇa and possibly Rāma is expressly named in Bhāgavad-gītā 994; of Viṣṇu due to a curse of Bhṛgu 995n, one Pak Subh who hails from Indonesia is suggested by Mr. J G. Bennett as an avatāra for whom mankind is waiting 993; reference to Buddha as avatāra in Bhāgavata 995n; references from Purānas to each of ten a. 998; ten a. of Viṣṇu in medieval and modern times named in Matsya and Varāha Purānas 993; thirtynine a. of Vāsudeva in Ahirbudhnyasamhitā 996; thirty-three a. discussed by Dr. Katre 997; tithis of the appearance of, 262, 998n; Tolai-nanda probably contains longest account of ten a. 998; twelve a. noted in Matsya and Padma 994, twenty-two a. of Viṣṇu in Bhāgavata 993n, Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa a known centuries before Mahābhārata 997; Varāha avatāra m. in Gupta Inscription in the first year of Toramāna (about 500 to 510 A. D.) 997n; Vāyupurāna mentions 28 a. of Mahādeva, last being Nakulī 996; verses on a similar to those in Gītā from Harivaṃśa, Vāyu, etc. 993n; worship of avatāras from Narasiṃha to Kalki yields different rewards, etc. to Varāhapurāna 267, 996.

Asvatī, is a sacrifice performed as part of the Rāja-ūya-yajña that could be performed only

- by a ksatriya, 1332; it is also an independent *yāga* that may be performed by any one belonging to the three varnas 1332, Nirmayasindhu relies upon this difference in Avesti for its conclusions about Devī-pūjā on different tithis 1332, word 'rājan' in 'Rājasūya' is held by PMS and Śabara to mean a ksatriya only, while some late Dharmasāstra works hold that the word 'rājan' may secondarily mean even a Vaiśya who becomes a ruler 1333, 1340
- Avidyā* (nescience), consists (Y. S. II 5) in regarding non-eternal as eternal, impure as pure, painful as pleasurable, non-self as self 1417
- Aviyoga-vrata*, in which food was to be distributed to helpless people, to the blind and deaf 38-40
- Āyācita*, is a substitute method for an absolute fast on ekādśī 100-103.
- Āyana*, meaning of, in Rgveda, 491
- Āyanāmśa* (vide under 'calendar'), meaning of 711.
- Āyodhyā*, capital of Kosala 531
- Āyodhyākānda* (of Rāmāyana), 775 (dreams in)
- Āyusyagana* (from Atharvaveda) 802n
- Āyusyamantras*, 759 and n, 796n.
- Āyusyasūkta*, 758n, 802n (different views as to what is Ā).
- Āyutshoma* (in which ten thousand oblations are offered); a kind of Navagrahaśānti 749-752; to be performed at marriages, establishment of images etc. 949.
- Babylon*: (see 'Chaldeans', 'signs of Zodiac'), apostrophized as the daughter of Chaldeans 548, intercourse between India (Punjab) and B. from 3rd Millennium B. C., 598-600; latitude of 542; peacocks, rice and Indian sandalwood under their Tamil names were known to Hebrew chronicles of Genesis and Kings 598; ratio of longest day to shortest, varied in ancient Babylon, 542-43; reports made by astrologers of B. to the king about the portents due to position of Sun, Moon and planets, 521, 548, 741n; upright stones placed in fields with inscriptions bearing curses and figures of zodiacal signs, 595.
- Babylonians*: B. and Assyrians based astrology on three assumptions 546; B. and Greeks had no generally believed doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, 546, difference between B. astrology and Greek astrology 550-51; nakṣatras not integrated with religious systems in, 509; called Capricorn goat-fish 565n; imagined there were three ages of the world, gold, silver and copper 689n; no cuneiform tablet yet discovered where all the 27 or 28 nakṣatras are arranged in an orderly series 509; observations by B. of planets from 2nd millennium B. C., 570.

- Bachhofer, Ludwig, 655 (criticizes Dr. Tarn).
- Bacon, view of, that stars rather incline than compel, 551.
- Bādarāyana, predecessor of Varāha-mihira, quoted by Utpala, 561, 591; mentions Yavanendra 591.
- Bādarāyana: between Jaimini and B., Sāmavedhāna Br inserts two names and so B. is thus two generations later than J. 1161n; B. came to be confounded with Vyāsa, Pārāśarya but it is difficult to say when and why this confusion arose, 1169, 1171-73; held by Rāmānuja to be author of V. S. and also of Mahābhārata 1165, illustrations how V. S. deals with references to B 1168; is A. of V. S., acc to Śaṅkarācārya, 1162n, 1164-65; is different from Veda-vyāsa, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 1166, no satisfactory reason offered why B. is mentioned only nine times in V. S. if all the five hundred fifty-five sūtras were composed by him, 1165; that several individuals separated by a century or more could have borne the name Bādarāyana or Jaimini follows from Āp. Śr. S. and Pravara-maṇḍari, 1174; would be a grandson or a remoter male descendant of Badara 1169.
- Bādari, mentioned by both P. M. S. and V. S. four times each, would be son of Badara and P. M. S. mentions both Bādarāyana and Jaimini five times each, 1169, 1173, 1193; differs from Jaimini by holding that Śūdras are entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices and on the interpretation of the word 'śesa' 1173, 1253, 1642; P. M. S. and V. S. both had before them a work of B. dealing with both P. M. matters and Vedānta 1173-4; trace of Bhartṛmītra's atheistic views none in B. nor of doctrines akin to Prabhākara's 1193.
- Bageli, Dr. P. C., a. of 'Studies in Tantras' 1034, 1039, 1048n, 1049, 1050n, 1064n (that words 'mother', 'sister' etc. in some Tantras with regard to coitus have esoteric sense); a. of paper on 'Cult of Buddhist Siddhācāryas' in 'Heritage of India' Vol. IV, pp. 273-79; a. of 'India and China' 1618n.
- Bādha, 1327-28; Tantravārtika collects about three dozen cases of bādha in general, not dependent on conflict of Śruti, liṅga etc. or not falling under bādha as defined by Śabara for 10th chap, 1329.
- Bādha and Bāskali, story of, 1505.
- Bahulā, 4th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half, 355.
- Bahvr̥copanisad, 1045n.
- Bajavāpa-grhya, 748.
- Bakapañcaka, five days from Kārtika bright half eleventh tithi are so called, on which all have to abstain from flesh-eating, 355.
- Bakhshali MS. employs decimal notation 702.

Balābalādhukarana, is PMS III.
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Bālākī Gārgya was taught by
Ajātasatru, king of Kāśī 1639

Bālakrīdā, com. of Viśvaśūpa on
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Bālabhattacha, com. of, on Mitāk-
sarā (latter half of 18th cen-
tury, A D), states that Vāya
viyapurāna is also called Śaiva,
831.

Bali, island of, in S E Asia, is
still Hindu with four vāinas,
1618.

Balipratipadā, 201-207, see
Govardhanapūjā, Bali add-
ressed as future India 201, B
is also called Dyūtapratipadā,
203; *Balarājya* extends over
three days from 14th in Divali,
204, cows, bulls and calves
worshipped on this day, 204,
Kārtika-śukla-pratipadā is so-
called 201, gifts made on
bath on this day become in-
exhaustible and please Viṣṇu
202, king to offer worship to
Bali with his ministers and his
brothers, 201, king should
arrange for dramatic spectacles
about ksatriyas, 201, Mantia
addressed to Bali 201n, most
important item on this day is
the worship of Bali 201-202,
Lakṣmī becomes stable by illu-
minations on this day, 204,
long list of observances on this
day, 204; Mārgapālī on, des-
cribed, 205; Naivedya to Bali
included wine and meat 201,
ordinary people also should
establish in their houses image

of Bali with white rice grains
and worship it with flowers
and fruits, 201, people even
now engage in gambling on
this day in some places, 203,
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Bali, 201, proper time for
worship of Bali, when *pratipadā*
is mixed with *Amāvāsyā* or
dvitīyā 202, Śiva was defeat-
ed on this day in dice-play by
Pārvatī, so gambling recom-
mended on this day, 203,
story of Bali, narrated in sever-
al Purānas is ancient, long
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997, Vāmana thrust Bali into
nether regions, gave him over-
lordship of Pātāla and made
him the future Indra, 202, 203.

Ballālasena, king of Bengal, a. of
'Adbhutasāgara', 'Dānasāgara'
and also three other works not
yet recovered (vide Purānas,
Upapurānas) 867 and 870,
discarded Devīpurāna 869,
Aniuddhabhatta was his guru
870n, composed Viṇayasāgara,
Pratīsthāsāgara and Ācāra-
sāgara before Dānasāgara 870n,
evinces in remarks on Purānas
in Dānasāgara a bold critical
faculty rare in medieval Sans-
krit writers, 867, genealogy
of, 870n, names numerous
authorities and eight Upapurā-
nas 867, states that Bhāgavata,
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tained nothing on Dāna, 868,
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Bannerjee N G, theory of, about

- origin of Durgāpūjā as military rite, 187.
- Bapat, Prof. P. V. writer of '2500 years of Buddhism' 1003, 1040-41 (view of, that Tibetan Tantricism is earlier than Hindu, criticized).
- Bārhaspatya, cycle of 60 years (vide *Saṃvatsara*); *phalas* of each of the 60 years, 660-62.
- Bārhaspatyasauhitā, 544n, 742n.
- Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by F. W. Thomas) 1039.
- Barth, a. of 'Religions of India' (in French) tr. by J. Wood, 952n, 1003, 1007n, 1011, 1577.
- Barua, Dr. B. M., a. of 'Gaya and Buddha Gaya' 598.
- Basham, Prof. A. L., a. of 'History and doctrines of Ājīvikas' 1645n.
- Bath, not to be taken at night as a rule except on eclipses, in marriages, on a birth and death, pilgrimage, Sankrānti, 218, 244; on Mahācānti and other eleven full moon days at certain holy places yields great rewards, 79.
- Baudhdas, of Vijñānavādi school rely on Br. Up. IV. 5. 13 as supporting them, acc. to Śābara 1218; heterodox hypotheses of B. acc. to Kumārila sprang from the arthavāda passages of the Upanisads and serve the purpose of inducing people to give up extreme attachment to sensual pleasures and are useful in their own way, 1262.
- Baudhāyana 99
- Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra, 538, 681, 930, 934, 1257n, 1258 (on five different practices of the North and of the South), 1416n, 1436, 1441.
- Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra, 534, 535n, 610, 733n, 790.
- Baudhāyanagrhyasāṅga-sūtra 749, 758 (on Ugrārathasānti), 784, 787n, 790-1, 804, 814 (describes Rudrābhṣeka)
- Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra 505n, 519n, 722n, 727-8.
- Baudouin, M. Charles, a. of 'Suggestion and auto-suggestion,' refers to Pratyāhāra and Dhūranā, 1447.
- Baveru-Jālaka, shows trade by sea between India and Babylon 599.
- Beal, a. of 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' 262, 1009 (on Śāsāṅka)
- Bees, making honeycomb in a house, *sānti* for, 730.
- Behanan, Dr. on 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation,' 1384, 1393, 1425, 1456.
- Behaviourism-vide under J. B. Watson.
- Behistun Inscription of Darius (522-486 B. C.), gives Pars as the name of a country, 850n.
- Bell, Sir Charles, on 'Tibet, past and present' 1040.
- Dr. Belvalkar, two propositions of, in Gopal Basu Mallik lectures on Vedānta viz. that Brahmasūtras were separately composed for the Chāndogya Up., the Brhadāranyaka Up., and other Upanisads for each and that the Śārirakasūtra of Jaimini was bodily incorporated in the extant Brahma-

- sūtra, strongly criticized, 1175-76; paper of, on Māthara-vṛtti, 1354.
- Bennett J. G. a. of 'Subnd' (1958), puts forward Pak Subuh as avatāra 993.
- Bergh, Prof Van Pen, a. of 'Universe in space and time,' 571n
- Bergson, author of 'Time and Free Will', 475, 1575.
- Bernard, Theos, a. of 'Hatha-yoga, the report of a personal experience', 1428n
- Berthelot, Alfred, a. of 'Transmigration of souls', translated by H. G. Chaytor, 1604.
- Berosus, 189n, 690.
- Besnagar Column Vaisnava Inscription (2nd century B. C.); of Heliodora, Yavana ambassador to an Indian king, 516n, 963.
- Bhadrabāhu, Kalpasūtra of, 777 (on dreams).
- Bhagavadgītā: (vide under 'Gita, path, tolerance'). 103, 127, 172, 467, 660, 692n, 695, 702n, 743, 869n, 918n, 929, 938, 958n, 960-62, 964-66, 970, 973, 978-79, 992, 994, 1006n, 1024, 1055n, 1066n, 1087, 1113, 1171-73, 1210, 1216n, 1357n, 1359-60, 1361n, 1364n, 1367n, 1373, 1378, 1379n, 1385, 1358n, 1401, 1431-2, 1434n, 1448, 1450, 1458, 1461 (frequent emphasis on secrecy, 1462 (path of Yoga and advaita Vedānta is most difficult and unattainable by most persons), 1465, 1478, 1508, 1511, 1557, 1563-4, 1567, 1569, 1598, 1600, 1628, 1630-31, 1635, 1648, difference between B. and Nārāyaṇīya section 961-62; is styled Yogasāstra and each chapter of it is also styled 'Yoga', 1426-27; mentioned in Śāntiparva, 653, 656; puts Japa-yajña as the highest among Yajñas, 172; Padma-purāṇa devotes 1005 verses to mātmya of B. 967; proclaims that doing one's work without an eye to the fruits thereof is worship and even the greatest sinner and persons of the lowest castes and mleccas can reach the highest goal by bhakti of Kṛṣṇa, 968; Purāṇas follow with great emphasis the Gītā doctrine of Nīṣkāma-karmayoga, 967-968; summaries of, in Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas 967; tantras like Mahānirvāṇa employ Bh. IV. 24 as a mantra when offering wine 1059, 1087.
- Bhagavat: both Sāṅkarsaṇa and Vāsudeva spoken of as B. in Inscriptions 964; connotation of the word B., 963; rarely applied to Śiva also, as in Mahābhāṣya 963; usually applied to Vāsudeva in ancient times, 963, though in a secondary sense to persons with special qualities such as knowledge of Vidyā and Avidyā 963; word B. is ancient, 963.
- Bhāgavata-purāṇa 112, 129, 131, 139n, 147, 197n, 474 (on Kāla), 477 (elaborate scheme of units of time), 649n, 680n,

687n, 791n, 865, 839 (*ten topics of Purāṇas*), 845n (*period between Parikṣit and Nanda*), 852, 857n, 861, 880, 903n, 920-21, 924, 950, 959n, 960 (*three kinds of bhakti*), 965 (*on nine modes of bhakti*), 966, 968, 970 (*tolerance of worship of other gods*), 972, 974, 979, 995, 1032, 1093 (*worship of Viṣṇu is Vaidiki, Tāntriki and Miśrā*), 1120, 1169, 1280, 1373, 1384, 1440n, 1455, 1490n, 1637, 1642, *date very controversial, ranging from 5th cen. A.D. to 10th*, 898-99, *lengthy eulogy of Bh. in Padma* 972, *many medieval digests hardly ever rely upon Bhāgavata for Kṛṣṇajanmāstamī* 131; *note on*, 898-99, *none of the early works on Dharmaśāstra, such as Mit, Kalpataru, draw upon it*, 898, *not quoted by Rāmānuja in bhāṣya on V. S.* 957; *numerous commentaries on*, *over 40 being listed*, 957n, *papers on, brought together by Dr. Pusalker in 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas'*, 898, *regarded as the most important or sole authority by Vaiṣṇava teachers like Vallabha and Caitanya* 957, Śrīdhara, *commentator of*, 845n, 866n, *very exaggerated praise of Bh.* 972

Bhāgavata (*vide 'Mahābhāgavata'*): *means one who worships 'Bhagavat' (Vāsudeva)*. 963; *Akrūra is styled Mahābhāgavata in some Purāṇas*, 964, *low stage reached by Bhāgavatas, acc. to Atri*, 979-

80.

Bhāguri, *on Śakunas, a predecessor of Varāhamihira*, 591, 622.

Bhakti, (*loving faith in God and surrender to him*) pp 950-980; (*vide under Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Pañcarātra, saints, Sātvata, Viṣṇu*); *ācāryas of bh. acc. to Nārada-bhaktisūtra*, 960n, *derivation and meaning of the word 'Bhakti' acc. to Śāṇḍilya and others* 958-959; *distinction between prapatti and bh.* 960; *doctrine of bh. had great appeal to all sections of Hindus and weaned them away from Buddhism* 970, *doctrine of 'Prapatti' based on the word 'prapadye' in Ś. Up.* 952; *doctrine that God's grace alone saves devotee is found in Katha and Munda Upaniṣads* 952; *doing one's duties of the station in life without an eye to the rewards is worship (arcana)* 967; *eleven modes of, acc. to Nārada-bhaktisūtra*, 965; *four classes of men take to the path of bhakti, of whom the 4th (jñānin) is very dear to God*, 966, *Gitā makes no express distinction between bh. and prapatti, but its final advice in XVIII. 65-66 comes close to prapatti*, 960, *Indra is addressed as sakha and father in the Rgveda and is said to have given a young wife to old Kaśyapa and become the wife of Viṣṇu* 950-51, *is difficult on Kath. acc. to Vallabhācārya*

975n, is not an action and is also different from *jñāna* (knowledge), acc. to Śāṇḍilya, 960; list of important works on 657-58, Nārāyaṇīya section in Śāntiparva and Gītā are among the original sources of Bhakti cult, 952, Namaskāra (adoration or homage), apotheosis of, in the Rgveda, 952; names of the exemplars of the highest kind of bhakti and of middling kind, acc. to Brahmandapurāṇa, 960n, nine modes of, all of which need not be practised at the same time 965-66, of the *dāsyā* type in Bhāgavata, 966; origin and vicissitudes of the cult of bh acc. to Bhāgavata and Padma, 979, path of, said to be easier than that of knowledge in the Gītā, 965, peculiar cult of the bh of Rāma and Sītā, 980, *prapatti*, five elements of, and relation to bhakti, 960, Purāṇas emphasize that even cāṇḍālas, mleccas, Hūnas, yavanas, become pure by bhakti of God, 968, Purāṇas lay very great emphasis on bh 950, remembering the name of God (Kṛṣṇa and the like) with devotion is the highest expiation for sin, acc. to Viṣṇu-purāṇa and Śāṇḍilya, 956, *sakhya* type of Bh. is that of Arjuna, 966, schools of Bh. formulated by Rāmāṇja, Madhva, Caitanya, and Vallabha 971 sources of the cult of bhakti other than Śāntiparva are Gītā, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu-

purāṇa, 956; Sāttvata or Pāñcarātra proclaimed the path of bhakti 953; stories in Rgveda hymns about Indra's and Varuna's deeds for devotees (sometimes called 'friends') resemble medieval stories about Rāma and Śabari and about Vithobā of Pandharpur for Dāmāji 950-52, striking development of bh. of erotic mysticism of Vallabha and Caitanya 980, Tāntrik works like Rudrayāmala take over the nine modes of bhakti, 965n; theory of Gītā that B led on to *prasāda* (grace or favour) of God which enabled devotee to secure mokṣa, 961; two interpretations of Śāṇḍilya's definition of B. 958-59, various sub-divisions of B. in Purāṇas 960, various theories of Barth, Hopkins, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and others as to what Kṛṣṇa represented and how he was identified with Viṣṇu, 957, word 'Bhakti' does not occur in the principal ancient Upanisads, but occurs in Śvetāśvatara Up. 952, words 'Bhakti' and 'Bhakta' occur dozens of times in the Gītā, 956.

Bhakticandrikā, com. on Śāṇḍilya-bhaktisūtra 956n, 959.

Bhaktiprakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya) 965n; explains at great length nine modes of bhakti, 965n, 998n, 1122.

Bhāmati (commentary of Vācaspati on Śāṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on V. S.), 1153n, 1182n,

- 1183n, 1211, 1241n, 1250, 1293n (on the word 'rājan' among Āndhras), 1296 (on Brahmaloka in Chān. Up VIII. 3. 2), 1298n, 1309n (on the Aindri verse), 1310n, 1373-74, 1378, 1391, 1576n.
- Bhandarkar, Dr. R. G., a. of 'Vaisnavism, Śaivism etc' 131, 472, 478n, 1048n, 1577
- Bhandarkar (R. G.) Presentation Volume (or Commemorative essays) 650n, 843.
- Bhandarkar, D. R., 'Hist of Inscriptions' by, 665, 978n.
- Bhāradvāja-grhyasūtra, 535.
- Bhāradvāja, on śakunas 591, 621-22; on Vyatipāta and Vaidhṛti 707.
- Bhāradvāja (Pundola), disciple of Buddha, story of his rising in the air, 1037-38.
- Bharata (Nāṭyaśāstra of), 1128.
- Bharata, son of Dusyanta (or Dugpanta); Ait. Br. (39.9) states that B. was crowned by Aindra Mahābhiseka and Śat. Br. speaks of Bharata, son of Śakuntalā and has some verses identical with those in Ait. Br. 1525-26n; Kālidāsa probably did not know that Bharatavarṣa was named after Śakuntalā's son, 1525n.
- Bhāratākāumudī, work in honour of Prof. R. K. Mukerji, 64n, 699n.
- Bharatas, ancient tribe of people frequently mentioned in the Rgveda, 1525.
- Bharatavarṣa : different views about the identity of the Bharata after whom it was so called, 1525-26 and 1614 (Śakuntalā's son); limits of, 1525-1527; m. in Khāravajā's Inscription 1614; nine divisions of (some of which are called dvīpas) mentioned in several Purāṇas, 1000 *yojanas* from North to South and boundaries of, 1526 (and n), originally it appears B. was what is now modern India, but later B. was made to denote India as well as Greater India, 1526-27; Śabara shows that the language of cultured people was one i.e. Sanskrit from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin, 1527, Śabara, Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and Bṛhat-saṃhitā show that ancient Indian people identified their culture with B. i.e. with the country and not with race, 1527.
- Bhārata War, date of, 648-649.
- Bhāratīya Vidyā, Journal, 845.
- Bhārgava, writer on astrology 766n.
- Bhārgavārcanadīpikā, 90n.
- Bhartṛhari, philosophical grammarian, author of Vākya-padiya, 475, 1396.
- Bhartṛmitra (between 400-600 A. D.), an interpreter who made P. M. atheistic, 1198, 1205n; his work was called Tattvasūddhi, acc. to Ubbekā 1198.
- Bhāskara, commentator on Brahmasūtras, 1155n.
- Bhāskarācārya (born in 1114 A. D.), 697n, 702 (uses pūrva in the sense of zero); a. of

- Grahaganita, 649n, a. of Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, 697n.
- Bhāskaraṛāya, a. of com. *Setubandha* on *Vāmakeśvaratantra* 1045, called *Bhāsurānandanātha* after *dīkṣā* 1071, 1126; holds that *Rg V.* 47. 1 refers to *Kādividyā*, 1045; hyperbolic praise of, 1071.
- Bhāṣya*, defined 1182.
- Bhatt, Prof. G. H. 957n.
- Bhattachārya B., paper of, on 'Ten *Avatāras*' 263.
- Bhattachārya (Prof. Golokendranath), 125n.
- Bhattacharya, Prof. T. 497n, 668n
- Bhattacharya, Mr. Bhabatosh, editor of *Dānasāgara* in B. I. series in 4 parts, 867, 870; a. of paper on 'Yogi-Yājñavalkyasmṛti and its utilization in Bengal digests', 407.
- Bhattacharya Dr. B., a. of Intro. to 'Buddhist Esoterism' 1033n, 1050n, 1069n (*Dhyānibuddhas*, their *fakṭis*, *kūlas* etc), 1075, 1115 (on *Siddhas* of *Vajrayāna*), a. of Intro. to *Sādhana-mālā*, 1038, 1039, 1042, 1050n; a. of Intro. to 'Guhyasamājatantra', 1042, 1050n, 1069n, 1071n (wrong translation of a verse), 1077n; a. of 'Buddhist Iconography', 1131n; a. of paper on importance of *Niṣpaṇṇayogavali*, 1133n
- Bhattacharya, D. C.; a. of paper on the *tāntrik* work of *Vidyāpati*, 1676n.
- Bhattacharya, Prof. Duragā-mohan, 1625-26.
- Bhattacharya, Prof. H. D., paper of, on 'Vicissitudes of Karma doctrine', 1605.
- Bhattacharya Sri Siddhesvara, 1383 (on *Bhāgavata*).
- Bhattacharya S. P. 1408n.
- Bhāttadīpikā 1230n.
- Bhattacharya, N. K., a. of 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in Dacca Museum', 1131n (for *mndrās*).
- Bhāva (or *Bhāvas*, acc to context) (vide under Thibaut): differences between *Varāhamihira* and *Firmicus* as to matters indicated by B. 540, names of twelve B. 578-79, naming and arrangement of B. follows hardly any rational basis, 636-37; system of B. known to Ptolemy, though he paid little attention to it 533; system of B. known to many writers before *Varāhamihira*, some of whom like *Garga* and *Parāśara* are assigned to 50 B. C. by *Kern* 579; table of twelve B. with synonyms, seven only of which correspond with Greek words and some others convey the matters judged from them 578; terms that apply to a group of Bh. 578; terms *Karma* and *Mṛtyu* occur in both *Nakṣatra* and *rāṣi* astrology 531, terms (at least five) such as *Janma* and *Sampat* that occur in *Ātharvanajyotiṣa* correspond in name and import with *tanu*, *dhana* and other terms used in *Varāha*'s works 533n; what was to be predicted from each of twelve B. 578-79
- Bhāvabhūti: fifth in ascent from

- him performed Vājapeya (about first half of 7th century A. D.) 629.
- Bhavadāsa, (between 100-200 A. D.), Śabara's predecessor on Jaimini, named by Śloka-vārtika 1159n, 1160, 1197.
- Bhavadevabhattacharya, m. by Raghunandana 919; a. of 'Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa' 1242, 1296.
- Bhāvā Ganeśa, a. of com. Tattvayāthārthyadīpana on Sāṅkhya and on Yogasūtra, 1382, 1394, 1412n.
- Bhāvanā, doctrine of B. is the very heart of vidhis 1235, meaning of, 1235; śābdibhāvanā gives rise to ārtihibhāvanā 1236; two kinds of, viz. śābdi (word force) and ārti (result producing force), 1235-36, three elements in each of the two bhāvanās described, 1236.
- Bhavanāga, of Bhāraṣīva lineage, performer of ten Asvamedhas 1028.
- Bhavanātha (between 1050-1150 A. D.), a. of Nayaviveka 1199.
- Bhavanī, known to Pāṇini, as wife of Bhava (i. e. Rudra) 185n.
- Bhāvanopamsad (on Tantra) is a late work 1051, 1218.
- Bhaviṣyotpurāṇa, named by Āp. Dh. S. 817, by Matsya and Varāha Purāṇas 818, contained dynastic names acc. to Matsya and Vāyu, 851.
- Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, 32, 38-40, 43-45, 54, 57, 70, 77n, 78n, 79n, 82, 90, 92, 96, 102, 110, 113, 115n, 119n, 124, 132n, 137-8, 148-158, 161n, 164n, 178n, 181n, 184n, 199, 200n, 204n, 212n, 220n, 572n, 660, 683n, 734 (on śāntas), 748-9, 779n, 810n, 851, 868 (part discarded by Ballālasena because tainted with heretical doctrines), 869, 924, 926n, 1096n, 1105, 1106, 1152n, 1262 (divides smṛti contents into five categories); divided into four parvans of which only the first viz. Brāhma can claim an early date, the Pratisargaparvan being a modern fabrication 896-7; note on 896-898, not earlier than 6th or 7th cen. A. D. 898; was revised by Śāmba, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa, 898.
- Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa; 10, 43, 89, 93n, 94, 97n, 108n, 119n, 122, 124n, 128, 131, 132n, 135, 137n, 142, 149-50, 153, 157n, 194, 210, 218, 238, 240, 753-4, 869; held not authoritative by Ballālasena, 869: not later than 1000 A. D. 897.
- Bhikṣu, casts off all desires and practises begging, 1169; Gaut provides that a bhikṣu should beg for food and Br. Up. also states that those who realize brahman give up desires and practise begging 1169, represents Sannyāsa order, 1169.
- Bhikṣusūtra, mentioned by Pāṇini as composed by Pārśvarya, might refer to Pañcasiṅgha's work who was described as Pārśvarya and Bhikṣu in Mahābhārata 1169n.
- Bhīma, fight of, with Duryodhana 767.
- Bhīmaparākrama, a work of bhikṣu

- Bhoja, 62n, 710, 762.
- Bhīṣma, though unmarried, performed *Aśvamedha* 1280.
- Bhīṣmaparva 129, 532n, 743-44, 769 (images of gods trembling), 774 (portentous births), 900n, 1470n, 1528.
- Bhoja, king of Dhārā (1st half of 11th century A. D.); composed (or got composed) numerous works, such as *Bhūpālakṛtya-samuccaya*, *Bhujahala*, *Rājamārtanda* (on astrology), 58, 884 (four works of, on *Dharmaśāstra* and astrology), a. of com. *Rājamārtanda* on *Yoga-sūtra* 1377, 1394.
- Bhojaka · 779n (to whom one's dream was to be declared),
- Bhojakata: m. in *Brahmapurāṇa* as capital of *Rukmiṇi* of *Vidarbha* and in Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' 588 and n.
- Bhrātr-dvitiyā, same as *Yama-dvitiyā*, 207-210, an independent festival tacked on to *Diwali* 209; hardly any religious ceremony observed in these days 208, on 2nd of bright half of *Kārtika* 207; procedure on, 207, 208; worship of *Yama*, *Yamunā* and *Citrāgupta* and some other details found in medieval digests are now dropped 208.
- Bhṛgu (writer on astrology and astronomy) 591, 664n.
- Bhṛgu-saṁhita (on astrology), criticism against claims of possessing it, 634-635.
- Bhujabala or *Bhujabalambandha*; 42n, 61n, 62, 71n, 110n, 240n, 243n, 249n, 547, 553n, 560, 572, 890 (quotes *Devī-purāṇa*); *Bhūpāla* means *Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya* of Bhoja, 70.
- Bhūtaśuddhi, in *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*, 1095n.
- Bhūtārthavāda or *Bhūtārthanuvāda*, examples of, 1241 and n, explained by Śabara and Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. I. 3. 33) who calls it *Vidyamānavāda* 1241n.
- Bhuvanakośa or *Bhuvana-vinyāsa*, described in *Brahmapurāṇa*, *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Vāyu* (has 1000 verses), 1527.
- Bible, says that Jesus did not expound all things to all people but only to his disciples, 1461n; is intolerant and pessimistic 1624n, 1630n.
- Bijamghanta, 1058n (a list of *Tāntrik Mantras*), 1097.
- Bilva, tree, twig of, to be brought in the house on a certain day and tithi in *Durgāpūjā*, 181.
- Biot, 510.
- Birds, cries of *Kapūjāla*, *Kapota*, owl and others indicative of coming good or evil in the *Rigveda* 729-30, 804-5.
- Birds and animals, when on the right side of one going on a journey indicate auspicious results, 526.
- Birth, on certain *nakṣatras* like *Āślesā* and *Mūla* inauspicious, 605.
- Bland, N., on Mahomedan interpretations of dreams 781.
- Bloch, Jules, edited and translated in French *Aśoka Inscriptions*, 1016n.

Bloomfield, 740n; a. of 'Religion of the Veda' 1491; edited Kauśika-sūtra, 770n.

Bodhāyana: acc. to Prapāñca-hrdaya, B. composed a commentary on both PMS and VS, while Rāmānuja says he composed a bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra, 1186n, 1197.

Bodh Gaya 1018.

Body (human), has nine openings (mouth, nostrils, eyes etc.) 702n, 1364n

Bogozkeni: vide under 'Mitanni'; Inscription of, about 1400 B. C. regarding treaties between the king of Hittites and king of Mitanni that had gods Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nāsatya in their pantheon 598-99; archives of, contained a treatise on horse training by one Kikkuli of Mitanni, which discusses technical terms akin to Sanskrit 599.

Bollinger and Negelein, editors of Ātharvāna-nakṣatra kalpa, 499.

Bombay Gazetteer 653.

Bose, D. N., a. of 'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets,' 1081 (explains five makāras esoterically), 1149n.

Bouche-Leclercq, a. of 'Astrologie Grecque' (1899): 548, 550, 552, 555n, 566n, 571, 581-3, 585.

Brahman, (vide under Creation); defined in Tai. Up. II. 1, 1424n; described as 'neti neti' (not this, not this) in Br. Up. II. 3. 6, IV. 2. 4-22, IV. 5. 15, III. 7. 26, 1504; distinction made in Upaniṣad texts between saguṇa br. that was for

prayer and worship and nirguṇa brahma 1498; it is impossible to define what br. is, we can only say what it is not 1505; is said to be endowed with all powers in VS. and by Śaṅkarācārya, 1045, passages of Upaniṣads referring to nirguṇa br. cited, are Br. Up. III. 9. 26, IV. 4. 19 and 22, IV. 5. 15, Chān. Up. VII. 24. 1, Śr. Up. VI. 19, Katha IV. 10-11; para br. is conceived as beyond space, time and causality 1505n; real truth (pāramārthika satya) about br. is that it is one, that everything in the world (men, animals, matter) is br. 1498-99; śāstras (Vedānta texts) are sources of the correct knowledge of br. and that they are agreed that their purport is to establish that br. 1484-85; seeker after br. reaches it by the practice of truthfulness, tapas, saṁnyag-jñāna and brahmacarya, acc. to Mūṇḍaka, 1423; story of Bādhya conveying idea of br. to Bāskali by remaining silent 1505; Tai. Br. describes br. as the tree from which heaven and earth were chiselled out 1489n; when it is said that the world is non-different from brahman, it is not meant that they are identical, but the meaning is that the individual selves and the world are not entirely different from brahman 1510.

Brahmā (see 'Viṣṇu'); day of Br. equal to Kalpa 688, 690; figure to which the life of br.

in human years extends is colossal 690; fifty years of life of Br. are gone and the present is Vārāhakaḥkalpa and Vāivasvata Manvantara 690; is supposed to have created world on first tithi of Caitra bright half 82; seven sons of, 1372, some held that life of Brahmā was 108 years, 690, 697.

Brahmacārī, word occurs in Rg-veda, 7.

Brahmacarya, (vide under 'Mahatma Gandhi'); is very strict for Yogin (viz he is not even to look at, talk to or touch women 1420n, when a householder may be called an observer of B 1421.

Brahmacarya, also means periods of study from 48 to 3 years for a Vedic student prescribed by Gautama, Āp, Manu etc. 1252.

Brahmagupta (astronomer born in 598 A. D.) 484, 515n, 680n, 696-7, criticized the Jaina view about there being two suns and two moons, 511n; condemned 'Romakasiddhānta' as outside the pale of smṛtis, 515n.

Brāhmana or Brāhmanas (vide under gifts, pātra, priests); all brāhmanas were not priests, are not priests in modern times and all temple priests are not always brāhmanas 936; every b. was not a proper recipient for gifts in ancient Indian times 937; difference of view on killing an ātātāyin b 817n; gifts (religious) to be made acc. to śāstras, Manu and other Smṛtis only to pātra (deser-

ving) br. who has learning, character and tapas, 937; gifts made to brāhmana not learned in Veda or who is avaricious or deceitful were deemed fruitless by Manu and to lead donor to hell 938; had no power to raise taxes like *tithes* nor was there a regularly paid hierarchy of priests and bishops as in England, 937, high ideal placed before br of plain living, of giving up active pursuit of riches, of devotion to study, pp 936-38, 1637, how importance of birth as a brāhmana arose 1639-40, lores to be studied by a learned brāhmana, acc. to Gautama Dh. S. 818; maintaining themselves by practising astrology were unfit for being invited to perform rites for gods or for śrāddha dinner acc to Manu 527, Manu and others provided that in rites for *pitṛs* the learning and character of b. should be carefully scrutinized, but Purāṇas did away with this, particularly at Gayā 930-32; of Mathurā are like gods, says Varāhapurāṇa 932, Mahābhārata emphasizes that good character makes a brāhmana 100n; milk is vrata of, 18, most Br. studied only one Veda or a part of it, 1182. only br. were entitled to drink Soma beverage in Vedic sacrifices 853; performed solemn Vedic sacrifices like Vājapeya 1029, reasons or basis of the veneration paid to brāhmanas for

over three thousand years, 1640; result of threatening or striking or injuring (with blood from wound) a brāhmana declared in Tai. S., which is interpreted in two ways by different writers, 1544-45; substantial sources of income were only three, viz. teaching, officiating as priests at sacrifices of others and receiving gifts made voluntarily which were fitful, variable and precarious, 937, 1638-39; to learn *vidyā* from a kṣatriya was unnatural or unusual in Upaniṣad times, 864; to be fed in all vratas, 39, tribute paid in passing to the ancient brāhmana ideal by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru 1640; vast Vedic and classical literature was cultivated, preserved and propagated mostly by brāhmanas with arduous labour and the Rgveda was preserved by them with unparalleled care, 936, 1637-38; were asked to study Veda and subsidiary lore without any eye to motives of profit as a duty and to understand it, to teach the Veda without demanding a fee beforehand, to perform sacrifices and to make gifts, 937; who is not a Vaiṣṇava is declared as a heretic by Padmapurāṇa and Vṛddha-Hārta 976; Yāj. provides that even a learned br. should refuse gifts and that the king should donate to learned brāhmanas, land, houses and marriage expenses or br. should

approach a king or rich person for their 'Yogakṣema' 936.

Brāhmana or Brāhmanas (texts, acc. to context), all those parts of the Veda which are not or cannot be called mantras constitute B. 1222-23; are primary sources of information about sacrifices, ritual, priests etc. 1223, contain oldest prose found in any Indo-European language 1223, contain numerous myths and legends, 1223; contents can be divided into two classes viz. vidhis (hortatory) and arthavādas (explanatory or laudatory) 1223; often mention contests between Gods and Asuras and abound in etymologies 1223; order (*krama*) of rites as expressed in mantras is to be preferred to the order contained in Br. texts 1316; principal purpose and aim of Br. of the Veda is to prescribe the rituals of sacrifices, to narrate myths and legends about sacrifices and to state rewards of sacrifices, 1497; ten characteristics of B. acc. to Vṛthakāra 1223n.

Brāhmaṇaka, a country where brāhmanas followed profession of arms, acc. to Pāṇini 1638.

Brahmanaspati, as the creator of Gods in Rg. X. 72. 2, 1485.

Brahmānda-Purāṇa (vide note on pp. 895-96), 90n, 117, 119, 133, 147, 149, 184n, 541, 649n, 652n, 687, 690n, 693, 734, 735n (on Kalpas of Atharvaveda), 748, 817, 822, 824n, 840n, 841

- (many verses identical with those of Vāyu), 845n (on period between Parikṣit and Nanda), 850n, 851-2, 853n, 854-56, 861-3, 903n, 920 (Saptārcis mantra), 939n, 946-7, 960 (three kinds of *bhakti*), 976-77, 994 (list of Avatāras—different from usual one), 1042 (Lalitāmāhātmya of), 1102, 1187n (has verses that are also found quoted by Śabara), 1223n, 1372n, 1383, 1390n, 1470n, 1521, 1526, 1528, 1574, 1629n (for word 'sanātana-dharma'), compiled or revised about 320-335 A D 854; probably composed near the source of the Godāvari, 895; divided into four *pādas* besides Lalitopākhyāna 845, is found of etymology, 890; one of the oldest of Purāṇas, has hundreds of verses in common with Vāyu 896, Skanda says there was first only one Purāṇa, viz. Brahmandā, 895.
- Brahmapurāṇa 43, 45, 82, 90, 106n, 118-9, 169n, 201n, 202-3n, 221, 243, 588n, 660, 682, 686n, 687, 691, 693, 695, 754, 763n, 824n, 833, 851, 857, 862n, 903n, 915-16, 919, 929, 931, 935, 947n, 950, 962n, 964, 968, 971, 994n, 1046n, 1096n, 1120, 1121 (on nyāsa), 1127n, 1132, 1213, 1383 (on Śankhya), 1431n, 1438n, 1521 (on creation), 1526n, 1527-8, 1582, 1590, 1628n, chapters 10-175 containing 4610 verses deal with tirthas, 894. composed between 10th and 12th
- A. D. acc. to Prof. Hazra, 894, has 10000 verses acc. to Nārāyaṇa and 25000 acc. to Agni, but the printed one has about 14000 verses, 833, one recension of B discarded by Ballālasena, 869, 894; Note on, 893-94, present B. probably compiled in some part through which the Godāvari flows 894, that printed in Ānan. Press appears to be a late compilation and numerous quotations in Jimūtavāhana, Aparārka, Ballālasena are not found in it, 893.
- Brahmārpana, meaning of, 1412n.
- Brahmasāvitri-vrata, 92, 94n.
- Brahmasiddhānta 66n
- Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta, 511n, 515n, 649n, 658, 676, 680n, 696n.
- Brahmasūtra-vide Vedāntasūtra, Gītā had before it several works, called Brahmasūtra, 1173-4
- Brahmavivarta-purāṇa (note on, 894-95), 34, 95n, 97n, 104n, 106, 114, 119n, 125, 129, 132n, 134n, 135n, 138, 148, 213n, 774, printed in Ānan Press, Poona, in four kāndas, viz. Brāhma, Prakṛti, Gaṇapati and Kṛṣṇajñāna, several verses q in Sm C, Hemādri as from it are not found in the printed one 895.
- Brandon, S G. F, a. of 'Time and mankind' 475.
- Breasted, a. of 'Ancient Times' 521n.
- Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, 24, 62, 103, 126, 464, 475, 491, 525,

534, 559, 670, 732n (on dreams), 771n, 772n, 864n, 866, 918, 944-5 (emphasis on *duṣṭā*), 972 (on last thought), 1043 (explains Rg. VI. 47. 18), 1063n (on 72000 nādis), 1097 (eulogy of Gāyatrī), 1131 (mandala of the Sun), 1169, 1202, 1295, 1358n, 1364n (derivation of Purusa), 1370 (Yājñavalkya expounds *brahman* to Janaka and answers angry brāhmanas in his court), 1373 (varṇas), 1387-88, 1403n, 1404-5, 1417n, 1433 (prāna as symbol of brahman), 1435, 1448, 1451n, 1459n, 1460, 1468 ('mantavyah' implies *tarka*), 1471, 1478, 1481, 1486, 1488n, 1499, 1501, 1504, 1507-8n, 1512-3, 1535 (frequently has the words 'apapunarmrtyum jayati'), 1541 (I. 4. 10 quotes Rg. IV. 26. 1), 1545, 1547-50, 1554-9, 1566-7, 1575-76 (Free will and Determinism), 1577-80, 1585, 1587, 1602-4, 1626-27 (noblest prayer in), 1631n (sāyujya and salokatā occur), 1633-34, 1644 (on āśramas).

Brhadāranyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika, 1602n.

Brhad-dharma-purāṇa, 896.

Brhad-devatā, 60n, 486n.

Brhad-yama, 238.

Brhajjātaka of Varāhamihira, 479, 545n, 547-48, 559, 561n, 562, 564, 567n, 568-75, 577, 580, 582-85, 586n, 587n, 589-91, 597, 601n, 618, 624n, 638, 657n, 711n, 1645; rising times of zodiacal signs in B.

are same as those in the Babylonian system, acc. to Prof. Neugebauer 597.

Bṛhaj-jābālopaniṣad, 1076n.

Brhad-yoga (or -gī) *yājñavalkya* 31n, 42, 860n, 1152n (reads 'Purāṇa-tarka-mimāṃsā' in Yāj. I), 1217 (on *samuccaya* of jñāna and karma), 1391, 1404, 1416n, 1419n, 1438n, 1439n, 1440 (same three verses as in Manu), 1442n, cited as *Yoga* (or *Yogī*) *Yājñavalkya* in medieval digests, 1404; not later than 7th Cent. A.D. but is not the *Yogasāstra* m. in Yāj. Smṛti (III. 110), 1408; reproduces in verse *Yogasūtra* I. 24 and 28-29 as Śruti 1412n; verses cited by Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā as from *Yoga-Yāj.* are found in this but not in *Yoga-Yāj.* ed. by Mr. Diwanji, 1407; Viśvarūpa appears to quote a half verse from it 1407.

Brhad-yogayātrā of Varāhamihira, 70n, 529n, 533, 540, 545n, 558n, 591-94, 617, 622, 627n, 749, 753 (follows Yāj. about *Grahayajña*), 755, 774, 776, 778, 799, 800n, 801, 804-5, 808, 878.

Brhan-nandikeśvara-purāṇa, 156.

Brhan-nāradiya purāṇa, 892, is a sectarian Vaiṣṇava work, different from the *Nārada-purāṇa*, 892.

Brhaspati, Smṛti writer; fragments of, collected by Prof. Ayyangar, 42n, 117n, 145n, 876n, 1032, 1265-66, 1302-03 (conflict of interpretation about

- rénnon among medieval digests), assigned to Manusmṛti a pre-eminent position, 1265.
- Brhaspati, a of a work on Rājānīti 1001, 1033.
- Brhaspati, planet Jupiter, 494n (presiding deity of Pusya), 572 (indicative of life, happiness and knowledge).
- Brhaspati, verses of, quoted under Cārvākadarśana by Sarvadarśanasangraha, closely resemble verses from Viṣṇu and Padma Purāṇas, 974n.
- Brhati, com of Prabhākara on Śabara's bhāṣya 1179n, 1189; com. on B is Rju-vimalā of Śālikanātha, 1179n, 1189.
- Brhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira, 69-70, 150n, 187, 191n, 193, 216n, 242n, 463n, 476 (on units of time from ksana to kalpa), 477, 516 (praise of Yavana astrology), 517n, 519, 520, 526 (birds' flights indicate good or bad acts of person going on journey in his former lives), 530, 531n, 540-41, 543n, 547n, 559-60, 561n, 564, 574n, 584, 589n, 591-94 (names of predecessors), 607n, 608-09, 611, 613n, 616, 622, 624, 637n, 650-55, 658, 660, 662, 680, 683n, 704, 708, 711n, 731 (45th chap of, on Śāntis), 745-47, 763 (causes of earthquakes), 764 (premonitory signs of earthquakes), 765 (criticizes vrddha Garga and Parāśara), 767n, 768n (quotes 12 verses of Rāputra), 769, 773-74, 783n, 793 (Pusya-snāna), 794n, 795n, 797, 801, 804-05, 826, 877 (verses that are also found in Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara), 878, 996 (Buddha image described), 1024 (mentions mantra 'Yāntu Devagaṇāḥ' used even now), 1046n (rules about images of Durgā), 1132 (on Mandala), 1528 (names of countries in Bharatavarsha).
- Bṛhat-tīkā of Kṛmārilaḥṭṭa, referred to by Nyāyaratnākara and verses from it q by Nyāya-sudhā and Jaiminīyasūtrārthasangraha, 1188.
- Bridges, Robert, a. of 'Testament of beauty' (on what is reasonable) 1477.
- Briggs, W. G. a of 'Gorakhnath and the Kanphatas', 1429.
- British Imperialists and hypocritical talk of 'White man's burden' 1619.
- British rulers of India were generally opposed to progressive social reform in India 1636n.
- Bromage, Bernard, a. of 'Tibetan yoga', 1394.
- Brown G. W., a. of paper in 'Studies in honour of Bloomfield', 1434, 1531; conjectures that even words 'Yoga, Sāṃkhya and Upaniṣad' are coined from some Dravidian words now lost, 1531.
- Brunton, Paul, a. of 'A search in Secret India', 1393.
- Buddha (vide under Bhāradvāja, dhamma, Edwin Arnold, Hinayāna, nirvāna, sūtras, tanhā, Upaniṣads), came to be regarded by Hindus as avatāra before

1000 A. D., but some Pārāṇas and Kumārila in 7th century A. D. did not regard him so, 924, 914, 993, 1025; Ceylon tradition about Parinirvāṇa of, 356, characteristics of Buddha image, acc. to Br. S 996, claims that he only follows an ancient path, 1005, did not clearly define what he meant by nirvāṇa 941, 1008; did not think much of worship or prayer, 1007-08, expounded the four Noble Truths (or axioms, viz. Dukkha, the cause of it viz. tanhā, suppression of dukkha and Noble Eightfold Path to suppression, 939-40, Kumārila quoting Pārāṇas condemns B. as one that caused confusion as to Dharma, 824; life of B. has a noble grandeur and human appeal 1021; main matters of controversy between B. and Hindus of his day, 1007, Nārada-purāṇa holds that one entering B. temple cannot be purified by any expiation 892, Nirvāṇa era 656; Noble Eightfold path described, 939n, 1005, original teaching of B. was swamped by Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, 1070; Parinirvāṇa of B. in 483 B. C. or 477 B. C., 1070, philosophical schools 63 in times of B. mentioned by Mahāvagga 913n; preached in his first sermon the avoidance of two extremes, 939, B. rejected permanent ego and yet accepted doctrine of re-birth 941, 1004, 1577; spent

forty-five years for suffering humanity 941; taught that Salvation may be attained even in this very life, 942n, 1008, taught that it was unnecessary to be definite about God's existence and similar matters, 1007, teaching of B. held out the same promise of liberation to all men and was most attractive to śūdras and women, 925, 929-30, three early and central conceptions were Buddha, Dharma and Sangha 941, was a great reformer of the Hinduism of his times and laid sole stress on moral effort, *satya*, and *ahimsā*, 939-40, 1004, was against admission of women in the Sangha (Order), but yielded to persistent requests of Ānanda and prophesied that his pure dharma would flourish owing to this only for five hundred years instead of for a thousand years, 1025-26, 1069-70.

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa; mentions Kapila and 25 *tattvas*, 1378; speaks of Jaigisavya and Janaka, 1375, 1392, 1409n.

Buddhism (vide under Buddha, Hindus, Indian, Mahāyāna, Śūdras, Vajrayāna), became a medley of dogmas and was rent by dissensions 1021; causes of the disappearance of, discussed, final blow being given by Bakhtiyar Khilji, 1003, 1030; changes in doctrines and ideals of B. were

great before the Christian era and for some centuries afterwards 940-41; *daśaśīlas* prescribed for all priests and *pañcaśīlas* for all Buddhists and both these were derived from Upanisads and Dharma-sūtras 943-44; decline of Buddhism had set in about first half of 7th Century A. D., 1003, 1021, 1023-24, found no place for God 940, Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra schools of, 1066, Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, differences in doctrines of, 942-43, observance of high moral ideals of Buddha's preaching were found irksome even in Buddha's own life and gradually monasteries of monks and nuns became centres of idleness, pleasures and immorality, 1022-23; three *ratnas* (jewels) of B. are Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, which were compared to glass beads by Nīlapata-darśana, a later depraved cult of B 1073; Vivekānanda's severe criticism against later phases of B 1030, Tāntrik B. repudiates Buddha and introduced into the religion *makāras* and exciting food 1066, 1069n, was a revolt against the sacrificial system, against the Veda and its authority and not against caste, 939, weaning away Hindus from B. was due to *bhakti* cult propagated by Purāṇas, 970, when B. flourished large bodies of monks were fed by

people and when it disappeared large companies of brāhmaṇas came to be fed 932; works and papers on both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna B. and on causes of disappearance of Buddhism 942n, 1003.

Buddhist (or Buddhists, acc. to context): (see under *abhiśā*, *Buddhism*, *Siddha*): goal of *nirvāna* (particularly under Mahāyāna) could be reached after many births 1065; hardly any B. are strict vegetarians in these days in any country, while millions of Hindus are strict vegetarians, 947, monks of B. were tired of the strict mode of life and long waiting for the goal 1065; persecution (alleged) of B. by Puṣyamitra, by kings Śaśāṅka and Sudhanvan, by Kumārila and Śaṅka rācārya examined by Rhys Davids who disbelieves most of it and others also do the same, 1008-1011; Tantras have the same ideas about potency of mantras as Hindu T. have, 1103-1104, 1115; Tantras like Guhyasamāja (that was Vajrayāna) provided an easy method by which liberation and Buddhahood could be secured in a short time and in one life and averred that Bodhisattvas and Buddhas enjoyed all pleasures as they pleased, 1065-66n; several councils of Buddhists were held to settle the Saṅgīti (standardized scripture) 1021. Buddhist-saṅgha (Order) · pur-

- poses for which people joined Sangha are set out in 'Questions of Milinda' 1023-24.
- Buddhist texts : claimed to be smṛtis, which follows from Manu XII. 95n; no *pāli* texts can be placed earlier than the council held under Aśoka (about 250 B. C.); have ideas similar to Savitarka and Savicāra Samādhi, 1411n; such as Dhammapada and Suttanipāta speak of the truly virtuous man as brāhmaṇa 1005.
- Buhler, a. of 'Indian Paleography', 701, 817n, 873, 900.
- Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute 2, 844, 883.
- Bulletin of London School of Oriental and African studies, 654n, 740n.
- Burgelin, Pierre, author of 'L'Homme et Le Temps' 475.
- Burgess, 498, 521, 531, 997n, 1129-30 (mentions nine Buddhist *mudrās* slightly differing from Waddell's); differs from Whitney 512.
- Cantanya : founded a school of Bhakti 971.
- Caṭra : (vide under 'Month', 'Pratipadvrata', 'Year'); bright half, 9th tithi of C, has Rāmanavamivrata, 84.
- Cajori : a. of 'History of elementary Mathematics' 482n, 483n, 518, 699n.
- Cakra, vide under 'Yantra'.
- Cakrabhedha, a work enumerating different cakras in worship of Durgā 1137n.
- Cakrapūjā (worship in a circle of men and women), a revolt-
ing tantra rite described 1089-90; secrecy enjoined by most tantras about what happens at C, but Mahānirvāṇa-tantra says Śiva ruled that in Kālī age the worship should be open, one's own wife was to be the Śakti and none else, 1069n, 1090.
- Cakras (subtle centres in the human body) : vide under nādis : are six, spoken of as lotuses (*padma*) viz. Ādhāra or Mūlādhāra, Svādhisthāna, Maṇipūra, Anāhata, Viśuddha, Ājñā; and there is the Brahma-randhra figured as the pericarp of the Sahasrāra (thousand-petalled lotus) within the crown of the head, 1061-2 and n, 1137-38; are often identified with the five elements and the mind, 1062n; often identified with the nerve plexuses of modern physiology, but that appears to be wrong 1062; Avalon in tr. of Śat-
oakranirūpana (plates I to VII) illustrates the six cakras and sahasrāra together with their colours etc 1061n; speculations about C. are based on the Upanisads that the heart is like a lotus and on the Nādis 1063n; work of C. W. Leadbenter on 'Cakras' with illustrations 1061n.
- Caland, Dr. 238n, 740n, 1434-35.
- Calendar or Calendars (acc. to context); (see 'Gregorian, Metonic cycle, pacificūga, sid-dhānta, tithi, week-day, year); about thirty c. in use by disc-

- rent communities in India 641-2, 658, absolutely necessary for every Hindu, as he has to repeat many details, such as month, tithi, weekday in every religious rite, 650n, different eras used in India 641-642; European C also is defective and unsatisfactory 643-644, in Ancient Egypt 490 and n; in Rg. times, there were probably two calendars, one purely sacrificial (of 360 days), the other where a month was added to bring year in line with visible astronomical data, 490, many C. in South India, 642; meaning of word 'calendar' 641; C. Reform Committee, appointed by Govt of India, with Dr. Meghnad Saha as President, to examine existing pañcāṅgas and for submitting proposals for an accurate and uniform calendar for the whole of India, 711, 713-174; requirements and contents of modern C used for religious and civil purpose 645, several year beginnings in different parts of India 641, some C. based on Nautical Almanac and so called *ḍṛḷ* or *drk-pratyaya* 642, starting point of Hindu calendar-makers based on *Sūryasiddhānta* is at present more than 23 degrees to the east of the correct vernal equinox point, the difference being called *Ayanāṃśa* 711, works for readers interested in Calendar Reform 714n.
- Calendar Reform Committee Report of 1953, 648-49, 657n, 665, 711, 713-14, contains a long list of Hindu festivals but hardly any original authorities are cited 253, main recommendations of, for civil and religious calendar 714-17.
- Cambridge History of India, Vol I: 844, 849.
- Cambridge Medieval History 933n.
- Campāsasthī 299.
- Cāmundā, human victims were offered to, 186.
- Canda and Muṇḍa, demons killed by Devī 156.
- Cāṇḍālas had become untouchables long before Chān. Up 1633.
- Candikā, temple of, Guggulu burnt in 39.
- Candipāṭha 171-173.
- Cannon, Dr. Alexander, a. of 'Invisible Influence' 1092, 1112n, 1453n.
- Canterbury, income of the See of the Archbishop of, has been 15000 £ a year 1640n.
- Caraka-Saṃhitā: com of Cakrapāṇi on 1396; on Kāla 474, on prognostications about a patient from messenger's condition or physician's actions when messenger arrives 812; refers to Sāṅkhyas and Yogins and some Sāṅkhya doctrines 1378-79.
- Caranavyūha 735n.
- Carrell, Alexis, a. of 'Man the unknown' 1092.
- Cārṇakadarśana, arguments of, against sacrifices and śrāddhas 975.

Cāsa bird, with something in its beak flying to the right of a man, a good omen 526.

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Murari Vs. Nenbai, I. L. R. 17 Bom. 351, 437.

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Vithal Vs. Prahlada I. L. R. 29 Bom. 373, 1292n.

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Catalogue of Deccan College Ms., Vol. XVI on Tantra 1049n.

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Cave temples of India, work on, of Fergusson and Burgess 178, 997n.

Chakravarti, Prof. Chinaharan, Papers of, on Tantra 1149.

Chakravartin, Dr. P. C., n. of 'Doctrine of Śakti in Indian Literature' 1048n.

Chaldeans, astronomers and dream- interpreters in high favour with Babylonians 781; held that five planets controlled the destinies of men and identified Babylonian deities with them, 548, 683; temples where singing and worship of five planets on successive days prevailed 683.

Chanda, Ramprasad, on 'Paśya mitra and Śunga Timpura' 1009n.

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- Chandovicic 701
- Chandrasekhara S. a of 'Communist China today' (1961) 1474n, 1684n
- Change (or Changes) · (vide *Kaivārjya, dharma, mīmāṃsā, smṛtis*), in religious rites and usages could be made and were made if common people came to condemn or hate them, 6
- even if a few orthodox people may be opposed to change, 1267-71, 1469; change is the one absolute in the long history of our religious or social ideas 1271; examples of fundamental changes in conceptions, beliefs and practices made from ancient times to medieval times by various devices, 1265-7, 1629; people should be free to introduce or recognize such changes in practices as are required or have already taken place in changed circumstances and this course sanctioned even by Manu and Yāj. and by eminent medieval works like the *Mitākṣarā* 1272; should not be merely for the sake of change or for the whims of some leader 1272.
- Charpentier, Prof. J. on meaning and etymology of *pāṇā* 37.
- Chatre, K. L., efforts of, to introduce modern calculations in Hindu almanacs 712.
- Chatterji, Dr S. K. on 'Sivāli', criticized 64
- Chaudhary Radhakrishna, 978.
- Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929). fixed 14 years (later raised to 15 by the Hindu Marriage Act 25 of 1955) as minimum age for girls' marriages and is partly responsible for giving rise to the modern problem of spinsters in Hindu Society, 1338
- China (vide under *Bagchi*): Tantra doctrines gained curre-

- ney in C. under the influence of Amoghavarsa, who translated many works into Chinese between 746-771 A. D., 1040; debt of China to India, papers on, 1618n.
- Chinnaswami M. M. . edited Appayya-dikṣita's work in 60 verses with Appayya's com. called Madhvamata-vidhvaṁsana, 1219.
- Chintamani, Prof. T. R. 152n, 1161 (agrees with Prof. Nilakanta Sastri that there were three Jaiminis).
- Choudhuri, Prof. N. N. 1033n (view of, that Indian Tantricism has its origin in Bon religion, criticized).
- Christianity, doctrines of original sin, of damnation of unbaptized infants, of predestination appear strange to non-Christians 1594; A. Robertson asserts that Christian morals have never been practised and that a society would not last for a month if run on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount and Prof. Whitehead and W. R. Matthews appear to agree with him 1481n; Christian people of Europe and America during the last four centuries achieved great wealth and prosperity by throwing to the winds the Sermon on the Mount, by imposing slavery on millions, but after the two world wars they have begun to preach the necessity of benevolence, kindness, restraint, which virtues were emphasized for all men by Br. Up. V. 2 1-3, idea of Karma and Reincarnation prevailed among Jews and Christians till 561 A. D., 1546n; on what happens after death 1550n, writers like Robertson and H. T. A. Fausset hold that Western man is very little sustained or guided by the doctrines of orthodox Christianity and that European civilization is dissolving 1477n, what was Christian in Ch. largely disappeared from 1700 A. D. acc. to C. H. Tawney 1481n.
- Christians, vide under 'Syrian'.
- Cicero, did not believe in astrology, 550.
- Cirajivn persons, eight named 208n.
- Civilization, various definitions of 1614-16, (vide under culture, Spengler, Toynbee, De Beus); two types of integrated cultures, acc to Sorokin, 1615n.
- Civilizations, only two, viz. Indian and Chinese, have continued for about 4000 years 1617-18.
- Clark, W. E. on 'Hindu Arabic Numerals' 699n.
- Oleostratus, acc. to Pliny, formed the Zodiac 566.
- Cognitions: according to PMS, all cognitions are intrinsically valid in themselves (*svataḥ-pramāṇa*), but their invalidity may be established extraneously (*parataḥ*) 1212, according to Prabhākara every experience as such is valid, 1202.
- Coins, of Kaniska and Chandra

- gupta (of Gupta dynasty), 186, 901.
- Colebrooke, essays of, 498, 518 (on Hindu algebra), 582n, 699n, 1220.
- Colonial policy, British, elements and results of 1659-60.
- Golson, F H., a. of 'the Week' 550, 677-78
- Communism (vide under 'Chandrasekhara', 'Lyon' and 'Wolfe') 1473-74, is really a form of worship i.e. worship of man or such men as Lenin and Stalin in place of the worship of God, 1473, catchwords and slogans of, 1473; in return for physical well-being, common people under C bargain away several freedoms, such as thinking for themselves, freedom of expression etc. 1473; no secret is made by communists that they want to bring the whole world under C. 1473, universal exhibition of portraits of great Soviet leaders (some of whom were recently declared by successor leaders to be no better than murderers) proclaims the necessity of worship even in a godless society 1474.
- Conjectures, bold, should not be made; but if made, should be announced and treated as such 1531; danger that C. of past famous scholars are regarded as established conclusions by later writers 1531; warning of Acton 'guard against the prestige of great names, no trusting without testing' should always be remembered, 1531.
- Constellation, same, is given different names 566.
- Constitution of India, referred to 1614, criticized 1664-1667.
- Coomaraswamy A.; a of 'Hinduism and Buddhism' 1007; a of 'Buddha and Gospel of Buddha' 1131n (for Bhūmi-sparśa mudrā); 1656 (other works)
- Copernicus denounced by Luther 512.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: Vol. I Aśoka Inscriptions, ed. by Hultsch, 600n 668n, 686n, 1015, 1017, 1645n; Vol II Kharosthī Inscriptions ed. by Sten Konow, 668n; Vol III (Gupta Inscriptions) ed. by J. F. Fleet, 669-70, 680n, 683n; Vol. IV Kalacūri Ins. (by Prof. Mirashi), 220, 246 (grants on solar and lunar eclipses), 248, 670, 1425n.
- Cosmography (see under Upanisads, Purānas): Kirfel's systematic work on C. of ancient India is based on Purāna material and also on Buddhist and Jaina material, 1523n; Paurānika C. had been established long before 4th century A D 1529.
- Purānas devote thousands of verses to the description of the divisions of the earth called dvīpas and varṣas, mountains, oceans, rivers, countries etc; and Dharmaśāstra works quote them 1523.
- Cosmology - 1483-1529 (vide under 'Atomic theory'; 'Creation', 'God', 'Heaven and

- Earth', 'pralaya'): all Dharma-sāstra writers are agreed on the existence of God and rarely adduce arguments for that purpose, 1483; argument from design was present to the mind of the propounders of Vedānta 1485; Christian theologians have put forward various arguments for the existence of God, summarised by William James, which are mainly four 1483 and a comparison of ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek and Indian ideas on C. in 'Apes and Men' by H. Peak, 1502n; Grousset's observation on Indian scheme of creation and dissolution of the universe compared to Roman ideas 1503-4; Gerald Heard's remarks about the helpfulness of Sanskrit cosmology as compared with Hebrew and Christian dogmas 1504; originally there was no atomic theory in C., but from 4th B. C. in Greece and from Kaṇāda, the founder of the Vaiśeṣika system in India, it began to prevail 1486; principal questions in C. are two and the whole conception of C. has been revolutionized by developments in Geology, Biology, Physics and Astronomy during about one hundred years, 1502n. whether in the Upanisads or later works C. is based on geocentric theory 1515; works on Vedic C. 1485-86n.
- Coster, Geraldine, n. of 'Yoga and Western Psychology' 1394, 1427, 1455.
- Countries, m. in the Upanisads 1522-23; m. in Purāṇas 1527-28; m. by Pāṇini 1528n; m. in Bhīṣmaparva and nakṣatra-kūrmādhya of Brhat-saṁhitā 1527-28; Ptolemy's treatment of, 555.
- Cows, honoured on certain tithis called Yugaḍi, Yugāntya etc. 293-94; praise of 204n; worship of, on Balipratipadā, 204.
- Cow or Bull, offered in several rites in the Vedic age, as shown in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 939-40, 1268-69; flesh-eating came gradually to be looked down upon and so cow sacrifices became most abhorrent and were prohibited 1269.
- Cowell, E. B., translated Śāṇḍilya-bhaktisūtra, 957-58.
- Cowper, English Poet, believed that earthquakes were caused by God as punishment for men's sins, 764.
- Craig, Catherine Taylor, n. of 'Fabric of Dreams' 782.
- Cramer, F. C., n. of 'Astrology in Roman Law and Politics' 597.
- Creation (and dissolution) of world or universe: (vide under 'God', 'asat', 'man', 'satā' (reality), 'Nāsadīyasūktā', Upanisads): 1491; Atharva-veda has several hymns on C, but they are verbose and wanting in depth, 1493-95; Atharva-veda puts forward Skambha (identified with rajapati) as

Creator, also Kāma and Kāla 1493-95; C. is put in Upaniṣads in the distant and dim past, while in Biblical chronology it is put at 4004 B. C. following James Ussher, Arch bishop of Armagh, in 17th century 1506n, description of state before C in Rg. X. 129; none in reality, acc. to PMS and Śloka-vārtika, 1209-10, 1483n, Mahābhārata, particularly Śāntiparvan, frequently states theories of C. 1517-18, purpose of the description of creation and dissolution in the Smṛtis, epics, Purāṇas, etc. is, acc. to Kumārila, to show the distinction between the powers of *daiva* and human effort, 1261-62; Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to C. 1519-22; statements in the Upaniṣads about creation are not to be taken, acc. to Śāṅkara, literally, they are meant to lead on to the knowledge of *brahman* and non-difference from *brahman* 1485, 1506, Sāṅkhya scheme of guṇas, tanmātrās etc. brought in describing creation by Nārāyaṇa or Hiraṇyagarbha, as in Matsya, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya 1519-22, several theories on C. in Manu-smṛti, two of which have some Sāṅkhya doctrines, 1515-17, several hymns on C. in Rg. (X. 72, X. 81-82, X. 90, X. 121, X. 129) examined and it is shown that the Creator is called by various names, 1488-91; several references in Rg.

to the creation or support of heaven and earth by different gods, 1492; statements about Cr. and dissolution of the universe in the Upaniṣads are valid only on the practical or empirical plane but from the highest metaphysical point of the Vedānta, there is no Cr. nor dissolution, the individual soul is not really in bondage 1506, Tai. Br. passages on creation and Prajāpati as creator 1496-97; Upaniṣads like Tai (III. 1) and Chān. (III. 14) state that the creation, preservation and absorption of all *bhūtas* is due to *brahman* 1484, 1500; various statements about C. in Śat Br. 1495-96, Vedāntasūtra relies on Upaniṣads that *brahman* is the creator, sustainer and destroyer, 1484; Yāj Smṛti 1519.

Creator (vide under '*brahman*', God, '*Nāsadiyasūkta*') in Rgveda different Gods (such as Indra, Mitra, Prajāpati, Varuṇa) are referred to as creators of heaven and earth, 1491-93, Kausītaki Br. mentions Prajāpati as the creator and identifies him with Yajña, 1497, no name given to Cr. in Nāsadiya Sūkta, but Cr. is only mentioned as '*Tadekam*' (that one) as in Upaniṣads 1490-91; Tai. S. names Prajāpati several times as creator of gods, asuras, people and as performing *tapas* for that purpose, 1493

Cūdāmani, a work on astrology

- mentioned by Sārāvali and Vasantarāja 805n.
- Cūdāmani, a Yoga, 249.
- Cullavagga, 1037, 1069-70, 1663.
- Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, papers on Tantra, 1150.
- Culture, definitions of, 1614-1616, and civilization sometimes used as synonyms 1614; difference between 1616.
- Cunningham, a of 'ancient Geography of India' 1528n; a. of Archaeological Survey Reports, 1046n; on 'Bhilsa Topes' 1026; on 'Indian Eras' 648, 655, 661, 685.
- Customs, vide under 'usages' and 'change'.
- Cyavana, a writer on Astrology 591.
- Daftari, Dr. K. L.; criticized about views on Manu and Saptarshi 693, works of 644, 714n.
- Dagdhayoga* (an inauspicious conjunction) defined 707.
- Daiva (luck): meaning of, acc. to Yāj. Smṛti 544n; meaning of, acc. to Vasantarāja 807; three views on importance of D. and human effort, 545.
- Dakṣa-smṛti, 1409 (Yoga defined), 1425n (Padmāsana), 1448 (six verses from), 1459, 1645.
- Dakṣiṇā (fees in a Vedic sacrifice), 1329-31; great divergence of views about the D. to be given 1329n, is to be given by the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) who is to engage priests to perform rites in a sacrifice and is not given for an unseen purpose 1329; items (various) which may constitute D. in different *yāgas* set out by Tāndya Br. to be distributed by the *yajamāna* himself acc. to the method of unequal distribution set out in PMS, 1329; Madanaratna provides that to Paśubandha the unequal distribution does not apply 1330; Manu mentions this method of unequal distribution in the Veda and extends its principle to men working jointly on joint undertakings such as house construction, 1330; Medieval Dharmaśāstra works follow the Pūrvaśaka view of equal distribution (X. 3. 53) as an equitable rule in the case of liability of several sureties and other matters, 1330-31.
- Dakṣmāmūrṭi-saṁhitā 1060n (on Cakras), 1066n.
- Dāmāji, devotee of God Vithoba of Pandharpur, 951.
- Damanakāropana (worship of various deities with Damanaka plant) 311.
- Dānasāgara (written in 1169 A.D.) by Ballālasena, king of Bengal: (vide under Ballālasena): 220, 312, 830, 833n, 837, 867-71; discards certain Pūrānas and Upapurānas, 868; mentions 1375 dānas in all, 867-868; does not cite Kṛtya-kalpataṛu 870; one of the early digests 870, 935.
- Dānas (see under gifts) 312, 759 (ten *dānas*).
- Daniel, a book in the Old Testa-

- ment : refers to Chaldeans and astrologers 548, 781.
- Daniel, Thomas, painted in 1780 A. D. the scene of the *Visarjana* of Durgā 176n
- Danielou, Allain, a. of 'Yoga, the method of re-integration' 1394, figures and names of *āsanas* in, 1426, 1428; for Mantra-yoga, Layayoga etc. 1427.
- Darius the 2nd, about 418 B. C., 595; the first D (522-486 B. C.) employs the word *Hindu* (for *Hindu*) the people to the west and east of river *Sindhu* 1613.
- Darśana or Darśanas (philosophic points of view) : are many, as *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* shows 1182n; famous and orthodox d. are six 1182n, 1652.
- Darśan, of great men (like Gandhiji and Aurobindo) explained by Sheean, 1463n.
- Darwin 1502n.
- Das, S. R., paper of, on 'Study of Vrata rites in Bengal' in 'Man in India' (1952) Vol. 32 pp 207-245, 60.
- Das, Sudhendu Kumar on 'Śakti or Divine Power', 1048n.
- Daśagitikā (of Āryabhata) 680, 704n.
- Daśaharā-vrata, on 10th of bright half of *Jyēṣṭha* 90-91; so-called because it removes ten sins 90-91.
- Daśanirṇaya of Hārila Venkatanātha 59, 138; contains conclusions on ten vratas of which *Jayantinirṇaya* is one 138.
- Daśarā- (vide under *Aparājita* and *Vijayādaśmi*); Durbars and processions held in Baroda and Mysore on this day 192-193; speculations about origin of, 194; worship of weapons of war and implements of trade on 193; word derived, 194n.
- Daśasloki 118n.
- Dasgupta, Dr. S. B., a. of 'Introduction to Tāntrika Buddhism' 1066n.
- Das Gupta, Prof. a. of 'Indian Philosophy' in 5 volumes, 844, 898 (on *Bhāgavata* in Vol. IV), 1205n (Vol. II on *Lokāyata*), 1383, 1393 (on 'Yoga Philosophy'), 1395 (on identity of two *Patañjalis*), 1397.
- Daśavatāracarita of Ksemendra (composed in 1066 A. D.), 990, 1074.
- Datta, Bibhutibhushan, a. of 'The science of the *Śulba*' (a study in early Hindu Geometry) 1132n.
- Dattakamīmāṃsā, 1336 (widow cannot adopt a son).
- Dattātreyā (or Datta). described in *Mārkaṇḍeya* as avatāra of *Viṣṇu*, given to drinking, fond of female company and staying near a water reservoir on *Sahya* mountain and called *Avadhūta*, 903, instructs *Alarka* in *Yoga*, 903; propounded *ānvīkṣikī* (*adhyātmanavidyā*) to *Alarka* and *Prahlāda* 903n, story of his conferring boons on *Kārtivīrya* occurs in several *Purāṇas* 903n.
- Dattātreyā Tantra 1051
- Daids - (vide under *Rhys Davids*.)

Davidson, M. on 'Freewill and Determinism' 1575.

'Dawn of Astronomy', a work of Sir Norman Lockyer 512.

Day (vide 'Babylon', Babylonica, 'tithi': begins at sunrise with Indian writers 676, 682; civil d. is interval between two consecutive sunrises, 675; civil d. begins at midnight in modern times 676; differences about the beginning of d. 675-676; difference between tithi and d. 675, divided into eight parts by Kautilya, Dakṣa and Kātyāyanasmṛti 675, five parts of, in Śatapatha and by others, 101, 675, fifteen muhūrtas of d. and night each, 675; Kautilya knew only a day divided into thirty muhūrtas or 60 nādis and mentions no *horas* or hours 684; longest and shortest day of 36 and 24 ghatikās respectively, acc. to Vedānga-Jyotiṣa 538n; three parts of, mentioned in Rgveda 675, two meanings of, (1) from sunrise to sunrise and (2) from sunrise to sunset 675; two systems of dividing d into 60 *ghatikās* and 24 hours, 682-683, various views about divisions of d. into 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 or 15 parts, 267.

Dāyabhāga, (a work) 1032n, 1233, 1281-82, 1292 (on meaning of 'mātā'), 1302-3, 1309, 1316n, 1320.

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De, Dr. S. K., 1038, a. of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' 112-3, 120,

980.

De Beus, a. of 'Future of the West', disagrees with Spengler and Toynbee, 1617.

De Felicitation volume, paper in, by present writer on Pūrvamīmāṃsā 1160.

Death. (vide atheism, heaven, punarjanma): ancient Indian doctrine about what happens after death preferred by some western writers to Biblical ideas 1594-95, last thought at death supposed to lead to an appropriate future life 972-3; signs of approaching d. 731n; three possibilities as to what happens after d. of body, discussed 1550-51, Upanisads like Chāṇ. and Br. contain germs of that idea (of last thought) but Gītā clarifies the position 972-3.

Debts a brāhmana (this includes the three varṇas) is born with three debts to sages, gods and ancestors and discharges them respectively by *brahmacarya* (i.e. Veda study), sacrifices and birth of son, 1318n, 1626, Mahābhārata added a 4th debt, viz. to be good to all men 1626.

Decimal numeration system in India goes back thousands of years, 699.

Decimal place value notation 699-701, invented by Indians, 483n, 518, one of the most fertile inventions of man 699-70; was introduced in the 12th century in Europe by the Arabs who borrowed it

- from India, 483n, 699 and n (for authorities)
- Demetrius, Greek king, 827n.
- Democracy or Democracies. in modern D. rational discussion of problems or measures comes last and vital questions are often decided by party loyalties or personality cults or by lust for power, 1472
- Democritus (died about 370 B. C.) adumbrated the atomic theory in Greece 1486.
- Descartes, 1478
- Desmond, Shaw, a. of 'Re-incarnation for every man', states that re-incarnation doctrine was taught in the Christian Church till 551 A. D.; 1546n.
- Deussen, Paul (vide under Upanisads, Vedānta), a. of 'Philosophy of Upanisads', 1026n (high praise for āśrama system), 1486n, 1491 (on Nāsadiya hymn), 1500 (tribute to Upanisad sages), 1541, 1548 (high eulogy of Br. Up. IV. 4 5-7), 1552-53 (holds that Rg I 164 12 has nothing to do with Devayāna and Pitryāna, criticized), 1553-54 (criticized as to meaning of Rg X 88 15), 1577 (theory that Kṣatriyas were the original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts, criticized as contradicting himself and as wrong), 1580-82 (criticized for holding Sanat-kumāra as Kṣatriya and Nārada as brāhmana; 1585 criticized for wrong translation of Rg. (IV. 26 1, 'aham Manura-bhavam' etc.); 1604, 1625 (explains the implication of the illustration of rivers merging into sea), 1627, 1646 (on āśramas), 1647n
- Deuteronomy 677.
- Devala, writer on astrology 591, 622.
- Deralā, a. of Smṛti, 31, 41, 51, 55, 65n, 78n, 79, 81, 96, 97n, 100n, 103n, 116, 182, 202n, 204n, 214n, 215n, 249n, 480, 650, 1242, 1266 (allowed brāhmana to eat food from certain śūdras).
- Devala, author of a Dharmasūtra 1431-32, explains the words prāṇa and apāṇa as 'Śaṅkarācārya' does on Br. Up. I. 5 3, 1435; mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya 1353, 1435, quotations from D in Aparārka and Kṛtyakalpataṛu on Sāṅkhya and Yoga, 1380-81, 1409, 1435, 1439n, 1445 and n, 1447-48, 1453, 1458, states falsehood to be of two kinds 1421n
- Devalaka (brāhmana): meaning of 936; unfit for being invited at a Śrāddha 936.
- Devamitra Dharmapāla, a. of 'Life and teaching of Buddha', 1003, 1009n
- Devāpi and Śantana, story of, 1203
- Devapratisthātattva 1106, 1122
- Devapūjā. (vide under 'pūjā'). 31-37, procedure of Nara-simhapurāṇa to be followed in, acc to Aparārka 1024; sixteen upacāras (items of worship) in, 34; Upacāras may be in-

creased up to 36, or reduced to five 34.

Devasthali, Prof. G. V., a. of 'Mīmāṃsā, the Vākyaśāstra of ancient India' 1201.

Devasvāmin, writer on astrology, 591.

Devatā, of a nakṣatra or tithi, is often employed in the texts to indicate the *nakṣatra* or *tithi* itself 558.

Devatā : Discussion of question what is meant by D. with reference to which an offering is cast into fire leads to startling results in P. M. S 1207-09; D. is a subordinate element in a sacrifice and *havis* is principal matter and in a conflict between the two decision rests on *havis* (in PMS) 1207; D. is a matter of words (says Śabara) and when an offering is directed by Veda to be made to Agni, one cannot use a synonym like Pāvaka, 1207-8; Jaimini and Nirukta agree as to the nature and function of D. in a sacrifice, 1276, phala (reward) is conferred by the sacrifice and not by D. (like Agni etc.) 1208, several opinions on who the Devatās are, to whom a hymn is addressed or an *havis* is offered 1208, though some Vedic passages speak of the body of D. and that it drinks and is lord of heaven and earth, they are (merely) laudatory 1208.

Devatā : Venkatanātha or Venkaṭadeśika (1269-1369 A. D.)

a. of 'Śeṣvara-mīmāṃsā', criticizes both Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools and brings in God as the dispenser of rewards of sacrifices 1209.

Devavrata, a purifying text, viz. Rg. VIII. 95. 7

Devayāna and Pitryāna Paths- (vide under *Paths*): described in Br Up. VI. 2 and Chān. Up. V 10 and brought in relation to the doctrine of transmigration described in Br. Up. IV. 4. 5-7 and III. 3 13, 1551-58; men that have to go by D. and P. paths 1551-58, 1563; mentioned in Rg X. 2 7 and X. 18. 1, 1553.

Devayātrotsava, tithis on which Yātrā festivals of several gods are to be celebrated 316, 317.

Deveśvara. m. by Kṛtyaratnākara on the definition of 'vrata' 30.

Devibhāgavata, 176n, 178, 829n (states that Matsya is first out of 18 Purāṇas), 830 (mnemonic verse containing first letters of 18 Purāṇas), 890 (note on), 916, 918n, 921, 924, 974n, 994n, 1033n (verse 'gurur-brahmā' etc), 1039n, 1062n (on *cakras* and *sahasrāra*), 1064, 1072, 1076n, 1121 (states nyāsa should be part of Sandhyā worship), 1127 (Khēcari-mudrā), 1130 (on mudrās).

Devimāhātmya (in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, also called Saptasāli, Candi). 155, 176n: Chapters of, arranged in three parts 155n; has only about 573 to 590 verses, though called Saptas-

- śati, 155n; oldest known ms. of, is dated 998 A. D. 155n; one of the chief works of Śāktas 1041, some verses of, are called *Kavaca*, *argala* and *līlaka*, that are outside the D. 155n; verses of, are treated like a Vedic hymn or verse with *rsi*, metre, *devatā* and *vinīyoga* 155n.
- evī-Pūjā. (vide under Durgā-pūjā)
- Devī-Purāna, 50n, 54, 61n, 76n, 156, 170-1, 174, 176, 179n, 180-81, 184-5, 212n-214, 215n, 244, 572n, 1093 (q. by Aparārka), 1108, devotes considerable space to Durgā-pūjā 156, discarded by Ballāsa-sena for several reasons 869, note on 889-90.
- Dhamma, three meanings of the word in Buddhism 941.
- Dhamma-cakka-ppavattana-sutta 939n.
- Dhammapada, verses on who should be called brāhmana 1005n, 1637.
- Dhāraṇā · Aṅga (6th) of Yoga, 1446-7; M. in Śāntiparva, 1400-1, meaning of, 1446.
- Dhāraṇis (Talismanic sentences among Buddhists), 1104n.
- Dharma : (vide under 'change', Pūrvamīmāṃsā, Satya, Smṛti) differs in each Yuga, 1266; investigation of D. has four aspects, viz its nature, the pramānas of it (such as Veda, Smṛti etc.), the means (sādhana) of knowing it, the fruit or reward, 1179n; Jaimini holds that śabda (i. e. Veda.) alone is the pramāna for Dharma and no other, 1183, 1185, 1265; Mahābhārata says that Dharma is the one followed by the great mass of people, 1071; Mahābhārata and Manu often refer to the high value of D. and make *artha* and *Kāma* subservient to D. 1627-28, Manu provides that as to matters not specifically provided for in Veda and Smṛtis, whatever learned brāhmanas declare to be the D. is undoubtedly so, 1278; meaning of Dharma in P. M. S. 1.1.1 is 'Vedārtha' acc. to Prabhākara school and 'Codanā' acc. to Kumārila (i. e. a religious act, a yāga) 1179n, 1184; D. is one of the puruṣārthas that has been a far-reaching one from Upaniṣad times and concerns principles which men should observe in their lives and social relations, 1627, P. M. Sūtra I. 1. 2 defines Dharma as an act conducive to a man's highest good, that is characterized by an exhortative (Vedic) text, 1183, practice of black magic is adharma, as it is sinful and condemned, though it be referred to in the Veda, 1183; Śābara holds, on account of Rg. X. 90. 16, that Veda expressly declares that Dharma means 'Yāga' 1184.
- Dharma, three important words in the Rgveda are *rta*, *vṛata* and *dharmā*, that were transformed into other meanings

later on, 21; is not immutable, but liable to change and is subject to country and time 1629; roots of (Dharmamūla), four or five, acc. to Dharmasūtras (ancient) and Yāj 1256, 1264; several classifications, one into *śrauta* (based on Veda) and *smṛta* (based on *smṛtis*), another into six (named and illustrated) 1632, Sages (ancient) had an intuitive perception of D. 1098; Sources of (fourteen), acc. to Yāj. 1152; why so called 1627.

Dharmacakra Mudrā (illustrated), 1131n.

Dharmān, meaning of, 20.

Dharmas, common to all *vaiṇas* and castes enjoined 1637, 1648

Dharmaśāstra (or Dharmaśāstras acc. to context): (vide under 'Śadācāra', *Smṛtis*): digests (*nibandhas*) on, that are printed, are not earlier than 1100 A. D. such as *Mitāksarā*, *Kalpataru*, *Aparārka*, 883-4, general tendency of medieval writers on, is to heap details on what were originally simple ceremonies, 605, influence of *Purāṇas* on 913-1002; later digests on D. adopt *prānaprasthā* mantra evolved by *Śāradātīlaka*, a *tāntrik* work, 1106; medieval works on D. make a distinction between *Smṛtis* based on Veda and those based on perceptible motives, 1262; mentioned by *śānti* and *Anuśāsana parvans* 1256-7; profoundly influenced by *Jātaka*

and *Śākhā*, 480; refused to follow *mīmāṃsā* rules in regard to *vratas*, 133, 1272n; *smṛtis* were called D. by *Manu* (II. 10), 1257, *Tau Up* provides the usage of learned *brāhmanas* of high character as source of decision in case of doubt, 1257; were known to P. M. Sūtra, 1257, works on Dh. such as *Pārijāta*, *Prakāśa*, *Kāmadhenu* that were earlier than 1100 A. D. are not yet available even in mss 884-5; works (medieval) on D. say that certain *Smṛti* texts applied to former *Yugas*, 1272n; works on Dh. rely on *Tantra* works for initiation into *mantras*, 1118, works on D. make use of the technical term *pratipatti-karma* 1231-32; works on D. must have been composed before 500 B. C., 1265, 1267, writers on D. conflicts of interpretation among, exemplified 1315-1316.

Dharmas, eight, common to all men of all dh. 1648

Dharmasindhu, 30, 71n-73n, 74¹ 84, 90, 99n, 104, 105n, 107, 112n, 113, 134-5, 139n, 142n, 146n, 188, 189n, 190-92n; 197-8, 200, 201, 204-5, 217, 232, 233n, 234n, 241, 243n, 609n, 612n, 614, 624, 672-3, 736n, 748, 755-6n, 761n, 766n, 772n, 773n, 780n, 781-82, 1117, 1121n (*nyāsa* and *mudrā* are *avardhaka*).

Dharmaśāstras of *Gautama* and *Āpastamba* disclose familiarity

- with *Mīmāṃsā* terms and principles, 1154-55
- Dharmavyādha, 721n, 1642 (a *sūdra* was endowed with *brahmajñāna*).
- Dhātupāṭha, 10.
- Dhaumya, 154n.
- There, R. C. a of 'Life of Gorakṣanath' etc (in Marathi) 1429n.
- Dhītarāstra, though congenitally blind, performed Vedic sacrifices 1280-81.
- Dhūpa (incense), various names of, 323.
- Dhyāna (7th anga of yoga), 1447-49, meaning of 1447-8, two kinds of viz *saguna* or *sākāra* and *nirguṇa* or *nirākāra*, 1449, Upanisads insist upon *dhyāna*, 448
- Dhyānbhūṭpāṇisad, 1389n, 1419n, 1426n.
- Dhyāna-yoga m by Śv. Up and Gītā 1448; m. by Manu (VI. 73) and Yāj. III 64), 1447.
- Dīghanikāya 939n, 943n, 944n, 1007n.
- Dickinson, Iowes, 1594, 1604.
- Dīksā, 1116, 1119 *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* says that Tāntrikī d. is for *sūdras* and *Vaidikī* and *mūdrā* for other varṇas, 1093, derivation of the word, 1117; details of d. given in *Śārada-tīlaka* were on the decline in *Raghuṇandana's* day, 1118, four kinds of, 1119; on receiving Tāntrik d from a guru, both *sūdra* and *brāhmaṇa* become alike, 1112; procedure of, to be undergone by one learning the Tāntrik way, 1054, proper times for d. such as eclipses, and if an eclipse be available, other matters such as *tithi*, *nakṣatra*, *vāra*, need not be considered 1117, some tantras treat d. elaborately, 1117, some tantras provide that in d guru should instruct disciple about *cakras*, 1118, symbolized a new birth for a sacrificer in Vedic times, 1116, Vedic d. observances after, 1217n
- Dīksāpiakāśikā of Viśṇubhaṭṭa, composed in *śaka* 1719 (1797 A D), 1117.
- Dīksātattva of Raghuṇandana 1118; guru for giving dīksā should be of the same sect as the disciple, but a *Kaula* is a good guru for all, 1118.
- Dīkṣit S. B. a of work on 'Hindu Astronomy' in Marathi, 484, 498, 507n, 513, 515n, 644, 679n
- Dīkṣit S. K 650n.
- Dīkṣitar, Prof. V. R. Ramachandra, 1016n (wrong in saying that Aśoka was a Hindu because he believed in *Svarga*), a. of 'Purāṇa Index' in three vol. 844, 867, 883; a of 'studies in *Vāyu* and *Matsya*', 883, a of 'some aspects of *Vāyupurāṇa*' 907; remarks of, on date of *Viśṇupurāṇa*, criticized 867.
- Dina (day), word d frequently used in *R̥gveda* in compounds like 'Sudina' 675.
- Dīnaksaya, explained, 711.
- Dio, a Roman who wrote Roman

History between 200-222 A. D., 677n.
 Diodorus Siculus 550.
 Dion Cassius 677.
 Dipālikā, com. on Yāj. Smṛti by Śūlapāni, 1404.
 Dīrghatamas, son of Mamatā 486.
 Disciple : among requirements about Tāntrik d. is the one that he must keep secret the mantra and pūjā imparted by guru, 1071; Tantras call upon d. to revolve in his mind the identity of guru, deity and mantra 1072.
 Diseases and bodily defects, deemed to be due to the sins of past lives 756n.
 Divākirtya Day, 511.
 Divākirtya Sāman, 511n
 Divālī Festival, 194-210; (see under Narakāsura, Lakṣmī-pūjana, Bali Pratipadā, Bhrātrdvitīyā); Apāmārga to be whirled over one's head on 14th, 196; Amāvāsyā in D. important day 199; called Dipāvalī or Dipālikā and also Sukharātri, Sukha-suptikā and Yaksarātri 194-195; festival comprises five items spread over five days with illuminations and crackers from 13th of dark half of Āśvina 195; Kārtika-śukla first is one of three most auspicious days in the year 201; Kārtika-śukla first if it has Svātīnakṣatra is most commended 201; lights in temples of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods, in monasteries, rooms for implements, on

cartiyas, stables, 196; not a festival in honour of a single god as Navarātra is, 194; oil bath necessary on all three days from 14th, 199; of lights, and fireworks, is most joyful of festivals and observed throughout India, though the observances differ in detail from age to age and from country to country 194; on evenings of 14th dark half and Amāvāsyā men with firebrands show the way to *pitṛs* 198; origin of, not certain 207; rites on Amāvāsyā in, 199, rites performed on the 14th of dark half of Āśvina (or Kārtika according to pūrṇimānta reckoning), 196, 198; second title of Kārtika-śukla is called Bhrātrdvitīyā 207, tarpana on 14th of Yama with seven names or 14 names, 196 and n; three days, viz. 14th, Amāvāsyā and Kārtika śukla first constitute Kaumudī festival 195, 206; usage of eating 14 kinds of vegetables on 14th in Divālī 198.

Divanji, P. C., editor of 'Yogayājñavalkya' 1404.

Divination- (vide Future, Hepatoscopy, Astrology, Upasrutī): by using Purāṇas, Rāmāyana and works of Tulsidas at random 811-2, is either voluntary or involuntary 522n, instances of voluntary d. 522n; involuntary d. depends on all kinds of phenomena, such as aspects of the sun and planets, lightning, dreams flight and cries of birds

- 522n, method of asking a maiden to eat dūrvā grass inside a purāṇa like Skanda or Rāmāyana and apply the words discovered to matter in hand 811, seat of life and the soul was supposed to be the liver in the western countries such as Rome and among Romans, heart and lungs of animals sacrificed were examined, 522n, temple priests in Babylon and Assyria made extensive collections of omens and portents, but the interpretations were almost exclusively concerned with general welfare or the king 522n
- Divyatattva 1106
- Doig, Mr Peter, 483
- Dolotsava 317.
- Dosas (disturbances or faults) 317; five in Śāntiparva 1400n, in Āp. Dh. S. (a larger number) 1390, 1400n.
- Doubt is a frequent and legitimate attitude of the mind as recognized in Br. Up. 1478; Descartes held that only one truth is beyond doubt, viz. 'I think, therefore, I am' 1478.
- Drāhyāyanaśrautasūtra, 726n.
- Dravinodas, is either Indra or Agni, 159n.
- Dravyavardhana, king of Ujjayini, based his work on śakunas on Bhāradvāja, 391
- Dream or Dreams all ancient countries and peoples used dreams for knowing future 781-82; are only indicative and not causative acc. to Vedāntasūtra, Śāṅkara, Jyotistattva, 779-80, associated with good luck or ill-luck in Vedic literature, 728-729; declaring a bad d. to another and sleeping after is commended 779, depend on men's constitution as choleric, windy etc 780, fourteen very auspicious dreams m in Jaina Kalpasūtra 777-78, if several dreams one after another, the last alone is indicative of consequences, 779; indicating approaching death 731, modern works about dreams 782; numerous d mentioned in Rāmāyana 775, objects, auspicious or inauspicious, seen on starting on a journey are also so if seen in d. 778, of Nushirwan, Sassanian king, interpreted by Buzurmīr, 781, of riding on an elephant held lucky and of riding on an ass unlucky, 775; on seeing auspicious D. one should not sleep 779, texts to be recited on seeing a bad dream, 780n, thoughts on, in, Upamsads 731, 732n; three kinds of people in modern times about dreams 782, times when dreams seen in different watches of the night bear fruit 778-779, vast literature on matters relating to D and Śāntis for them 774-75, which white or dark objects seen in D. are auspicious or otherwise 780, wise men should not be afraid of d acc. to Angiras, 775
- Dreškina, 581-83; antiquity of system of, in Egypt, at least

- from 2800 B C. 581; Brhaj-jātaka has one chapter (27) of 36 verses on descriptions by Yavanas of 36 presiding deities of, 582 Egyptian stars so called cannot be identified with known constellations except Sirius and its neighbours 582n; Greek decans had gone out of use about Ptolemy's time 583; lords of each third part of each rāśi, 581, meaning of, viz 1/3rd part of each rāśi of 30 degrees, 581, origin of the word from Greek and idea of, originated with Egyptians, 581; Sārāvalī (chap 49) differs from Brhajjātaka about descriptions of dreskānas 583, Varāhamihira on Dreskāna probably follows some Sanskrit work by a Yavana author on D. and not Ptolemy nor Firmicus nor Manilius 582n, 583.
- Dronaparva, 90n, 129, 539, 703n, 743, 764, 767, 803n, 945 (on ahimsā).
- Dukha, three kinds of, exemplified, 150n.
- Dukes, Sir Paul, a. of 'the Yoga of Health, Youth and joy', 1428n.
- Dumont, Prof. Paul Emile, 506, 599n, 1434-35.
- Durant, Will, author of 'Life of Greece' 516n, 550.
- Durgā, antiquity of pūjā of, 185-86, Arjuna's and Yudhis-thira's praise of D. in Bhīsmā-parva and Virāṭaparva, 85, 1046n; killed Śumbha and Niśumbha 186, on coins 186, names of D. in Mahābhārata 185; names of, in Kālidāsa, 1046n.
- Durgābhaktitaranginī of Vidyā-pati, 155-6, 159-61n, 163n, 165n, 167n, 169n-171n, 174n, 175, 178n-182n, 183, 184n.
- Durgāpūjāprayogattva of Ra-ghunandana 155.
- Durgārcanapaddhati of Raghu-nandana, 158n-161n, 162, 163n, 164, 166-7, 168n, 173, 174n-176n, 178n, 179 and n, 183.
- Durgotsava, 154-187, (vide under Durgā, Saptasatī). also called Navarātra, 154; all men and women of all castes and even those beyond the pale of the caste system such as Mlecchas have adhikāra for, 157, animals that may be sacrificed in honour of Durgā, 164; animals are offered principally on the 9th tithi, 168, but no female of any species is to be sacrificed, 164, Bhadrakālī, described as having 16 arms in Kālikāpurāna 163n, bilva twig to be brought and Durgā is to be invoked to abide in it, 160-61; bodhana (rousing from sleep) of Devī on different days 158-59, 181, brief statement of what is to be done from the 2nd to the 5th tithi of Āśvina or to the 9th, 159, Candigāyatrī in, 179n, celebrated all over India from 1st to 9th tithi of Āśvina-śukla in some form or other, but it is celebrated in a grand way in Bengal, Bihar

and Kāmarūpa, 154; contemplation on form of Devī 162; description of Durgotsava from 1st day to 10th, 159-177; description of the form of Devī, long and finely worded, in Matsya and Kāhikā-purāṇas, 162-63, Devī (Durgā) got different weapons from several gods, 155; Devī may be worshipped in her shrine, on mountain Vindhya, in all places, towns and villages, forests, in a hūga, in a book, in water etc, 157, 178; Durgā is said to go to sleep on 8th of Āśāḍha-śukla and hence some works provide for rousing her (bodhana) on different dates, 158.

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prasāda, 157, 173; *ghata* (a jar with a peculiar shape) is to be established and filled with water, twigs of mango and other auspicious plants to be placed thereon and worship of Durgā thereon, on 7th tithi with 16, 10 or 5 *upacāras*, 159, 162-3, 183; goats and buffaloes alone sacrificed usually in D. 165; Guggulu incense, favourite of Durgā, 164, 1047; *homa* is performed after pūjā in fire called 'Balada', with a mantra preceded by 'om' and followed by svāhā, 173; horses honoured in, by kings and those who possess them, 184; if an animal was killed as *baḥ*, what was offered was only the blood or head, 165; if brāhmaṇa offered his own blood to Devī, he would be guilty of suicide and go to hell, 165, in place of wine one should offer coconut water in a vessel of bell metal or honey in a copper vessel, 165; in Navarātra the performer has to listen to the recitation of the Vedas and from the 1st tithi to the 9th he should mutter Candipāṭha or engage a person to do so, 171; it was believed in the Vedic times and also by Manusmṛti that animals killed in sacrifices to gods and pitrs went to heaven and those who offered them did not incur sin, 168; image of Durgā with four or ten arms to be made from certain substances only or a picture is to be used, 178;

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- Eliade, Mercea, a. of 'Yoga, immortality and freedom', 1394 1651.
- Elliot, Sir Charles, a. of 'Hinduism and Buddhism' 1650n.
- Elliott H. M., a. of 'History of India' in several volumes, 1018, 1025.
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- Empedocles (born about 490 B. C. in Greece): vide under 'Elements', held the doctrine of Purnarjanma 1530.
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- Ganeśa or Ganapati · Gāyatri (Panrāmka) of, set out, 1105n, is worshipped before undertaking a vrata 32, 748; most popular god among people, the god of wisdom, bestower of success and destroyer of obstacles 718, Mūlamantra is 'gam svāhā' 1105
- Ganapatipūjā - vide Vināyaka-sānti.
- Ganeśacaturthī—vrata 145-149, also called Varadacaturthī in S. M. 145; antiquity of Ganeśa worship, 148-149, explanations about Ganeśa's elephant-head and mouse as conveyance are phantastic 149, form of Ganeśa to be contemplated upon, in, 146, if one sees the moon on night of 4th of Bhādrapada śukla he may be falsely accused of theft and should repeat the verse 'sūnah prasenam' over some water, drink the water and listen to story of Syamantaka jewel, 146, 148; identified with *brahma* in Ganapatyatharvasīrsa 149, if 4th of Bhādrapada-śukla falls on a Sunday or Tuesday it is called 'Great' (Mahatī) 146 and also sukhā if on Tuesday 148, in modern times a clay image of Ganeśa, beautifully painted, is worshipped 146, image of Ganeśa is immersed in water after a procession 148, legends about Ganeśa in Brahma-vaivarta 148, mantra is Rg. II 23 1 ('Ganānām tvā' &c. addressed to Brahmanaspati) 146; not observed in Bengal nor in Gujarat, 145; procedure of 146, procedure of, is different in Narasimha-purāna 149, proper time for performance is mid-day 145; ten names of Ganeśa 146, tithi 4th on which Ganeśa is worshipped is called Śivā 148, twenty-one dūrvā tendrī's and 21 *modakas* are offered in, 146; when Ganeśa, is worshipped on Māgha śukla 4, that tithi is called Śāntā, 148; when caturthī is mixed with 3rd or 5th tithi, then Caturthī mixed with 3rd is to be preferred, if it exists at midday, 146; worship of Ganeśa in modern

- times lasts two, five, or seven days or till Anantacaturdaśī, according to usages and tastes of people 148.
- Gaṇeśapurāṇa, note on, 889.
- Ganges, festival of, celebrated in turns over large rivers like Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Narmadā 91.
- Ganguly O. C. on 'Orissan Sculpture and Architecture' 1653n.
- Garbe, a. of 'Die Sāṅkhyha Philosophie' 1312n, edited Āp. Śr. S. 1174; edited Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya 1354, 1371; on Vodhu 1372n.
- Garga (vide Vrddhagarga) 71, 78n, 250, 479n, 578-9, 591-592, 594, 607, 637n (on graha-yuddha), 622, 633n, 742, 743n, 745, 747, 766, 767n, 772, 774, a famous ancient writer on astronomy and astrology from whom Utpala on Br. S. quotes about 300 verses, 591-92; assigned to 50 B. C. by Kern, 579, 592n; author of Mayūra-citraka, acc. to Utpala 591; dialogue of G. and Bhārgava about child's birth on Mūla-nakṣatra 597n; instructor of Atri, 591, 746n, known to Viṣṇupurāṇa as an ancient sage that knew all about omens 743n.
- Garga-gotra, known to Pāṇini, 642n.
- Gargasrotas, holy place on Sarasvatī visited by Balarāma 520n, 742n.
- Garge Dr. D. V., a of 'Citations in Śābarabhāṣya', 1200-1201; 1218 (on Śābara's contributions to exegesis), Vedie and non-Vedie), 1275n.
- Gārgi, sixty verses of, quoted by Utpala, 92n.
- Gārgī, called Vācakaṇvī, in Br. Up., a pert woman, showing no respect to Yājñavalkya 1105.
- Gārgya, 61, 73n, 77n, 691, 772.
- Gārgya Bālāki, learnt Brahman-vidyā from Ajātasatru 1579-80.
- Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, com. of Āṭv. Grhyasūtra, 1317n.
- Garments, auspicious times for wearing, new, 626.
- Garudapurāṇa, 39, 42n, 43, 49n, 70, 75n, 99, 100n, 113-14, 115n, 116n, 118n, 134n, 136n, 178, 225-26n, 230, 266n, 815, 819, 834n, 869 (discarded by Ballālasena), 820n, 967 (summary of GH in 28 verses), 1243, 1438n, 1446n; contains many verses identical with Yāj. Smṛti, 815, 889, 1590; has a verse almost identical with an introductory verse of Harsacarita, 1101; has several monosyllabic unmeaning mantras like hrām, 1105, present G. contains a summary of Parāśarasmita 889; provides that anganyāsa is part of worship, japa, homa, 1120.
- Gāthāsaptasatī 635, 681 (mentions Tuesday).
- Gandapāda, a of com. on Sāṅkhyakārikā 1351-55, 1392n; comments on only 69 verses of Sāṅkhyakārikā 1356n.
- Gautama, a writer on astrology 592.
- Gautama-dharma sūtra, 17n, 27, 103, 159n, 206, 543, 662n, 741, 818, 862n, 863, 925, 944-45,

- 1023, 1154, 1156n, 1169, 1190n, 1233, 1251n, 1252, 1256, 1257n, 1278, 1293n, 1416n, 1436, 1469, 1544n-45, 1589, 1592-93n, 1595, 1628, 1637, 1643.
- Gavāṃ-ayana, a sattra, 511n.
- Gāyadānī, festival in Bihar, Orissa and other places on Balipratipadā 205.
- Gāyatrī (Rg. III. 62-10), eulogy of, in Br. Up 1097; eulogy of, in Visnudharmottara which employs it also for black magic 877n, 1099n; to be preceded by 'om' and *vyāhritis* and followed by 'Śīras', 1099n, 1442n, syllables of G. to be reversed when employing it for black magic, 877n, 1099n, used for *nyāsa* of its letters on parts of body, 1120.
- Geldner, 498n, 538n.
- Gell, C. W. M., in Hibbert Journal, 1953, reviews Dr Schweitzer's and Dr. Radhakrishnan's works 1647n.
- Genesis (Bible) 575, 677, 1506.
- Geography, of ancient India, works on, 1528n
- Getty, A. a of 'Gods of Northern Buddhism' 1133.
- Ghatī, word known long before Mahābhāṣya 684.
- Ghatitaganaviccāra, explained 614.
- Gherandasamhitā, on Hathayoga 1427n, mentions 25 mudrās and Khecari mudrā 1127; states there are 84 āsanās, 1426.
- Ghosh, Dr. Manmohan, a of 'contributions to the History of the Indian Drama' 1130; shows that in bas-reliefs of Bayon (Angkor Thom) certain gestures in Cambodian dance and drama are similar to those in Bharata-nāṭya-śāstra 1130.
- Ghosh, N. N. 1614n.
- Ghosh, Pratāpachandra, a. of an English work on Durgāpūjā 156, 160n, 173, 184, 186; theory of, on origin of Durgāpūjā 186.
- Ghosundī, Inscription, 131, 963-64.
- Ghṛtasūktā, 758n, 802n.
- Ghurye, Dr. G. S., 845, 1152n (on Vidyās), 1615n (on Culture and Society).
- Gifts (vide under Brāhmanas), 934-36, of food praised in Rg. Ait and Tai. Br., Manu, and Purāṇas like Agni, Brahma, 934; of food to cripples, the blind, children, old men, the poor, highly praised in Padmapurāṇa 934-35, of food to *brahmacārins* and *yatis* enjoined by Kārma and Padma 935, of food in Vaiśvadeva and Bahkarina on the ground by householders to persons that had lost caste or had loathsome diseases, to cāṇḍālas, dogs, crows and even insects 935; of land to deserving brāhmanas recommended by Mahābhārata and in inscriptions on eclipses, *ayana* and *visuva* days 245-6; in Inscriptions 245-46; made to unworthy persons declared as *tāmasa* by the Gītā 938; results of g. made on nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī 500, rule that gifts to brāhmanas were to be made by day and

not by night, the exceptions being the same as in the case of bath etc. 218; special gifts required to be made on Makarasankrānti, such as sesame, garments 219; sūtras and early smṛtis before the spread of Buddhism, emphasized that religious gifts were to be made only to learned and well-conducted brāhmanas 937; universal kindness and charity in giving food to poor, disabled men and to students has prevailed to the present day in India, though recent high prices and rationing have undermined this spirit 935-36, why Purāṇas make incessant appeals for gifts to brāhmanas 938.

Gītā, vide Bhagavadgītā.

Gitagovinda, of Jayadeva, court poet of Lakṣmanasena, regards Buddha as avatāra 824, 996.

Glanville S. R. K., on 'the legacy of Egypt', 490n, 565n, 581n, 700n.

Gnā, in Rg. means 'wife' and is an Indo European word, 1044.

Goals of human life are four, 1510 (vide Purnsārtha).

Gobhila, Karmapradīpa of, 758n Gobhilagrhyasūtra, 27, 67, 69, 78, 480, 494n, 535.

Gobhila-smṛti, 53n, 218, 640n, 758n, 1266n.

Gocara, meaning of, 589-90.

God (vide under creation, Einstein, Rgveda, Vāk, cosmology; arguments for the existence of G. (vide under cosmology), Bhagavadgītā (XIII. 13-17)

contains one of the best descriptions of God as transcendent and immanent 1462; divergence about the names, nature and attributes of 1486-87; evidence for existence of G. lies in inner personal experience, acc. to W. James, 1483n; idea of the grace of G. occurs in Katha and Śvetāśvatara Up 961; idea of God's omniscience, omnipresence must be abandoned, acc. to H G Wells 1483-84n, is one acc. to Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas and higher Indian thought 118, is immanent in the Universe, acc. to Tai. Up, Chān Up, Br Up. 1486, is a pure mathematician, acc. to Jeans 1486n; is supposed to take different forms for the benefit of worshippers, 118, is transcendent and rules the universe 1486; most striking characteristic of Hindu religion, from Vedic times is that G. is one, though called by various names 1623; nature and attributes of G. on which most are agreed 1487; no place for G. in Sāṅkhya system, while in Yogasūtra G. has a secondary one 1402-3; Ontological argument for proving existence of G. 1483n; some sages at least in Rgveda times had arrived at the conclusion that there was only one Principle or Spirit, though called by various names, 1492; spirit of bargaining with God in some Vedic texts illustrated

- 1217n, supreme G. is called Vāsudeva in Gītā, 961, three main arguments for existence of G. 1484n, two difficult questions about belief in G set out 1487; views (four) on the relation of God and world, acc. to Viscount Samuel 1487n
- God and creation of the universe (vide under Creation), Prakaranapañcīkā denies a creator of the whole universe, 1207, Śloka-vārtika of Kumārila says that it is difficult to prove that God created the world or dharma and adharma and the means of attaining these, words and senses and yet performs obeisance to Śiva at the beginning of it 1207
- God, Gods (vide under 'Images', 'Īśvara'), . Ādityas, Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, are called kings (rājan) and universal sovereign in the Veda 8; all g and goddesses supposed to go to sleep on different tithis, 110-11, asked by worshippers to partake of apūpa, honey, milk, puroḥaśa etc in the Veda 35, poor men reach G. by vratas, 44-45; Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra, Śabara, Kumārila discard the idea that Veda is the word of God or that rewards of religious acts are due to the favour of God, 1209, Vedic G. have the epithet 'Vṛsa' (bull, powerful) or 'Vṛsabha' applied to them, to their chariots, weapons etc. 19; wives of gods Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and Maruts mentioned in Rg. are Indrāṇī, Varuṇāṇī, Agnyāṇī and Rodasī, but they play a very subordinate part in Rg, 1044; worship of gods and of Viṣṇu is of three kinds, Vaidīkī, Tāntrikī and Mīśrā (mixed), acc. to Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas 1093, worship of God may be performed in an image, in water, fire, one's own heart, in sun's orb or on an altar 1649.
- Godāna*, same as Keśānta, 536n.
- Gode, Prof P. K 195.
- Godhūli* or *Gorajas*, mubūrta, defined, 613-14.
- Goethe (1749-1832 A. D.); begins his memoirs with the positions of planets at his birth 551
- Goetz H, a. of 'Five thousand Years of Indian Art' (Bom.), 1656.
- Gokarna, 90n.
- Golden age in dim past, belief in, 686.
- Gomatīvidyā*, 204n.
- Gomukhaprasavaśānti, 771n-72n.
- Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, 816n.
- Gopinatha Kaviraja, M. M. 1062n (on cakras), 1063 (in J. G. J. R. I), 1187 (paper on Govt Mss in Govt Sanskrit Library at Benaras), 1355.
- Gopinath Rao, T. A., a. of 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' 1655
- Gorakhnath, pupil of Matsyendra-nātha, 1429n, works on, 1429n.
- Gorakṣaśataka (on Yoga) 1389n, 1419, 1426n-27, 1432; verses of, are found in some Yoga Upaniṣads 1389n; ed. by Shri

- Kuvalayananda, 1429, 1438n, 1441, 1451 (on final stage of Samādhi), 1458n.
- Gorer G., a. of 'Bali and Angkor', 1657.
- Gosava, Vedio sacrifice, 219.
- Goswami, Prof. S.S., a. of 'Hatha-yoga' 1394 (with 108 photographs of Āsanās), 1426.
- Gough, a. of 'Philosophy of the Upanisads' 1531; holds the view that Hindus borrowed doctrine of *punarjanma* from the indigenes 1531.
- Govadha (offering of the flesh of a bull), Kalpataru remarks that this is not permitted in Kali age, though allowed in former ages and Mit. says it should not be practised as it has become hateful to people 1270n.
- Govardhana, a city founded by Rāma on the northern part of Sahya, acc. to Brahmandā, 895.
- Govardhanapūjā on Balprati-padā, 204-205; also called Ānnakūta, 205.
- Govindacandra, king of Kanoj, granted a village after a bath in the Ganges on Aksayya tṛtīyā 89.
- Govinda Das, 1395.
- Govindānanda, commentator of Prāyaścittavivēka of Śūlapāni, explains Holākānyāya 1282.
- Gowen, H. H., a. of 'History of Indian Literature' high eulogy of Sanskrit Literature by, 1651.
- Grahaganita 665.
- Grahālāghava of Gauṣa, composed in 1520 A. D., 642.
- Grahana, vide under 'eclipse'.
- Grahayajña (vide Navagraha-sānti). 750, 753.
- Grahayuddha, explained, 587n, 589, 637; Parāśara and Garga refer to it, 637.
- Grammar (Vyākaraṇa), dealt with in P. M. S. (I. 3. 24-29), 1275, Kumārila in *prima facie* case against G. criticizes Pāṇini, Vārtikakāra and Mahābhāṣya, 1275; eight, m. in Bhāṣya-purāṇa 897; purposes of the study of, acc. to Patañjali, among which Ūha, a technical Mīmāṃsā term, is one 1158.
- Grants. on Jupiter's entrance into Vṛṣabha-rāśi 212n; on Sun's entrance into Rāśis, 212-213n.
- Grassmann 498n.
- Greek and Latin equivalents of Sanskrit words for 'rāśis', planets etc 585.
- Greeks, (see under Herodotus, astronomical knowledge, Ionians); all Greeks gradually came to be called Ionians 516; G. astronomers got from Babylonians the names of the constellations on the ecliptic 522n, 549; ambassadors of Greece such as Megasthenes to Candragupta and Demachus to Bindusāra- (Candragupta's son) 599; borrowed sexagesimal system of sun dials and twelve parts of day from Babylonians 482n; Berossus (about 280-261 B.C.) first introduced astrology among Greeks 549; debt of, to Babylonians much greater than

had been imagined, 482, debt owed by Greeks to Egypt 482, developed geometry because they could not employ ordinary arithmetical methods owing to dependence on the abacus, 482, even eminent G were surrounded by superstitions 513, Hower's poems and the works of Hesiod are oldest surviving writings of the Greeks 513; inferior to Babylonians in several respects, 482; inspiration for horoscopic astrology was received by G. from Babylon 594, mind of, was little in advance of the predecessors of the Vedic priests in science 512-13; no trace of astrology in writings of early Greeks 519, no extant literature of G is earlier than 900 B. C 513, scholars are far from insight into astronomy of Greeks before Ptolemy 518n; settled in India after Alexander's invasion, learnt Sanskrit, some wrote works in Sanskrit and became worshippers of Viṣṇu, 516, 585; tried to peep into future before the advent of astrology by oracles, dreams and inspection of entrails and liver of sacrificed animals 549; vaunted superiority of, in Arts, Philosophy and Mathematics has now been reduced owing to discoveries in Mesopotamia and other countries, 482, 700 and n, were completely captivated by astrology derived from Mesopotamia 549.

Greek words (on astrology), list of, supposed to be used in Sanskrit works like the *Brhatsamhitā* and *Brhajjātaka* by Weber and others are 37 but some like *Kulira*, *Trikona* are not so held by Kern (vide under *Jiva*) 584; some 22 Greek words have indigenous Sanskrit synonyms 584, were used by Varāhamihira and others because they were employed in ancient Sanskrit works on astrology written by Greeks in India 585.

Gregorian calendar, changes made by, 643; is unbalanced and inconvenient even now 718n; not followed in England till 1750 A. D. 643.

Gregory J C paper of, in 'Nature', Vol. 153 on Ancient Astrology, 549n, 552, 631n.

Grhastharatnākara of Candēśvara 876n

Gṛhyaparaśista 75n-76n.

Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras took their knowledge of astronomy from astronomical works 480.

Gṛhyasūtras 223, 1323n; many G. have passages on Śāntis similar to those in Kauśikasūtra 738n

Grierson G. A. 633n.

Gronset, Rene, a of 'The sum of History' tr by A and H. Temple Patterson 1003, 1499n, 1503-4, 1654 (his appreciation of Indian Art and paintings); a of 'In the footsteps of Buddha' 1009, 1039-40, a of 'Civilization of the East', Vol. II on 'India, Further India

and Malaya' 1618n, 1654-55. Growse, 141.

Guenon Rene a of 'Cr.sis of modern world' 1668 (defects of democracy)

Grunwedel, Prof. a. of 'Buddhist Art in India' 1131n.

Guenther, Dr. H. V 1150, a of 'Yuganaddha' (the Tāntrik view of life); 1066n (explains away what is meant by intercourse with cāndāla women etc.); relies on Buddhist Tantras only and tries to prove that Buddhist Tāntrikas endeavour to restore life in its entirety which is neither an indulgence in passions nor a rejection of nor escape from them 1067; views of, briefly stated and criticized 1067-68

Guest, practice of offering a cow or bull to some worthy guests prevailed in ancient times, but forbidden later, 1270n.

Guggula (incense), burnt in Candikā temple 39: favourite dhūpa of Devī 164n.

Guhya, meaning of, in Tantras, 1052 and n.

Guhyasamājatāntra (probably of 6th century A. D.) (vide under Asanga, siddhis); 1040 (contains late elements), 1050, 1053, 1055-66, 1133, 1141 etc., makes provision for endowing Sādḥaka with miraculous powers such as killing enemy with magical rites, causing rainfall in a drought 1070; mentions the six magical cruel rites 1070; puts forward a quick and short method for

realizing Buddhahood and for attainment of Siddhis through Yoga 1068-70; Siddhis are sāmānya (ordinary, such as becoming invisible) and Uttama (best viz. attaining Buddhahood) 1068; sets forth six angas of Yoga (omitting the first three of Patañjali and adding Anusmr̥ti), 1068; teaching of G. is that if psychical powers and siddhis are to be developed females must be associated with those who undertake Yoga practices 1069.

Guna (means subordinate matter or detail) 1207.

Guṇakarma (or Guṇabhūta), explained (such as pounding rice grains or wiping ladle) and contrasted with pradhāna 1237, 1306

Gunas, in Sāṅkhya are three. sattva, rajas, tamas and their characteristics and are both substances and qualities 1357, 1372n, in Gītā 1357n; why so called 1357n.

Guṇavāda, a kind of arthavāda, defined and illustrated 1240-41.

Gupta, dynasty, referred to in a general way in only four Mahāpurāṇas in rather corrupt passages without specifying names of kings 843; rule of G. dynasty began about 320 A. D. 843

Gupta Inscriptions, edited by Fleet, 110 (Gangadhar stone Ins of Kṛta year 480 i e 423-24 A. D.), 263, 651n, 652n, 661, 667n, 669-70, 680, 687, 843, 856n, 964, 997, 1013,

- 1028, 1046 (mentions Mātr̥s and awakening of Viṣṇu in Kārtika); era of, 656.
- Gupte, B. A., work of, on 'Hindu holidays and ceremonies' 60, 200n; on Śāvitṛivṛata origins, in I. A. vol 35, 94; on Dīwālī, 207, on Śivarātri origin 235, on Holikā, criticized 241
- Guru, vide under Prabhākara.
- Guru, vide under 'disciple',
- Buddhist tantras like Jñāna-siddhi contain grand eulogies of g, identify him with Buddha and call him omniscient 1071, is higher than all men and is to be served with devotion by disciples for attaining siddhi 1055, Jñānasiddhi and Kulārnava warn against false gurus 1071, necessity of a g for the acquisition of esoteric philosophy stressed by Upaniṣad passages 1072; position of, in Tantra, is not very different from that in Vedic literature or Purāṇas 1033n, pupil after undergoing dīksā in Tantra worship and receiving the mantra has to follow orders of g. 1054-55, qualifications of Tantrik g. acc. to Śāradātīlaka, 1071; respect for g. sometimes reached extreme and disgusting lengths among tantrik writers as stated by Tārā bhāktisudhārnava, 1072n; saves a man if Śiva is angry, but none can save the pupil if g is angered 1101; theory of efficacy of mantras led to importance of guru about whom extravagant claims were made, 1454
- Gurney, O R., a. of a work on 'Hittites' 683
- Gurāditya, astrological position, condemned for all rites 612.
- Gnyot Felix, a. of 'Yoga, the science of health', 1393.
- Haarh, Erik, a. of paper on 'Contributions to the study of Mandala and Mudrā' 1133.
- Hall, Fitz-Edward, editor of Sāṅkhyapravacana-bhāṣya, 1354, 1371n, 1372 (on legends about Kapila), editor of Subandhu's 'Vāsavadattā' 1048
- Hamsanyāsa, described by Rāghavabhatta 1120n
- Hamsavilāsa 1077n.
- Haradatta, com., of, on Āp Dh S. 1230, 1246n (explains Kalasīja), 1251 (illustrates Vyavasthita-vikalpa), 1256, com. of Āp. Gihya 135n, 611, com on Gautama 668n 1230.
- Haraprasad Sastri, a. of Cat (in several volumes) of Mss. in Bengal Asiatic Society, 437; a. of Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf Mss 909-10, 1033n, 1338n, 1019n; a. of paper on causes of the disappearance of Buddhism 1003.
- Hard work, the incentive of private gain, is motive for 1682.
- Hardy, Prof a. of 'Ramanujan' 1573
- Hare W. L., article of, on 'Generation and Regeneration' in 'Open Court' (1926) included by Gandhiji as Appendix in his work 1423.
- Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhatta 113, 120.

- Hariscandra, story of, in Ait. Br., Sabhāparva, Brahma-purāna 915.
- Hārīta, Dharmasūtra of, q. by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 154, 1422n. 1432.
- Hārīta, Smṛti of, 33, 42 (in prose), 116n (prose), 151, 257, 864-65n.
- Haritāhikāvṛata, 144-45; brief procedure of, 144; for women alone, 141; not found in Hemādri on vrata or in Kṛtya-kalpa-taru, 144; not prevalent in Bengal or Gujarat 145; observed on 3rd of Bhādrapada bright half 144; Rājamārtanda has four verses on it, 144; *sankalpa* in 144n; to be performed on 3rd mixed with 4th tithi (and not with 2nd) provided 3rd exists at least for two ghatikās from sunrise 145, various mantras repeated in 145n; very much in vogue among Mahārāstra women 144; why it is so-called is difficult to explain 145.
- Harivaṃśa 129, 133, 135n, 147n, 693, 695, 993n (on avatāras), 1028 (on Puṣyamitra), 1623.
- Harṣa, king of Kashmir, horoscope of 630.
- Harsacarita of Bāṇa, 655, 705, 821-22, 997n, 1047, 1132 (on Mandala in colours), 1384.
- Harsavardhana, emperor, 1047, distributed his wealth at Prayāga once in five years 262; birth of 705; horoscope of, examined 629; era of (started in 606 A. D.) 656; prohibited use of animal food, says Yuan Chwang, 1017.
- Harshe, Dr. R. G., paper of, on mss. on dreams 782n.
- Hastings, editor of E. R. E. 676n.
- Hastyāyurveda, 803-04.
- Hatharūḍhika, explained, 1570n.
- Hāthigumpha, inscription of Khāravela 1614.
- Hauer Dr., on Mums, 1386n, 1387 (on Vratyas), 1393 (two works of, on Yoga), 1397.
- Havisya (sacrificial substances that may be eaten in vratas) 463, 1110n.
- Hathayoga (vide under Khecari-mudrā' and 'Vajrolimudrā'); deals with processes called Dhauti, basti, nauli, neti, trātaka, kapālabhāti, on which Patañjali is silent, 1428 and n; photographs of the processes called Dhauti 1438n, technique of H. claims three results 1428, to be kept secret and not to be exposed to all 1460. works (modern) on H. 1428n.
- Hathayogapradīpikā of Svātmārāma, 1127 (on Mudrās and Vajroli), 1426-27, 1432 (proper food for Yogin), 1443, 1450, 1451n, 1460, 1649 (on secrecy); com. Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda 1427, English translation of, 1427n; main aim of āsana and prāṇāyāma is to awaken the kundalinī, while Patañjala Yoga does not dilate upon this 1429; names about 35 Mahāsiddhas from Ādinātha (Śiva), Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha and others 1115n, 1429n, proper name is Hatha-pradīpikā 1427; ten mudrās

- named by 1428n, 1429; Yamas of, are ten, of which taking a light meal is the principal 1429
- Hazra, Prof. R. C 1149, a of 'Studies in Purāṇic Records on Hindu rites and customs', 816n, 834, 844, 886 (paper on Upapurāṇas) and of 'studies in Upapurāṇas' Vol I) 867, 870; admits that among the Upapurāṇas are works of late date and yet asserts that the age of Upapurāṇas began from the Gupta period, 836, bestowed much labour and thought on Purāṇas in general and individual Purāṇas 864; dates of the formation of U. given by Prof. H entirely wrong for reasons pointed out 836-37; dates assigned by Prof H to Sāmba, Narasimha, Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara not acceptable 871-72; has developed a tendency to assign more ancient dates to Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas than the evidence warrants 864; does not explain what he means by non-tāntrik character 876n, paper on 'Āśvamedha as common source of origin of Purāṇa and Mahābhārata' criticized 865-67, papers published in several journals on Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, 814; puts a wrong interpretation on Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on Chāṇ. Up III. 4. 1-2 about Pārīplavarātri 866; remark of Prof. H. that Upapurāṇas were known to Yāj, criticized 835n; sees reference to Purāṇas when in fact none exists and where Purāṇa (in Hārīta quoted by Mitākṣarā) means Śrāddha of a particular kind 864-65; sees too much meaning in simple words and phrases and does not observe caution in his conclusions 815; theory of, that if a work is free from Tāntrik elements it should be regarded as belonging to 3rd or 4th cen. A. D. is a slippery one and wrong 874, view of, that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not refer to the works of Varāhamihira shown to be wrong 778.
- Heard, Gerald, a. of 'Is God evident' 1547 (on Vedānta).
- Heart, 1073 (note 1717) spoken of as lotus in the Upanisads, 1446n.
- Heath, T. L., a of 'Greek Astronomy' and of 'Aristarchus of Samos' 482, 513-14, 520n, 566n, 676, 689n.
- Heaven (*svarga*), 1212-1215 (vide under Gods) and earth, six hymns addressed to as divinities in Rg, 1452-93; and earth are called father and mother in Rg. 1548n, distance between h. and earth as put in the Ait Br., 1493; ideas about h held by Jaimini, Śābara and Kumārila differ from those in the Veda and Purāṇas 1212; in Rg h was deemed to be a place where souls of valiant men and great doers and wise men went 1213; in Atharvaveda heaven was deemed to possess damsels, edible plants

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- Heritage of India, paper on 'Tantras as a way of realization' in Vol. IV, 1085.
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- Hesiod, furnishes the earliest evidence for lucky and unlucky days in Greece 523.
- Hecajratanttra, edited and translated by Dr D. L. Snellgrove, 1147.
- Hickey J. C, a of 'Introducing the Universe' 499, 565n-66
- Himavat mountain (Himālaya) alone m by Pāṇini among seven principal mountains though he knew others also, 1525n; Atharvaveda knows it and remarks that all rivers start from Himavat and join Sindhu (ocean), 1526n-27; snow-capped mountains known to R̥gveda 1527.
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Ingalls, Prof. on 'Materials for the study of Navyanyāya' 470n

Inge, W R a of 'Christian Mysticism' 1463n, a of 'Christian Ethics' 1668.

Intercalary Month (*adhimāsa*) (vide *malamāsa*, *samsarpa*); as opposed to *nya*, *suddha* or *prāhṛta* 664; called *Samsarpa* or *Ambhaspatya* in Tai. S and M. S. and *Ambhasapati* in Vāj. S. 480, condemned from ancient times, 671, explanation as to why it occurs 662-663, how and when inserted in times of Rg. and Tai S not known but one whole month was added even in Rg times 490, known to Rg., the other *Samhitās* and the *Brahmanas* 489, one I. M. once in 2½ years provided in Kautiliya and another after 2½ years more 506n, *Mahābhārata* adds two I. M. in 5 years, 506n, names for I. M. in Sanskrit are many and their explanations 671, people following luni-solar calendars like the Babylonians, Chaldeans and Indians had to resort to the device of 662, said to be of 33 days in Śīt. Br 489n, two intercalary months in five years acc to *Vedānga Jyotiṣa* and others 663, various works specify different periods after which I. M. occurs 663.

Invākā, means *Migaśira*, 535.

Inquisition instances of the intolerance and barbarities

of, 1019-1020, method of its work 1020, Rule W. H. a. of History of, 933; state of Hindus in Goa when Inquisition existed 1020, three centuries of I. resulted in condemnation of 375,000 people of whom at least one-tenth were burnt 1019; was established in Goa in 1550 and it continued its inhuman work for 250 years more, 1020; works on the barbarities of 933n.

Inscriptions Ajhole I. 1029; Aśoka I. 686n, details about season, month etc how given in 1 before and after Christian era 669-670; from Kamboja (Cambodia) 1048n; Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman 670, Nasik cave Inscriptions 968n, of Campā and Cambodia 883 (6th century provision for reading of *Bhārata*, *Rāmāyana* and *Purānas*), Somanath Pattan Inscriptions of 1264, A. D. is a remarkable one 1018; *Yogaśāstra*, *Yoga* techniques and *āsanas* mentioned in, 1425n.

Ionia (of which *Yavana* is a Sanskrit equivalent). original location of, 516n.

Isaiah (Old Testament) 548.

Isānasambhita 228-9.

Īṣopaniṣad 1478, 1704, 1707.

Istāpūrta (vide under 'Pūrta', occurs in *Rgveda* once and means merit acquired by sacrifices and by works of public utility 947, occurs in

- Upanisads Manu and purānas 947-9.
- Isu-yāga, a magic rite referred to in P. M. S. VII. 1. 13-16, to which details are transferred from Śyena-yāga 1322
- Īśvara, in Yoga system is not creator but has a limited role 1412-13.
- Īśvarapranidhāna, two meanings of, in Vyāsaśāstra 1412n, 1414.
- Itihāsa-purāna, meaning of, acc. to com. on Śat Br. 815, in Atharvaveda, Śat. Br. and Śrauta-sūtras and Kautilya, 816, 819, m in Tai. Ār. Chān up and Br. Up 875; reading of, prescribed for all *devya* householders by Dakṣa, 819, Upanisads speak of them as fifth Veda 817
- Itikartavyatā - means procedure of sacrifices, 1283n, Kalpa is the same as 1283n, word occurs in P. M. S. III 3 II.
- I-Tsing: his 'Records of Western world' tr. by Dr. Takakusu 942n, 1003, 1198n (refers to Jayāditya, author of Kāśikā)
- Iyengar, Dr S K, a of 'Manmekalai in its historic setting', 1186n.
- Jābāla, a of Smṛti 213n 216.
- Jābālī, a of Smṛti 247, 248n.
- Jābālopanisad 944, 1251 (gives several options about the time when to become a sannyāsin), 1514, 1607.
- Jacks L. P, a. of 'Near the Brink' 1609; 1675n 'on social reform'.
- Jackson, A. M. T. 1640n (attractive and absorbing power of Hinduism).
- Jacob, Colonel, a of 'Laukikanyāyāñjali' 1339.
- Jacobi, H 579, 1395, 1397-98 (on dates of philosophical sūtras), Festgabe H. Jacobi, 812, 883, on date of Rgveda 510, 513, papers of, on Indian astronomy in E I 644
- Jagdish Lal, editor of Yogayātra 627n.
- Jāgara, 26 items of, in Ekādāśīvrata 106n.
- Jaigisavya, m as Sāṅkhya-yoga teacher in Śāntiparva 1374, 75 (dialogues of J and Asita Deva), 1391-92 (a great Yoga teacher in Śalya and Śānti *parvans*), 1398, 1444 (Yogabhāṣya on Y. S. II 54 follows J).
- Jaimini (vide under Bādarāyana Mīmāṃsā, Pūrvamīmāṃsā, Vyāsa) a of Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra 24n-5n, 28, 33-34, 53, 73n, 77, 86, 96, 132, 139, 212n, 224, 823-4, 926n-7n, 1032, 1097 and n, 1107, 1114n, 1154-55, 1158, 1207, 1222n, 1231, 1250 (the word 'mityānuvāda' occurs frequently in), 1527, 1544-45, commentator Upavāsa on, 735n, 821; pupil of Vyāsa, acc to Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana, 1161; received Sāmaveda from Vyāsa, 1161; Sabhā and Śānti *parvans* and Purānas on 1161, sūtras of V. S. in which J. is named, 1162.
- Jaimini, a. of a Smṛti, 249n.
- Jaiminiya Brāhmana 1117.

- Jaiminiya Gṛhyasūtra 733 (ad-
bhutaśānti), 1177.
- Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistāra of
Mādhva-ācārya 237n, 1185,
1189 (summarises in verse and
prose 1000 adhikaranas).
- Jaiminiya Śrauta-sūtra 1177.
- Jaiminiya-sūtrārthasangraha of
Rṣiputra Paramaśvara 1159n,
1188n
- Jaina Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu
777
- Jainas, doctrine of 'Saptabhangī-
naya' m. in Viṣṇupurāṇa 974n,
had *mudrās* 1130, view of
there being two suns and
moons criticized by Pāñca-
siddhāntikā and Brahmagupta
511 and n
- Jainism, practised thorough-going
ahimsā 1648
- Jalāśayotsargatattva 1273n
- Jaṇadagni, a of a Smṛti 118n.
- Jambudvīpa, m. in Aśoka's Rup
nath Rock Inscription 1523,
1614.
- James, E O, a. of 'the cult of
the Mother Goddess' 1046n.
- James, William, a. of 'Varieties
of religious experience' and of
'Pragmatism' 1212, 1475, 1483,
1486, 1650n.
- Janaka, king of Mithilā, a pupil
of Pāñcāsikha acc to Śānti-
parva, 1365-70, had reached
a position of unconcern about
worldly goods and power
1367n, 1369, dialogue be-
tween J. and Saṁbhā and her
scathing remarks against J.
1368-70, learned from Pāñc-
āsikha the whole doctrine of
mokṣa as based on Upaniṣad
passages acc to Śāntiparva,
1369-70, learnt from Yājñi-
valkya the doctrine of *brahman*
acc to Br. Up 1370, 1377-79;
offered to become slave of
Yājñiavalkyā 1580
- Janamejaya, son of Parīkṣit,
648n, quarrel of, with brāh-
manas, 827 and n.
- Janasthāna, on Godāvarī, said to
be sacrificial ground of Janaka
dynasty, 894
- Janma-maranavivāra, of Bhatta
Vāmadeva, on doctrine of
Karma 1599-1600
- Janmāstamī, vide Kṛṣṇajānmā-
stamī.
- Japa of Om in Smṛtis and Mān-
dūkyaopaniṣad 1413 and n
- Japan, compelled by growth of
population to legalize abortion
1689
- Jastrow, Morris, a of 'Religion
of Babylon and Assyria' 522n.
- Jātaka, a branch of horā (judi-
cial astrology), based on horo-
scope 479, 545, often identi-
fied with horāśāstra 546.
- Jātakāṇḍikāra of Gaṇeśa, compo-
sed in 1613 A D, 558.
- Jātakarma (rites on a child's
birth), auspicious times for,
605.
- Jātakas, Buddhist birth stories
599n.
- Jāti (caste) word does not occur
in Vedic literature, but occurs
in Nirukta, Pāṇini, Mahābhā-
rata 1133; vide under 'varṇa'.
- Jawaharlal Nehru, a of 'Auto-
biography' 1640n, 1689; about
a man having a worth-while
ideal, 1670.

Jaya, applied to Mahābhārata at first but later to several other works also 301, 870-1.

Jayākhyā-samhitā, 1105n-6, 1111, 1120 (on nyāsa), 1123, 1125, 1131n.

Jayamaṅgalā, commentary on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra 195n, 238, 1131n.

Jayamangalā, com on Sāṅkhya-kārikā, names many teachers between Pañcasiṅha and Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa, 1355

Jayanta-bhāṭṭa, a. of Nyāya-mañjari 469

Jayantī, 8th of dark half of Śrāvana with Rohini nakṣatra is different from Janmāstami-vrata, acc to Hemādri and some others 133.

Jayantīnirṇaya, of Hārīta Venkatanātha (part of Daśanrṇayi), 132n, 133, 138, 139n

Jayaprakāśa Narayan and Sarvodaya ideal 1683.

Jayaswal, K. P. (a of 'History of India' 1013) 651n, 679n (on origin of week-days), 826 (published the historical portion of Yuga-purāṇa), 827-28, 883 (papers on Purāṇas), 1008n (on explanation of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa), 1013, 1140 (a of 'Imperial History of India', which deals with parts of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa), 1614n (on Hathigumpha Ins.), 1663 (holds that ancient India had republics).

Jyātiṭṭhis are 3rd, 8th and 13th, 230, 303

Jeans, a. of 'Mysterious Universe' 1486n, 1574n.

Jehangir, killed Guru Arjun of the Sikhs for his religious activities 1019, memoirs of, tr. by A. Rogers and ed. by H. Beveridge 1019

Jesuits acted on the principle of 'the end justifies the means,' which latter included incitements to assassination and war 1476-77

Jewels (vide Pañcaratnas) · 219, 337, 759, nine, acc. to Vratarāja 387.

Jews, persecution of, 1019, murder of five million J by Germans in the 2nd World War constitutes the greatest crime in world history 1460n.

Jha, Mahāmahopādhyāya; Gāṅgānāth, a. of 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources' 1157n, 1191n (wrong in saying that Mandana wrote a com. on Tantravārtika), translation of word 'lesarin' criticized 1257; translated into English Tantravārtika and notices eight commentaries on it in Introduction 1188, 1261, translated the bhāṣya of Śabara and Śloka-vārtika into English, 1200, wrote introduction to Bhāvanāvivēka of Mandana 1194, a of 'Prābhākara school of Pūrvamīmāṃsā' 1200, 1254 (obscure as to meaning of 'ārādupakāraṇa' and 'Sannipatyopakāraṇa'); translated Yogasūtra 1394.

Jitendriya, defined by Manu (II. 98) 1424n.

Jiva, the word for 'Individual soul' occurs in Rg. I. 164.30.

- Jīva, meaning Jupiter in Sanskrit, how derived, 572; derivation of J from Zeus not correct 585.
- Jīvanmukti, defined in Pārā-nandasūtra 1055
- Jīvanmuktivivēka, 1604.
- Jīvaśarman, author on Astrology quoted by Utpala for Anaphā, Sunaphā etc 592.
- Jñāna, path of, leads to Mokṣa 964-65.
- Jñānārnavatantra, 1062n (for details about caṭras), 1101 (wonderful power of mantras), 1117 (on Dikṣā), 1118, 1125-6 (on Mudiās), 1127, 1131n, 1133.
- Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti (of about 717 A. D.), 1050, 1064 (yogin may secure liberation by those very actions by which ordinary men suffer torture in Hell), 1065n, 1066n (symbolical meaning of vajra and coitus with Cāndālī or Dombukā), 1071 (on garos and warning against false gurus), 1119 on abhiseka in Tantra, 1142 (date etc)
- Joh, Book of, in Old Testament 1546n.
- John St (for idea of Karma) 1516.
- Jones, Abel, a of 'In search of truth' 1484n
- Jones F. W., a of 'Design and purpose' 1484n.
- Jones, Sir William, published list of Hindu festival days based on the Tithitattva 253; translated Manusmṛiti and rendered Manu I. 108 (ācārah paramo dharmah) as 'immemorial usage is transcendental law' 1278.
- Johnston, E. H., on 'Sāṅkhya' 1353.
- Joint family system, practically abrogated 1672.
- Joshua (Old Testament) 512.
- Journal Asiatique; 942n, 1023, 1073, 1075n.
- Journal of American Oriental Society 91, 482n, 483, 512, 597, 599n, 653, 732n, 845, 1393, 1398 (Jacobi's paper), 1434n (controversy on meaning of Prāna), 1514n, 1615.
- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 186n, 485, 499, 699n, 883, 1149
- Journal of Benares Hindu University 650n, 1190.
- Journal, Bhāratīya Vidyā 1275n, 1456.
- Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society 437, 514n, 517n, 521, 826-27, 843-44, (Dr Banerjee Sastri criticizing Pargiter and others), 883
- Journal of Bihar Research Society 1009n. 1383.
- Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 131n, 215, 516n, 576, 591, 592n, 670, 978n, 1179 (papers on 'Gleanings from Śābana and Tantravārtika' and 'Tantravārtika and Dharmaśāstra'), 1187n, 1195, 1104, 1406, 1625 (Deussen's address on Vedānta).
- Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society 564.

Journal of Bombay University
651n, 978n, 1013.

Journal of Cuneiform Studies
597.

Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute 195, 497n, 646n, 668n, 1076n, 1133n, 1407, 1601.

Journal of Hellenistic Studies
519n, 566n, 582n, 595n, 646.

Journal of Indian History 629n, 651n-2n, 656n, 843, 1187, 1198, 1376, 1411n.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies
483n, 490n, 517n, 520n, 543, 549n, 566n, 582n, 595n

Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda, 84n, 628n, 1124, 1130.

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 655, 690, 710, 844, 884, 1032, 1046n, 1152n, 1161.

Journal of Pali Texts Society
1003, 1009.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain 494n, 498, 508, 516, 563n, 598n, 647n-9, 656, 679n, 704n, 883, 1017n, 1046n, 1048n, 1092n, 1104n, 1375, 1398, 1530

Journal of Venkateswara Oriental Institute 841n, 1395.

Journal of United Provinces Historical Society 1527n.

Jung, C. G., a. of Psychological commentary in Evans Wentz's book, 1394; once a disciple of Freud diverged from his views on *libido*, 1414n.

Jupiter, *bāhya* and *vrddhatva* of, explained 61; description of, in *Bṛhajjātaka* 574; im-

portance of, in settling marriage 615, length of J.'s revolution round the sun 657n, 658; when in sign Leo, to be avoided for all religious acts within certain limits of India 62, ruler of silver and also gold in certain situations 575.

Juvenal, strongly inveighed against ladies who had great confidence in Chaldean astrology 550.

Jwalaprasad 1398.

Jyestha Daśaharā on 10th of bright half of, 90-91; Sāvitrī-vrata on J. Full moon for women whose husbands are living 91.

Jyesthā Nakṣatra is called Rohini in Tai S. and Tai Br. and Jyesthaghni in Atharvaveda 500.

Jyotirvidābharana, a fabricated work, mentions six starters of eras 647.

Jyotiṣa (see under Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa). also called Ganita in Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa 478; had become one of the six angas (auxiliary lores) of Veda several centuries before Christ, 477-78; had 64 angas, acc. to *Anuśāsanaparva* 742; he who knows J knows sacrifices 478; included in later times three branches (*śāndhas*) viz. Tantra (movements of planets by Mathematics), Horā or jātaka (astrology) and Śākhā (divination, omen etc.) 478-479; in case of conflict between J. and

- Dharmaśāstra the latter was to prevail 480-481, J. lore of Veda several centuries before Christ 477-78; said to be eye of Veda in Śikṣā or at the head of all vedāṅgas 478, third branch of J was called Śākhā and also Saṁhitā 479, two branches of J viz Horā and Śākhā exerted great influence on Dharmaśāstra 480, Varāhamihira composed a work on the three branches of J. 479; Vedāṅga (of the Rgveda and Yajurveda) was concerned with only astronomical matters 478
- Jyotisa work embodying all three branches of, was called Saṁhitā 479.
- Jyotisa-ratna-mālā of Śrīpati 557, 559-60.
- Jyotistattva 610n-1n, 613n, 623-4, 626, 660, 734 (on Śāntis), 745n, 778-80, 792 (on Pallipatana).
- Kabir (Moslem weaver and disciple of Rāmānanda 1400-1470 A. D.) 969n; his teachings 969.
- Kādambarī of Bāna and his son 39, 821-22, 1040, 1047, 1124n, 1205, 1384, 1423 (in hermitages of sages natural antipathies between animals disappear)
- Kādividyā (a form of Tantra) 1045n.
- Kaivalya does not occur in the principal or older Upanisads but the word Kevala occurs in Śv. Up. IV 18 and VI 11 1415.
- Kālā, as a unit of time variously defined 117.
- Kāla, as the first principle in Atharvaveda 1495.
- Kāla (vide under Kalpa, Manvantara, pralaya, Rudra, measures of Time, yuga); Āsvamedhikaparva has an elaborate metaphorical description of wheel of K. 467; Bhagavad-gītā identifies K. with Kṛṣṇa 467, derived from root 'Kal' in Bhagavad-gītā, 467n; included among nine *dravyas* by Vaiśeṣika-sūtra 468; in the case of religious rites K. is not a mere detail, but is the *nimitta* (occasion) on the happening of which an act has to be performed and what is done at a time other than the prescribed one is as good as not done 73; Mahābhārata frequently refers to theme of Kāla 466-67, *mukhya* and *gauna* 100, 102; not included in the 25 tattvas of Sāṅkhya, but in relation to Karanas 468, Omkāra is said to be beyond the three divisions of K. by Māndūkya Up 465; Pāṇini uses the word K for 'time' in general or proper time or divisions of time 467; Patañjali's important theory about K. that it does not exist except as a convenient name or word for the manner of measuring changes and comparing them 468; produced by Him who is intelligent and omniscient, acc-

to Śv. Up., 465 ; produces and destroys beings and is in vainable, acc. to Ādiparva 166-467 ; Purāṇas on K. hold that time is without beginning or end, is all-embracing and is identified with God 473-4 ; Śāntiparva on the formidable influence of K. on all including even Indra and other gods 467 ; Śāntiparva speaks of Kāla as 20th guna and to be the source and end of all beings 467 ; Śatapatha Brāhmana uses it in sense of time or 'proper' time 464 ; Śvetāśvataraopanand uses the word Kāla in sense of cause or source of creation 465 ; units of K. 486 ff ; Upanisads use the word K in the sense of 'end' or 'proper time' or 'appointed time' 464-465 ; Vanaparva identifies Kṛṣṇa with K, Brahmā, Rudra etc, 467 ; views on time being non-existent as a separate entity or as being directly apprehended or as merely inferred 469-70 ; word occurs in Rg. only once 463 ; word used in two senses even by early Vedic times viz. time in general and as identified with Supreme Being 464 ; Yogasūtrabhāṣya has a brief but interesting and abstract disquisition on K 471-72.

Kālādarśa 75n, 78.

Kālāñjādhikarana Nyāya 77.

Kālanirnaya 54n, 73n, 75, 77n-8n, 85, 95-97n, 99n, 100n, 105n-107, 112-3, 115-7n, 120n, 121n,

129n, 132-5, 138n, 145n, 146n, 151n, 153, 188, 202n, 211n, 215n, 220n, 227n-230, 232n, 241, 243n-5n, 249n, 659, 666n, 671n, 672, 705.

Kālanirnaya-kārikā 145n, 657n, 661n, 662n, 665n, 674, 705.

Kālamādhava 67n-8n

Kālatattvavivēcana 73n, 77n, 86, 96, 121n, 135, 154n, 157n, 158, 163, 176, 180-82, 188, 195-196n, 203, 204n, 232, 240, 672n.

Kālavivēka of Jimūtarābha 41n, 58, 61n, 75n, 76n, 78n-9n, 81n, 83n, 95, 97n-100n, 105n, 106n, 110n, 111-2, 116n, 117n, 119n, 124n, 125, 126n, 133, 154n, 165n, 176n-178n, 180-1n, 191, 200n, 207n, 212n, 214n, 216n, 220n, 222n, 238n, 241, 243n, 244-5n, 246n, 248-9n, 662n, 671n-74n, 706n, 766n, mentions seven predecessors that wrote on Kāla 58.

Kalāśa, king of Kashmir (1063-1069 A. D.) was led into lax sexual morals by his guru Pramadakantha, guilty of incest with his own daughter 1075n

Kalāśa, jar used on auspicious occasions like marriage, coronation 280.

Kālasiddhāntadarśini of Śrī Harachandra Bhattacharya, exhaustive work on Kāla 475.

Kalhana, author of Rājataranginī 630, 649 1075 ; vide under Rājataranginī

Kālī, mentioned in Mahābhārata 195 ; one of the dhyanas of

described, 1041n; (vide under Devī, Śāktas, Śakti)
 Kālidāsa 1046n; generally held to have flourished about 350-450 A. D., 186, refers to Viṣṇu's sleep for four months 110, refers to Vratas 46, refers to Nīrājana Śānta 193, traditions about K., Vikrama and nine jewels 901, 1461 (uses Yoga technical words), 1571 (on Karma doctrine), throbbing of hero's right arm and of the right eye of the heroine foreshadow future 905, 1027, 1152; uses Sāṅkhya terms 1384,
 Kālikāpurāṇa 34, 39-40, 154, 156, 158u-60u, 162, 164 (on 16 Upacāras of Devī, on animals to be offered), 165-167, 169n, 171n, 173, 174 (Yoginīs named and numerous baḥis to Devī), 175n, 176n, 177 Śābarotsava in Durgā-pūjā), 178n, 180 (pūjā of Devī three times in the day), 185, 187 (nīrājana), 219, 793, 830, 1032-33, 1093 (many chapters on mantras, mudrās, nyāsa etc.), 1120 (mātrkānyāsa), 1121, 1124n, 1287 (three verses q. by Kalpataru) 1332; devotes considerable space to Durgā and her worship, 156; describes mudrās like Dhenu, Yoni, and states there are 108 mudrās, 55 for general worship and 53 for special occasions 1127-28, Note on 888, three separate recensions of, acc to Dr V Raghavan 888; to be placed

before 1000 A. D., 888.

Kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the *Kālī* i. e. present age) 1267-1272: (vide under niyoga, uddhāravibhāga, veda, sattrās, saṁtāmanī, killing animals); is a fiction invented to accommodate the changes in people's ideas and practices 1269-70; K actions (55) in number) were set out and discussed in Vol III of H. of Dh pp 926-967, 1267, long before 9th century Dharmaśāstra writers had condemned *Govadhā* (in Madhuparka), the practice of *niyoga* and the assignment of a larger share to the eldest son at a partition among brothers 1267-68, some striking actions forbidden for Kālī but enjoined or practised in Vedic times (apart from Niyoga and Uddhāravibhāga) set out, 1268-69; what authority could sages at the beginning of Kālī have to prohibit what Veda enjoined or allowed is not made clear anywhere 1269, 1664.

Kālī: (vide under Devī, Śakti, Śāktas), one of the Dhyānas of, described 1041n.

Kalivilāsatāntra 178n, 181n, 1089n, 1093 (allows adultery to Śāktas if semen is not allowed to fall), 1107 (prescribes 35 mantra the reversed three letters of 'om Durgā' as 'rgedu om', 1117 (best time for dīksā).

Kaliyuga, 1107 - also, called Trīya, 687, dismal description

- of what will happen in 693; contrasted with other Yugas and its special merit stated 928; era, one of the earliest reference to, is in Āryabhaṭīya 649, huge figures of years of, suggested by figures in Śat. Br. 690, Inscriptions dated in K. era 649, 650n, in Yugapurāna 827-28; Ksatriyas and Vaiśyas exist in K, though some learned writers hold the opposite view as to Kali age, 32, started acc. to tradition in 3102 B. C. 638n; started acc. to Brhatsaṃhitā 2426 years prior to Śaka era, 649; views about beginning of, differ 648-649.
- Kalkipurāṇa, note on 888.
- Kallata, a *siddha* of the time of Avantī-varman of Kashmir 1075.
- Kālotara 1117.
- Kalpa or Kalpas—(vide Yuga and Manvantara). ancient Upanisads have no elaborate theory of K. 1567; are immense periods of time 686, 688, 1567; are numberless 824; m. in Aśoka's edicts 686, thirty-three named in Vāyupurāṇa and by Hemādri 693.
- Kalpādi are tithis on which the Kalpas are deemed to have begun 280.
- Kalpasūtras: Jaimini (I. 3 11-14) has a separate adhikarana on them 1274; Kumārila distinguishes between Kalpa (ritual of Vedic sacrifices) and Kalpasūtras and names eight of the last, 1274 and n; Śabara mentions three K. by name 1274; various interpretations by Kumārila of P. M. Sūtras I. 3, 11-14, 1274-75.
- Kalpataṛu: vide Kṛtyakalpataṛu.
- Kalyāṇavarman, a of Sārāvalī 546.
- Kāma, as the First Principal or Essence in Atharvaveda 1494-95; was not neglected, as Gṛhā identifies Kṛṣṇa with K. not in conflict with dharma, 1630.
- Kāmadhenu of Gopāla, friend of Lakṣmīdhara, but older 249, 884.
- Kāmakalāvīlāsa of Puṇyānanda 1126, 1136-38n.
- Kamalakāra . a. of Nīrṇayasindhu and Śūdrakamalakāra 925-26; a. of Śāntaratna 813n.
- Kamarūpiya-nibandha, q. by Tithiattva 174n.
- Kamalaśīla, a. of Com on Tattvasaṅgraha, pupil of Śāntaraksita, a. of Tattvasaṅgraha, 1194, 1212n (quotes a verse of Śloka-vārtika), 1376.
- Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana 195, 238, 1630.
- Kamsa, killing of, known long before the Mahābhāṣya 997.
- Kāndānusamaya method, explained 1316-17, 1342, followed acc. to Mit. as to Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas in the matter of Upacāras, 1317; referred to in P. M. S. V. 2. 7-9, 1317.
- Kane Festschrift 838n, 893.
- Kaniska 186, 654 (deemed by some to be founder of Śāka era), 669.
- Kant, a. of 'Critique of pure reason' 475.
- Kāpūlikas on Śūtiparvata 1018.

- Kapali Sastry : a of 'Rgbbhāṣya-bhūmikā' in English 981, 985, bitterly attacks Sāyana but admits that Sāyana is not only useful but indispensable to Vedic students 989, inaccuracies of renderings of Rgveda verses and words by K. pointed out 981, 988-89; on 'Veda and Tantra' 1150, rendering of 'Kavayāḥ satyaśrutāḥ' occurring only thrice in Rg. shown to be entirely wrong, 990.
- Kapila, a muni (see under Brahṃā, Tarpana) : as avatāra of Viṣṇu and chief of Siddhas in Bhāgavata, 1373, K, Āsuri, Vadhva and Pañcāśikha as four of the seven sons of Brahṃā 1372, first promulgator of Sāṅkhya, acc to Sāṅkhya-kārikā and Vanaparva, expounded it to Āsuri 1356-7, 1372; mentioned in Śr Up V 2 is claimed by Sāṅkhyas to be their founder, while Śankarācārya says that there is another K called Vāsudeva 1362, mentioned in Nārāyaṇīya section as proponent of Sāṅkhya 1363, one of ten Āṅgīrasas in Rgveda, 1372, styled Ādividvān and Parauarsī in a quotation from Pañcāśikha 1374 and n
- Kapila, called Vāsudeva, reduced to ashes the sons of Sūgara, acc. to Vanaparva and Viṣṇu-purāṇa, 1362
- Kapilāsthī Yoga 279, 706
- Kapota bird, messenger of ill-luck in Rgveda, 729.
- Kāraṇī, astrological meaning of, 390
- Karamalkar S. M., a. of a Marathi work on Calendar, 714n.
- Karmarkar Prof. R. D., 1172n.
- Karambelkar Dr., a. of paper on Matsyendranātha, 1016n;
- Karapa (see Visti); Brhatsamhitā states what should or should not be done on the several K 708; *carakaṛaṇas* occur eight times in a month 708; derivation of word K. 708; fifth astrological item (or aṅga) in a pañcāṅga 707; four *sthira karana*s with presiding deities 707; K. means half of a tithi and there are 60 karana in a lunar month 707; names are strange and inexplicable 708; Nārada-purāṇa mentions both kinds of K. 708; scheme of, is fanciful 710; seven Karapa of *cara* kind with presiding deities 707, *sthira* K. occur only once in a month 707-708
- Karana, works so called for preparing pañcāṅgas 643.
- Karanakalpalatā, a work of Dr. K L Daftari 644, 664n, 713 (basis of what is popularly called Tilak Pañcāṅga), 714n.
- Karandikar, Mr J. S. : a. of Gītātattvamajjari (in Marathi); relies on Rg. X. 14 8, X, 16. 3 and 5, X. 135 6 for his view that the doctrine of Transmigration is as old as Rgveda 1542; view of, examined and held to be wrong 1542-44.
- Karanyāsa : Padmaprāṇa provides for it with *mantra* (Om namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya)

1121.

Karma and Karkin-ocour in Atharvaveda 563.

Karma and Punarjanma 1530-1612: (vide under Christianity, Empedocles, Heaven, Herodotus, Plato, Pythagoras, Prof. Ranade, 'reincarnation,' Vedānta, Upanisads). antecedent supposition to belief in K. and P. are four 1532, Āp Dh. S. and Gautama on 1560; belief had arisen in times of Śat. Br. that one who does evil deeds in one life has to suffer for them in a later life from that being which he harmed 1534; belief that punishment by the king for a bad deed relieved the doer of the sin 1598, Brāhmaṇa works (such as Śat XII. 9 1. 1) give details about the rewards of good works and the retribution for evil deeds 1533-4, Br Up. IV. 4. 5-7 is the leading and the oldest Upanisad passage on K and P. and so is Br. Up. III. 3. 13, 1547-48; confession of sins was in certain cases held to purify a person as in Varuna-praghāsa Cāturmāsya and necessary in prāyaścittas for some sins 1592-3, clear statement of the doctrine of K. and P. is absent from the Rgveda though it refers to two births of Vasistha, 1536-7, difficulty of reconciling the doctrine of K. with the system of Śrāddhas for ancestors 1598; doctrine of Karma leads on to

doctrine of punarjanma 1561; doctrine of, extends the inexorable physical law of causality to the mental and moral sphere 1561; doctrine of, has attracted many minds from the West and there is now a voluminous literature on it in the West, 1530, doctrine of, modified doctrine of Heaven and Hell 1532; doctrine of Karma, instead of being a gospel of hope and an urge to effort, became in the minds of many Indians confused with fatalism 1566; doctrine of K. permeated the whole of society, poets and others 1571, doctrine of K, not pessimistic or fatalist if rightly understood but emphasizes all out effort in this life 1573, doctrine of, received almost unanimous support from all *darśanas* (except Cārvāka) that severely criticize each other's doctrines 1532; doctrine of, touched upon by the Bhagavadgītā in many passages 1569, doctrine of, a unique characteristic of Hindu culture, 1530, 1646, effects of evil deeds done by a man can be got rid of only by expiations, or by suffering them in another life or by realization of Absolute *brahman* 1560-61; efforts made by a man on the path of Yoga are not altogether lost, but become steps on the path of perfection 1569; four kinds of, viz. kṛṣṇa, śukla etc. 1572; idea of K. was prevalent among Jewish people in the

time of Jesus (vide St John IX 2) 1546; idea of *punar-mṛtyu* in Śat Br and Tai. Br, Br. Up. and Kaus Br. 1534-35, influenced Indian thought from at least Upaniṣad times and all Hīndns, Buddhists and Jains 1530; is an endeavour to answer the question, what happens to men after death of body 1530, law of Karma, laid down by Upaniṣads, was inexorable that fruits of all actions, good or bad, must be experienced, but some exceptions were made, the first being that actions done after a person has realized *brahman* but before the body falls do not produce results 1587; little is said in the Rgveda about the fate of evil-doers 1533; McTaggart, L. P. Jacks, Wordsworth and some other Western writers favour the doctrine of K. 1609, Mahābhārata in some passages avers that the consequences of the evil deeds of a man are suffered by the man's son or grandsons (and not by himself), 1598, Manu prescribes *Japa* of certain Vedic hymns for removal of even mortal sins and highly praises Aghamarṣana hymn, 1592; men guilty of grave sins may, acc. to Chān. Up, Katha Up, Manu-smṛti become beasts, or even tree trunks but theosophists and some modern men say that once the state of a human body is reached there is no regre-

ssion to a lower stage 1611-12, objections against doctrine of K. stated and replied 1609-1611; objection that doctrine of K. leaves no scope for Free will, dealt with 1574-75, once *prāyaścittas* were admitted as removing effects of sins, other ways were prescribed in early times for the same purpose such as *Japa* (recitation of holy texts), *homa*, *tapas*, fast, gifts, pilgrimages 1592, passages in Manu, Yāj. and other Smṛtis that a guest-when not properly honoured gives his demerit to the householder and takes away latter's all *punya* or stating that if a witness deposes falsely all his merit in many lives will go to the party who lost that suit are mere *artha-vādas* 1596-98, popular idea of last thought at death leading to a new birth appropriate to it is an interference with the law of K. 1598-99; Prānāyāma, practice of, for removal of effects of sins, 1593, Purāṇas emphasize the importance of good or evil deeds, that one has to reap the fruits of one's actions, that Karma does not come to end even after many lives unless the results thereof are undergone 1576-77; Purāṇas went so far as to prescribe mere remembrance of the name of Kṛṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa, particularly for śūdras and pratiloma castes, for removal of

effects of sins 1592; Rāmāyana, on doctrine of K. 1576; R̥gveda contains some prayers for wealth and heroic sons, but it was immortality and joys of heaven that were most valued 1533; Śatapatha Br. had arrived at the idea that man's will governs what he will reach after death 1535, Śatapatha Br. has a passage on the powers conferred in yonder world by sacrifices performed in this life such as Darśapūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāsya, 1535-36; some features of our present life can be more satisfactorily explained on the theory of Karma than on any other 1572-73; strict doctrine of K. would require that one man's good or bad Karma cannot be transferred to another, but in R̥g. fear is expressed that one may have to suffer for others' deeds and modifications were introduced such as the king getting 1/6 in the merit or demerit of his subjects 1595-96; three classes of Karma, *sañcīta*, *prārabdhā* and *kriyamāṇa* (or '*sañcīyamāṇa*') explained 1574, three regular treatises in Sanskrit on K. mentioned and described 1599-1604; Vedāntasūtra on K. and P. 1558-60, very few regular treatises in Sanskrit on the law of K. 1599, word Karma in some passages of R̥g. means 'exploits', 'valiant deeds' and in some 'religious works' such as sacrifices and gifts,

1532-33; works and conduct done in this life fashion a man's future life and that the present existence of a man depends on his actions and conduct in a past life or lives — this is the gist of the grand passages of Br Up. IV 4, 5-7 and III 3, 13, which are illumined by the illustrations of the caterpillar and the snake's slough, 1546-48, works in English on K. 1604-05.

Karmapradīpa of Gobhila 50.

Karmasabda, means 'dhatus' (verbal forms such as 'yajati', 'juhoti'), 1236.

Karmāsaya (in Y. S.) means 'Dharmādharmau' 1917n.

Karnaparva, 90n, 129, 569, 744, 821, 829 (on Yavanas)

Karpūramañjarī of Rājasekhara (about 900 A. D.), a *prākṛit* play in which the caricature of a character called Bhairavānanda occurs 1073-74.

Karsa, a weight equal to 16 māsa of eighty raktikās 219n.

Kārtavīrya, vide under 'Dattātreyā'.

Kārtika, giving up meat-eating in, very meritorious 283.

Kāśakṛtsna, a teacher in V. S. 1157.

Kāśakṛtsnī means a woman that studies the Mimāṃsā expounded by Kāśakṛtsnī, 1157 and n.

Kāśikā, com. on Pāṇini's '*Asīdhyaī*' by Vāmana and Jayāditya; 27, 499n, 525, 670, 708, 1153n, 1198n, 1205n (mentions Laukīyātika), 1389n, from I-tsing's remarks

- it appears that Jayāditya died about 661 A. D., 1198n.
- Kāśkā, com. on Śloka-vārtika 1184n.
- Kāśyapa, a rsi in Rgveda 463n.
- Kāśyapa, a writer on astrology, from whom Utpala quotes about 300 verses, some of which show knowledge of rāsis, 592, 746.
- Kāśyapa-saṃhitā, 710n.
- Kāthakagrhya 238, 663.
- Kāthaka-saṃhitā, 63n, 126, 498-9, 507n, 523, 671, 684n, 691n, 698, 730n, 1079 (brāhmaṇa did not drink wine), 1153, 1297, 1385n, 1386n, 1633.
- Kathāvattu, shows Andhaka school of Buddhism was disposed to permit copulation for a specific purpose to monks 1023.
- Kathopanishad, 915 (Naciketas story), 917 (on vidyā and avidyā), 939n (giving up trsnā), 952, 961, 1063n (on 101 nādis of the heart, one of which penetrates the crown of the head), 1072, 1360, 1362, 1387, 1388n, 1389, 1400n, 1430, 1433, 1451n, 1455n, 1471, 1478, 1502 (five guṇas, *śabda* etc. of five elements mentioned), 1504, 1507n, 1508n, 1592-3, 1546n (verse quoted in), 1555 (fate of some people after death), 1563n, 1564, 1585n, 1600, 1611, 1625 (illustration of pure water poured into pure water). 1631 (path of mokṣa more difficult than that of bhakti), 1649.
- Katre, Dr. S. M. paper of, on 33 avatāras 997.
- Kātyāyana, n. of Vārtikas on Pāṇini, 516n.
- Kātyāyana, Smṛti of, 54, 96, 99, 105n, 675, 1032
- Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra 18n, 724, 732, 738n, 1155 (closely corresponds with Jaimini's sūtras in several cases), 1224n, 1297n, 1321.
- Kaula, is not one who drinks wine etc but who has undergone *abhīṣeka*, 1118
- Kauladharmā (practices) (vide Kuladharmā) 1052, 1076 (in Aparārka's day it was practised secretly).
- Kanla-jñāna-nirṇaya 1083 (on the rousing of Kuṇḍalinī).
- Kaularahasya (ms copied in 1734 A. D.) shows how common people literally understood the cult of the makāras, 1087 and n.
- Kaulas (some) offered worship to a young woman's private parts, 1138n
- Kaulaśāstras, taught that *bhoga* need not be given up, but should be sublimated and substitute a Yoga of enjoyment for one of abstinence 1077
- Kaulāvalī-nirṇaya of Jñāna-nanda-giri, 1050n, 1052n, enumerates numerous tantras including Yāmala, 1050n, 1056n (extravagant praise of women), 1059 (about wine cups), 1076, 1083n (substitutes for makāras), 1082-3, 1085n, 1093, 1106, 1109-10, 1126n, 1135n.
- Kaumudī festival (vide Divalī). 195.

Kaumudijāgara and Yaksaiātri included under *krīdā* 195n.

Kauśikasūtra (of the Atharvaveda), 524, 535, 610, 724n, 729n-30n, 732n, 734-35 (Keśava's paddhati on), 738n, 739-40n, 769-70n, 773, 785n, 802n (on Āyusya mantras); Kandikās 93-136 of chapter 13 deal with 42 *adbhūtas* and the Śāntis therefor 735, mantras m. in K. on Śāntis appear to have formed an independent collection and Atharvaveda mantras play a secondary role 735-36, Śāntis in K are spoken of as *prāyaścittas* 736.

Kausitaka 66.

Kausitaki Brāhmaṇa 223n, 489, 491, 659, 1248, 1313n, 1497. (Prajāpati as creator), 1535

Kausitaki-grhyasūtra 730.

Kausitaki Upanisad, 464n-65, 525n, 538, 864n, 866, 1113 (joys of heaven), 1386n, 1388n, 1468n, 1486, 1507n, 1513, 1553-55, 1558-9, 1563, 1579n, 1580 (Ajātasatru and Bālāki Gārgya), 1587n.

Kautilya, a. of Arthasāstra: 476, 505n, 527-8, 538, 569-70, 658-9, 675, 819, 862, 1001n, 1205 (includes 'Lokāyata' under Ānvīkṣikī), 1628, 1638, (speaks of armies of brāhmanas and kṣatriyas).

Kautsa, views of, that Vedic mantras are *anarthaśāla* (have no sense or serve no purpose) and was attacked by Nirukta 1275-76

Kautika (nine things as consti-

tuents) to be tied on *kaṭhana* in marriage 291.

Kāvyaadarśa (of Dandin), contains a verse in the Sarvato-bhadra form, 1134.

Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara 1183.

Kayāliya-Rgveda IV. 31. 1 and Sāmaveda No. 169.

Kaye G. R. claims that he has proved that India is not the originator of the decimal place value notation 699n, doubts whether Kṛtīkās are Pleiades, but does not suggest any other identification 493, 585.

Keay, F. E., a. of 'Kabir and his followers' 969n.

Keith, Prof. A. B., 1397 (on Patañjali), 719, 1200 (a. of 'Kārmamīmāṃsā'), 1254 (inverts meaning of Ārādya kāraka and Sannipatyopākāraka), 1395, 1434, a. of 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads' 1213, 1486n, 1491, 1604, 1627 (remark of, about ethical content of Upanisads being value less, criticized), a. of 'Sāṅkhya system' 1354, 1371, 1373, 1376, a. of translation of Tai. S. in H. O. S 1545.

Kemadruma, Yoga, meaning of, 584

Kendra and Greek 'Kentron' differ in meaning 585.

Khecari-mudrā (in Hathayoga), descriptions of, different in different works 1127.

Khulasūktā 729n.

Kenopanisad, 1044.

Kern H., assigned Garga to 50

- B C 592n, 680-71, a. of 'Manual of Buddhism' 941, 944, 970n, 1003; editor of *Bhāṭṭasāhita* of Varāhamihira 69n, 187, 193, 516n, 579, 584, 592n, edited *Saddharmapundarika* with Bunyiu Nanjui 1107; published part of *Yogayātrā* in volumes of 'Indische Studien' 617n, published part of *Yogāpurāṇa* 826, rebuked Weber for holding *Paulīśa-Siddhānta* as borrowed from Paulus merely on similarity of name 516n, shows that *Saddharma-pundarika* (tr. by him in SBE) contains passages closely agreeing with *Gitā* 970.
- Kaśava, a. of *Paddhata* on *Kauśika-sūtra* 735n
- Ketkar V. B, a. of 'Indian and foreign chronology' 661, 664, 680n.
- Khandadava, a. of *Bhāttakaustubha* and *Bhāttarahasya* (1600-1665 A. D.), 1199
- Khāravela, Jain king of *Kalīṅga*, performed *Rājasūya* 1028.
- Khañjarīta (wagtail) or *Khanjana* bird; eating of flesh of, forbidden by *Manu* and *Yāj.* 193, prognostications from movements of 193.
- Khasa tribe 969.
- Khosrove, horoscope of the accession of king, on 18-8-531 A. D., 556n.
- Khuddakapāṭha* 913n.
- Kidinnu, said to have discovered precession of equinoxes 514n
- Kielhorn, editor of *Mahābhāṣya* 130, 408n, 1631n; published list of Hindu festive days based on *Dharmasindhu* 253.
- Kikata, a country in which non-Aryans resided, acc. to *Yāska* and acc. to *Kumārila*, K. means 'closefisted' 1256n.
- Kings (vide under *Mangala*, *Āndhra*, *Puṣyasānāna*, *Sātavāhana*, officials); *naksatras* on which the king should not get himself shaved 533n, not affected by *āśauca* while performing royal duties 48; not to donate the whole kingdom in *Viśvajit* sacrifice, 1313; office of, hereditary 1664; procedure of coronation of K. with *Paurāṇika* mantras prescribed in *Agni* and *Viṣṇudharmottara* and in medieval digests like *Nīlmayūkha* 923, *Puṣyasānāna* for, had *Paurāṇik* mantras 1024, rise and fall of, depended on planets acc. to *Yāj.* 544, set free prisoners when the king's *naksatra* was affected by evil aspects 531n; should perform all religious acts as directed by the *purohita* 543, 742, sign of success is the ease or satisfaction of the king's mind 778; starting on expedition should see, hear and touch *mangala* objects and listen to recitations of *Veda*, *Dharmaśāstra*, epics 621, 778, time table for king's daily routine acc. to *Kautilya* 819, when the *naksatra* of the king's coronation or of his caste or the *naksatra* of his country is affected by evil planets or aspects what is to be the forecast 530; when eclipse *maṇḍa*

- precious to king, 765, 1639 (office of king hereditary and king deemed to be a divinity).
 Kūrātas, assigned to caves in Vāj S. 969n, worship of Durgā by 158.
 Kūrātārjuniya 892n, 911, 1134 (example of Sarvatobhadra *citrabandha*), 1195 (quoted by Prabhākara).
 Kurfel W., a. of 'Purāna pañcalaksana' 841, 843, 852, a. of 'Die cosmographie der Inder' 843, 1523; gives chapter concordance of Vāyu and Brah-mānda Purānas 841n; gives a table of chapters that are common to both Vāyu and Brah-mānda, 841n; Introduction to 'Purāna pañcalaksana' translated into English, published in Vol. VII and VIII of Journal of Venkatesvara Institute of Tirupati 841n, most of his conclusions except one are tentatively acceptable 852; view of, that the five matters 'sarga' etc. were the only elements of ancient Purānas not acceptable 852
 Kleen, Miss Tyra de, work of, is of fundamental importance 1523n, on Mudrās practised by Bauddha and Śaiva priests, called *pedandas*, in Bah 1125
 Kṛṣṇa, technical word in Yoga 1364n; five in Yogasūtra II 3, 1364n.
 Knowledge, spiritual and scholastic, to be kept secret 1460-61, (vide under Upanisad)
 Kolhatkar K. K., a. of 'Pātāñjala-Yogadarśana' (in Marathi), 1393, 1399 (criticized).
 Koestler, A., a. of 'The Lotus and the Robot' 1394, 1453n (disbelieves levitation), labels Indian Democracy as Bapucracy 1668n
 Kollam (or Paraśurāma) era in Malabar, 656 (deemed to have started in 1176 B. C.).
 Konāṅka temple, vide 1653n, for description and works on
 Kosala, country, situated on Śarayū, with Ayodhyā as capital 531n.
 Kōtiroma 290, 752, 754, (king's duty to perform); one kind of navagrahasānti in which the oblations, fees and rewards are one hundred times of Lakshoma, the other procedure being the same 752, continues for a year, acc. to Matsya 753, procedure of, 754, to be begun in Caitra or Kārtika, if no urgency 761.
 Krama (order in which the several component parts or acts of a sacrifice are to come one after another) 1313-1317, fifth chap. of P. M. S. deals with this, 1313, for determining the sequence of component parts in a sacrifice six means are specified 1313 14, illustrations (from Veda) about sequence being determined by the six means 1314-1316; illustrations of arthakrama being held stronger than pāthakrama in Dharmaśāstra works 1314
 Kramadīpikā of Keśava, a Vaiṣṇava Tantra 1051.

Kramrisch, Dr. Stella, 1653n (translated passages of Viṣṇudharmottara on painting and sculpture); a of 'Indian sculpture' 1655.

Kratu, meaning of, in Rgveda and Upanisads 1546n.

Kratvartha 1232 34; distinction between K and Puruṣārtha taken over into Dharmasūtra, examples cited 1234-5, general rule that all angas (auxiliary rites) are K. and there is a great difference between the results of not doing the two matters properly or omitting them and test for deciding whether some matter is K. or puruṣārtha pointed out, 1234-35.

Kroeber, A. L., a. of 'Style and civilization', disagrees with Spengler and Toyubee 1617.

Kṛṣṇa (vide under Kṛṣṇajñānāmāstamīvrata): K and Arjuna are described as drunk with wine and married their maternal uncle's daughters 1281; identifies himself with Vāsuki and Ananta (a *nāga*) 127; killed Narakāsura and married 16000 women imprisoned by the latter 197-198; story of suspicion about K. killing Praśenajit for *syamantaka* jewel 147.

Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, a perpetual student, raised sons on the widows of his uterine brother Vicitravīrya by *nyoga*, 1280.

Kṛṣṇajñānāmāstamīvrata 128-143, (see under Vāsudeva and Megasthenes), acc. to Jayanti-

nirnaya, tithi is principal matter in Janmāstamīvrata, while in Jayantivrata nakṣatra Rohiṇī is the principal matter 133; antiquity of Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva worship 129-131, 953, Besnagar Ins of Greek Heliodorus refers to Vāsudeva as Devadeva 131; celebrated on the 8th of dark half of Śrāvana and on 8th of Bhādrapada dark half acc. to some 128-129, conclusions of Tithitattva about the exact times of, 134; current in Northern and Central India from about 500 B C, if not earlier, 131; description of Kṛṣṇa's birth in Bhāgavata is commonplace and vague 131, eighth tithi may be with Rohiṇī or without it and several possible combinations of tithi, nakṣatra, time and week day are set out, 134; exact time and tithi of Janmāstamī celebration is much discussed in medieval works 134; Ghosundi Inscription of 2nd or 1st century B. C mentions the worship of Sankarsana and Vāsudeva 131, is *Nitya* as well as *Kāmya* 133, Jain tradition about Kṛṣṇa 129; Jayanti and Janmāstamī distinguished, 132, Jayanti fast occurring on Wednesday or Monday yields far greater results than in other cases 135, Kṛṣṇa, a Vedic poet, in Rg. invokes Aśvins 129, Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīraṇa, author of Rg. VIII 86-87, 129, Kṛṣṇa is depicted in Mahābhārata as a

composite personality viz as a prince, friend of the Pāṇdavas, a great warrior, statesman and philosopher and also as Avatāra of Viṣṇu 129-130; life of, among cowherds in Bhāgavata, and Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas 129; Kṛṣṇa was one of the Viṣṇus, stories and dramatic representations about his killing Kaiśa and imprisoning Bali existed before the Mahābhāṣya 130; Kṛṣṇa cult, various phases of, acc to Dr R. G. Bhandarkar, 131; Kṛṣṇa's birth on Rohiṇī nakṣatra, of which Prajāpati is the Lord, 131n; account of birth of K. from Bhavisyottara together with astrological aspects 131-132; K. belonged to the Candramāṣa and Budha in legend and astrology is son of the Moon and so Monday and Wednesday on 8th of Śrāvana were deemed to yield great results 135n, Mahābhārata on Kṛṣṇa 129, 953; main items in K. vrata are fast, worship of Kṛṣṇa, jāgara, listening to and repeating hymns and stories of exploits of Kṛṣṇa and pāraṇā 135; principal items in K. vrata, views differ on, 137-38, most important vrata and utsava celebrated throughout India 128; most sublime praises of Kṛṣṇa in Mahābhārata by Yudhiṣṭhira, Draupadi and Bhīṣma, 129, nakṣatra of Kṛṣṇa's birth was Abhijit acc. to Harivamśa 133; numerous verses on the mahātmya of,

in Agni, Mātṛya and Padma Purāṇas 129; names one hundred and eight of Kṛṣṇa set out in Brahmānda 977n, pāraṇā in K. in some cases may be at night, particularly for Vaiṣṇavas 139, passed away thirty-six years after Bhārata war, 687n; people called Vāsudevaka and Ārjunaka before Pāṇini's times 130, principal time for celebration of K. is midnight of 8th of Śrāvana dark half (of Bhādra-pada if month is pūrṇimānta), 134, procedure of K. vrata 135-137, procedure in Dharmaśāstru employs Puruṣasūktā in K. vrata, while some other works mention no vedic mantra 137; question whether Janmāṣṭamīvrata and Jayantīvrata are identical or different vratas is decided differently by different authors 132-133, reference to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra in Chāṇ. Up. receiving instruction from Ghorā-Āṅgīrasa 129; special rules about pāraṇā of Janmāṣṭamī and Jayantī fast 138-139; the K. festival is not found in Kīṭyakalpataṛu on Vrata, but a brief reference is made to it in Nāyatakāhika section of that work 139-40; usage in some territories like Mahārāṣṭra of 'Gopāla-kālā', 139, Weber's theory that the ritual of K. festival was transferred to India from outside based on three points, examined and shown to be baseless 140-143.

Krishnamachari, V. T., a of 'Planning in India' 1683n.

Kṛta, implies the number 'four' in Tai Br. 701.

Kṛta era, 651-53, generally identified with Mālarā-gana era and Vikrama era 651-52, inscriptions in Kṛta years found so far are nine, 651 and n; interpretation of, 651.

Kṛta-yuga, described in Gupta inscriptions as a cycle of great virtue 687, Dharma perfect and four-footed in K and declined by one foot in successive yugas 688n, Manusmṛti (IX. 301) puts forward the view that the four ages are not watertight specific periods of time, but the king or ruling power can produce the conditions of Kṛta 696

Kṛtikās. are many, acc. to Śatapatha Br. 507; do not swerve from the east, while other nakṣatras do so 507, referred to as Bahulā by Pāṇini 499, 740n, and a man born on Bahulā may be called Bahulā, said to be seven in Manu Sm. 507n; seven names of, from Tai. Br. 499; spoken of as wives of the rksas 498n; substances, persons and craftsmen governed by K. 560.

Kṛtyakalpataṛu (1110-30 A. D.), 30, 39-40, 44n, 47n, 55, 70, 101-2, 115n-6n, 119n, 124, 139, 149, 929n, 1381 (quoting Devaladharmasūtra), 1407, 1409n, 1417n-18n, 1431n, 1438n, 1440n, 1444n, 1446n-48n, 1449, 1450n,

1455, 1457n; the editor of Kṛtyak. did not identify many verses quoted in it, e. g. on p. 1448 (eight verses from Śaṅkha-smṛti and six from Dakṣa-smṛti), 1458 (four verses from Śānti-parva); on *Brahmacārīkāṇḍa* 820n, 870-71, 897, 926n, 1262 (on five categories of smṛti contents), on *Grhasthahāṇḍa* 925n, 947n; on *Mokṣa* 1112n, 1217 (quotes Devala on Siddhis); on *Niyatakalā* or *Nayatalālāka* 82, 117n, 157n, 184n, 214n-216n, 219, 244, 247-49n, 897, 1246n, 1270n; on *Rājadharmā* 737n, 754, 793n, 897; on *Śāntis* 734-35, 752 3 (quotes Matsya), 754, 788n, 798n; on *Śrāddha* 527, 897, on *Vrata* 185, 211 (whole of Chap. 98 of Matsya q. on pp. 432-435), 868n, 890n, 897, 1096n, 1105 (mūlamantra of the Śaṅ), 1106 (Mahāśvetā mantra), on *Vyavahāra* 1287.

Kṛtyaratnākara 30, 32n, 37-40, 42n, 57, 59, 71n, 79n, 81n, 82, 89n, 92, 93n, 101-2, 110n, 111-2, 114, 116n, 125, 140, 152n, 154n, 156-7n, 174n, 177n, 180n, 184n, 193, 203n, 207n, 213n-216n, 221n, 222n, 241, 246n-249n, 481, 660, 662, 871n, 923n, 926n, 962, 1243, begins with Vāra-vratas 57.

Kṛtyatattva 88n, 91, 93, 110n, 111-3, 122 123n-25n, 134, 138, 139n, 195n, 198n, 199, 201-2, 207n, 208n, 228n, 241.

Ksatriyas, destruction of, by Paraśurāma 89n.

Ksayamāsa 662, 664; references to some past K. 665, when occurs 664; which month out of twelve can or cannot be K. 664-665.

Ksemaka, last king of the Aila Dynasty (acc. to Vāyu) is described in Naraṇḍhapurāṇa as grandson of Udayana and Vāsavadattā and son of Naravāhana 891-92.

Ksemendra, a. of Daśavatāra-carita, composed in 1066 A. D., 824.

Ksetra, 24 tattvas are so called in Śāntiparva, 1365.

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Kṣīrasvāmin, com. of Amarakośa 668n, 1001n, 1422n.

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Kubjikāmata Tantra, 1033.

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Kulacūdāmapītantra 1038n, 1109.

Kuladharmā or Kulamārga all have *adhikāra* for this, acc. to Mahānirvāṇa, while some declare that only those who have subdued their senses have *adhikāra* 1077, combines both *bhoga* and *yoga*, is superior to all other doctrines and that under it what is sin (acc. to ordinary people) becomes meritorious, 1083; de-

clared to be superior to all sacrifices, pilgrimages and vratas 1052; enlightens him whose mind is purified by mantras of Śaiva and Durgā worship 1083, meaning of K or Kauladharmā 1052-53; worship performed with five *maḥāras* is called Kulācāra, 1053.

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Kullūka, commentator of Manusmṛti, 468n, 887, 1032n, 1234, 1265n 1330 (on equal division of 36 years' *brahmacarya* on three Vedas), 1424n

Kumāragupta, a Gupta emperor styled Vikramāditya on his coins 901.

- Kumārasambhava 186, 539, 620n, 905, 910, 1384, 1623
- Kumārīlabhātta (vide under Bihat-tikā, Ślokarvārtika, Smṛti, Tantravārtika), a of Ślokarvārtika 1179, a. of Tantravārtika, in which he summarises the contents of Purāṇas, 823-24; a. of Bihat-tikā, 1185n, 1188, 1247n; a of Tup-tikā 1188, differs from Śabara and criticizes Śabāra's bhāṣya many times as being improper or fit to be discarded and as absurd 1294, 1335, does not apply epithets like Bhagavān or Ācārya to Jaimini and once criticizes Jaimini as having composed sūtras of little substance 1162; flourished about 650-700 A. D. 1191, 1196; divergence of views about the chronological position of K and Prabhākara 1190, mentions Vin-dhyavāsin 1376; points of difference between K and Prabhākara are many, 1190n, relies on Manu for the usefulness of *tarā* 1475; states that Buddha's doctrine attracted sūdras and those that had lost caste 926, tradition that Prabhākara was a pupil of K. 1191; two more works (apart from the three published ones) of K. are Madhyamatikā and Brāhmatikā 1188, waged only a polemic war against Buddhists and persecution of them by K is held not proved by Rhys Davids 1009-10; was prepared to accept usefulness of Buddha's teaching up to a limited extent 1009n, 1262.
- Kumbhavarva (once in 12 years) 186, 287, 539, 620n.
- Kumbhīpāka, a hell so called 85.
- Kundalinī (vide Cakras, mantras, nādis); danger of trying to rouse K, except under expert guidance 1061, 1429-30; identified by Dr Rele with Vagus nerve but Woodroffe differs 1443, is Śakti coiled like a snake in the ādhāra or mūlādhāra cakra (at the base of the spine) which when roused by Yogic practices passes through six cakras, reaches the crown of the head that has (*sahasrāra*) lotus and then the Kuṇḍalinī returns to its original position 1061n-62, 1098, 1137-8; Dr Rele's work on 'Mysterious Kundalini' 1393, 1443 (criticized by Shri Kuvalayananda), Rudrayāmala on K and cakras 1034n, 1061n; Rudrayāmala sets out 1008 names of K. all beginning with the letter 'ka' 1062n; Śakti or Devī assumes the form of K, it is a form of śabda-brahma, all mantras are forms of Śakti or Devī, appears as sounds (akṣaras) which become when written letters of the alphabet (called mātṛkā) which are 50 from 'a' to 'kṣa' 1099
- Kundapīyānā - ayana deals with Agnihotra for a month different from daily Agnihotra, 1307, 1342
- Kunhūn Raja, Prof. C., Intro-

duction of, to Umbeka's com. called *Tātparyatikā* on *Śloka-vārtika*, 1194, 1200, view of, that there is no proof of Bhatta-pāda being guru of Umbeka. criticized 1194n; wrong in his interpretation of words like 'anupāsita-guravah' in Umbeka's com. on *Śloka-vārtika* 1195-96.

Kunhan Raja, Presentation Volume, 919.

Kuppuswami, M. M. Prof. 1186n-88n, 1195 (paper on Mandana and Sureśvara equation in the Vedānta).

Kūrmapurāṇa, 103n-4n, 116, 121, 143, 202, 249n, 473 (on Kāla), 682, 687, 690n, 691, 694, 825n, 857n, 865n, 870, 915, 921, 930n, 935 (incorporates Upaniṣad passages), 946 (on Ahimsā), 967, 974n, 977n, 1024, 1042, 1270n (similar to Yāj. I. 156), 1373, 1383, 1403n, 1412n, 1421n, 1431n, 1438, 1445, 1446n, 1455; 1524, 1528, 1582; extent of, is 17000 or 18000 acc. to many Purāṇas 833; note on 888-889.

Kūsmānda mantras 796, 1024.

Kūtas in marriage, eight, named and explained, 614-615.

Kuvalayananda, Swami, of Lonavla (vide under Dr. Behanan): ed. of *Brhad-yoga-Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 1404: a. of paper on 'the real Yogayājñavalkya smṛti' 1407; handbook of, on 'āsanas' 1425-26; handbook of, on 'prāṇāyāma' 1428n, 1441-1443 (describes eight kinds of *Prāṇāyāma*); on

Vivekānanda's lectures on Rājayoga 1443-44; suggests correction in *Yogabhāṣya* as to the *bhūmis* of *citta* (mind) in *Yogasūtra* III. 11, 1409; treats Dr. Rele's work on 'Mysterious Kundalini' as of doubtful scientific value 1443.

L' *Astrologie Grecque*, a work of Bouche Leclercq (vide under Bouche Leclercq).

Laghu-Hārta 76n.

Laghu-Jātaka of Varāhamihira 533n, 545n, 547, 554n, 561n, 568, 574-5n, 577, 580, 585, 589, 594.

Laghurudra, 813; is same as *Ekādāśinī*, acc. to Kamalākara and some others, but in popular practice it is eleven times of 'Ekādāśinī', 813-14.

Laghu-Śātātapa 706n.

Laghu-Viṣṇu 30, 48.

Laghu-Vyāsa 914n.

Lahiri, N. C. 657n.

Lakāras, ten (for tenses and moods) in Pāṇini 1235, 1236n, all of which begin with letter 'la' (as in *lat* for 'present tense' etc.).

Laksahoma, a Śānti, 397, 749, 752, 761; eulogy of, 754; not to be performed by one with little wealth 752-4.

Lakṣaṇā, a function of words that gives rise to secondary sense 293; difference between Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī Vṛtti drawn by *Tantravārtika* 1293n.

Lakṣmī, com. on *Kālaninaya-kārikā*, 672.

Lakṣmidhara, 30; vide *Kṛtya-*

- kalpataru
 Lakṣmīdhara, com. on Saundaryalaharī, 1136n.
 Lakṣmīpūjana, on amāvāsyā in Divālī 199-200, in Bengal Kālī worshipped on this amāvāsyā, 200, it is a day specially meant for traders and merchants 200; night of this day is called *sukhasuptikā* 200
 Lākula or Lakuliśa Pāśupata 978n; Lakuli flourished about 1st century A. D. 978n, Linga and Vāyu Purāṇas mention Lakuli as founder of a Śaiva sect and Kāyārohana (modern Karavan in Dabhoi Taluka) as its sacred place 978n
 Lalitāsahasranāma, Bhāskarācārya's com on, is called . Saubhāgyabhāskara, 1083 and n.
 Lalitopākhyāna, is at the end of the Brahmandapurāṇa 895, 1042, 1072n; most verses in chap 42 are same as in Mudrā-nighaṇṭu pp. 55-57, 1128.
 Lalla, 61n, 182, 612n.
 Lama Anagarika Govinda, a. of a recent work 'Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism' 1104n, on Mantra 'om Mani padme hūm', criticized 1104n
 Land-laws, affecting the holding of lands by non-agriculturists, compulsory sale to erstwhile tenants, law placing ceilings on holding lands, most important 1674-75; criticized as not Socialistic, but spoliation, 1677-8.
 Lassen 142
 Last Thought, vide under 'Death'.
 Lātadeva, is said to have commented upon Pauliṣa and Romaka Siddhāntas, 514n.
 Latāsādhana, meaning of, in tantra works, 1081.
 Laugāksi 73n.
 Laugāksi Bhāskara, a. of Arthasangraha, tr. by Thibaut 1199.
 Laukika-nyāya, the word occurs in Śābara's bhāṣya 1255.
 Law, Dr. B. C., Presentation Volume 1002, a of paper on 'Prince Jeta's grove in Ancient India' 1411n.
 Lea Henry C, a of 'Superstition and force' 1019-20 (on methods of Inquisition).
 Leadbeater, C. W., a. of 'the Cakras' (Adyar, 1927), 1148.
 Lecky, a of 'History of the rise and influence of rationalism in Europe' 1576 (cites instances of extirpation).
 Legislation, spate of 1670ff.
 Leuba, James H, a. of 'Psychology of religious mysticism' (1929), 1463n.
 Levi S. (about Hinduism in the Island of Bali at present), 1614, 1616, 1618 (edited Sanskrit Texts from Bali in G. O. S.).
 Levitation (*Laghimā*) vouched for by Dr. A. Cannon 1112n, 1453, vouched by E. Wood, but not believed by A. Koestler 1452-53n.
 Lewis, a. of 'Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the ancients', 546, 550n.
 Lewis, Windham, a. of 'Time

- and Western Man' 475.
- Liung Chi Chao, Prof., a. of 'Paper on China's debt to India' 1039.
- Liberation (*Mukti* or *Mokṣa*): (vide under Mokṣa) 1514 1652.
- Loebich, Prof. B. 1397.
- Līlāvati, of Bhāskarācārya, 598n.
- Limitation Act, Indian 715n.
- Lincoln, definition of democracy by, 1667.
- Liṅga, emblem of Śiva; *ratnas* (precious stones) should be placed on, at Makarasāṅkrānti or gold or ghee of cow's milk 219.
- Liṅga, technical sense is 'suggestive or indicative power of a word or words' 1309.
- Lingapūrāṇa 41n, 45, 52, 101, 113n, 160n, 179, 181, 235, 236n, 238, 946n, 978n, (on Lakulī), 1030n (Guru's position), 1072 (states *Guru* is Śiva), 1096n, (mantra 'namah śivāya'), 1117 (treatment of Dikṣā), 1419n-21n, 1431n, 1436n (ten prāṇas), 1438, 1446 (echoes yogasūtra), 1450n, (on Samādhi), 1455; not drawn upon by Ballālasena as its treatment of *dānas* is the same as that of Matsya 868; note on, 903; one recension of L. was discarded by Ballālasena, 869, 903.
- Lipsāsūtra, is Jai. IV. 1. 2 in which the word 'lpsā' (meaning 'the desire to obtain') occurs, 1232n.
- Liptā, sixtieth part of a degree 584.
- List (exhaustive) of vrata and utsavas, 255-462.
- Lodge, Sir Oliver, a. of 'Man and the Universe', 1650n (on image worship)
- Lohābhīṣārīka (vide under Nirājana) 'a rite about horses performed from 1st to 9th tithi of Āśvina, 184, 400.
- Lokapālas (guardians of worlds or the directions) 766n; names of eight L. 766n.
- Lokas (worlds), three or seven, denoted by the vyāhrtis (bhūh, bhuvah etc.), 1528 and n; Kūrma-purāṇa mentions L. from 'mahah' to 'satya' 1528n; Mahendra-loka, Prājāpatya loka, Jana, Tapas and Satya lokas mentioned in Yogabhāṣya 1529.
- Lokāyata or Lankāyatika 1205n-1206, 1472n, Kautilya includes it under Ānvīkṣikī, along with Sāṅkhya-yoga 1205; meaning of, changed from time to time 1205, Pāṇini (in Ukthādhigana IV. 2 60) appears to have known the word 1205, 1472n; Ruben Dr on 'Lokāyata' 1205n; Śankarācārya (on V S. III. 3 54) states that L. do not admit any principle other than the four elements and no soul apart from the body 1250n.
- 'Lokāyata', study of ancient Indian Materialism by Devaprasad Chattopadhyaya (New Delhi, 1959), 206n.
- Lokāyatikas referred to as 'eko' in V. S. (III. 3. 53), 1173.
- Lopāmudrā 10, 1124 (in Rg. I.

179. 4).
 Lotus leaf, not affected by water fallen or sprinkled on it, 1005-6, 1367n, 1585n, 1587.
 Luck-vide under 'daiva'.
 Luders, Prof., on Rṣyaśrnga story 893
 Ludwig (on Rg X 55. 3) 494n.
 Luke (Gospel of) 677.
 Luther, though a rebel against Pope's authority, denounced Copernicus as a fool 512.
 Lyon E., a. of 'Assignment in Utopia' (1937) for horrors in Russia before 1934, 1474n
 Macaulay's Minute on 'Indian Education', its aim and results 1661-62.
 Macdonell, a. of 'Vedic Mythology', sometimes indulges in facile assumptions 209, 1213, 1486n, 1577 (does not agree with Deussen about Kṣatriyas being original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts)
 Macdougall, a. of 'An outline of abnormal psychology' 1414n.
 Maclean, C. V., on 'Babylonian Astrology' etc 546n, 571n, 689n.
 Maenical, M., a. of 'Indian Therism' 1570n, 1593-94 (criticized for view that there was no place for repentance in doctrine of Karma).
 Madanpārijāta, 30n, 47n-8n, 71n, 73n, 196n, 672, 1193 (North Indian work of about 1360-1390 A D quotes a half verse of Prabhākara), 1273n, 1299 (on Vākya-bheda)
 Madanaratna, 61, 133, 244, 734 (on Śāntis), 735 (list of matters dealt with in Śāntika section), 736, 755, 756n, 765n, 769, 771n, 772, 785, 788-89, 1303, 1304n, 1305 (on vyavahāra), 1316n (prefers as heir to deceased son the father and not mother), 1330; eulogizes on vyavahāra, Bhavanātha 1189, 1233
 Mādharma, an early writer (before 500 A D.), criticizing Sāṅkhya, 1359.
 Mādhavācārya, 1160, a. of Kāla-nirnaya, 67n, 151, 202, 227, 659; a. of com on Sūtasamhitā, 911, a. of Jaiminiyanyāyamālā-vistāra 1199.
 Madhvācārya alias Anandatīrtha (vide under 'Tolerance'): a. of 'Mahābbārata-tātparyanirnaya' 1218, claims to be third avatāra of Vāyu, the other two being Hanūmat and Bhīmasena 1219, endeavours to interpret Rg I 141 1-3 as referring to these three avatāras and the word *madhva* thought enough to claim that Madhva was referred to in Rg I 141. 3, 1219, thirty works which Madhva cites are said by Śrī Venkatasubbiah to occur nowhere else 1219; was very severely handled by Appayya-dīkṣita in the latter's Madhva-tantra-mukhamardana and charged with fabricating Vedic and other texts 1219.
 Madhyāhna, explained 100.
 Madness, believed to be influenced by the Moon 552 and n.
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Maga or Śākadvīpiya brāhmanas 264

Maga-vyakta, a work by Krishnadus Mishra 264

Māgadha (vide under 'Sūta'), 862-864; a *pratiloma* caste due to union of a Vaiśya male with a Kṣatriya female 862.

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Magicians, frequently m. in Rgveda and described as 'Ādeva', 'anṛtadeva', 'śiśnadeva' (lecherous) 1035; were called 'Yātudhāna', 'raksas' and 'piśāci' (female evil spirit) 1035-36.

Mahābhāgavata defined in Padma 964.

Mahābhārata, 27, 44-5, 81, 89, 91, 109, 118, 126, 129, 245, 506n, 531, 544, 569, 682, 687, 769, 775; and Sāṅkhya 1363-1371; called Jaya by itself and other works 840, 871; claims that it is superior to all Vedas 915; contains no passage giving the position of planets in relation to *rāśis*

532, critical edition of, at Poona 838; date of 849; describes itself as Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra and Kārṣṇaveda 819, dilates upon all four *puruṣārthas* and should be listened to by one desiring Mokṣa 921n, discussion in, on *daiva* and *puruṣakāra* 544-5; emphasizes often that there is only one God and that there is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu 118; enjoins (in Bhīṣma 5, 12) that incomprehensible matters should not be tried to be solved by *Tarka* 1470; many passages in M. where planets in relation to Nakṣatras are stated to forebode misfortune to people in general or to individuals 532; Nīlakantha, commentator of, 937n, 1214; stated to contain the substance of the Veda and a better means of the education of the common people including Śūdras, women etc. 924-25; words 'abhyāsa paramo dharmaḥ' occur frequently in M. 945, 1626 (spiritual or religious debts), 1642, 1688 (about sonless man).

Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (about 150 B. C.): (vide under Patañjali), 36, 103, 203, 468n, 469, 542n, 658n-68n, 684n, 698 (on numerals), 820 (derives 'Panrānika'), 937n, 963, 985, 1032, 1156 (full of Pūrva mīmāṃsā matters), 1157 (mentions Kāśakṛtsni), 1158, 1203 (on Veda), 1221n (divisions of the four Vedas), 1224n

- (śabdapramāṇakā vāyam), 1236n (on *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*), 1246n ('na' means 'sadiśa' in some cases), 1252 (śāstra is meant to give definite rules), 1290 (primary meaning to be preferred to secondary), 1321 (on Sattra for one thousand years), 1331n, 1388n, 1393 (date of), 1398 (employs an ungrammatical form in *Aviravikanyāya*); mentions several men and incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa such as killing Kāṁsa 130n, paper by present author on 'Muhābhāṣya and the bhāṣya of Śabara' 1275n; quoted several times by Śabara who refers to its author as Ācārya and 'abhiyukta' 1275n; remarks that Vedas and their meaning are eternal but the arrangement of words is not eternal and hence arise different Ved c texts like Kāthaka, Kālāpika etc 1203; 1631n, 1640n (M. included Śakas and Jāvanas among śūdras), ed by Kiellhorn 1631n
- Mahādānaś, sixteen, of which Gosahara was one 219n.
- Mahākālāhrdaya, a mantra, Japa of 1047.
- Mahāpārīyagopanaśad, 466, 175n-6, 1627n
- Mahimānātatantra (18th century A. D.), 1033n, 1052n-3, 1355n, 1062, 1074n, 1077n, 1080, 1086-8, 1089n, 1092, 1095, 1099, 1100-01, 1102n, 1107, 1108n, 1112, 1114 (on dīkṣā), 1118, 1120 (on nyāsa), 1126n, 1133; a typical Hindu Tantra, summarised 1057-60; states that God is one and to be described as *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda* is beyond *guṇas* and to be known from Vedānta texts and yet prescribes the five *maḥāras* for worship 1057; allows only five cups of wine to a householder *sādhaka* etc. 1059; waxes eloquent over duties of *varṇas* and *āśramas*, duties of the king and servants, provides for marriages within the *varṇa* and dīkṣa only with *śāstṛ* persons, deals with *saṁskāras* and *śrāddha*, *prāyaścitta* and *vṛjavahāra* 1059-60.
- Mahānīśā, variously defined 117n.
- Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, 686, 1022 (story of the criticism of Buddha by Subhadda, a barber), 1070 (Buddha was strict and asked monks not to see or talk to bhikkhunis).
- Mahāraulīna (a Sāman chant) 796n.
- Mahārudra, repeating Laghurudra eleven times 813.
- Mahāśānti 730n; acc to Kauśika-sūtra should comprise Vāstupati hymn and certain Atharvaveda texts 730n; means Vināyakaśānti and Navagrahaśānti, acc to commentary on Śāṅkhya Gr. Sūtra 730n; performed to remove evil effects of several adbhūtas and utpātas, on fall of meteors by day 761-763, 767.
- Mahāśāntiśānta 225-236: conflict of views as to what

is the chief matter in M., whether fast alone or three viz fast, worship and jāgara 227; exaggerated praise of 229, fourteenth tithi of dark half of Māgha (or Phālguna in Pūrnimānta reckoning) is called M, the other 14th tithis in the dark half of other months being simply Śivarātris 225; fourteenth of Māgha dark half falling on Sunday or Tuesday is most commendable 232; Kālanirnaya's propositions about the proper day and time for M when 14th is mixed with 13th tithi or Amāvāsyā, 230, proper times for performing M. acc to Hemadri and Īśāna-saṁhitā, 229-230; several Purāṇas contain details of M. and its Māhātmya 225, story of a wicked Kirāta named Canda in Skandapurāṇa 226-227; story of Sundarasena, a nṛpāda chief, 226; worship of Śiva with bilva leaves and jāgara whole night saves devotee from hell and leads to mokṣa 225, worship of Śivaliṅga at night with certain mantras destroys all sins 229

Mahāśvetā, a Mantra, *japa* of which on a Sunday with fast deemed to yield all desires 1106

Mahāvagga 939n, 1038 (story of Mendaka's family possessing miraculous powers), 1663 (procedure of saṅgha meetings)

Mahāvallipuram, has a tableau (of 7th century A. D) of the

strife of Devī and Mahāsūra 178.

Mahāvīra, sacrificial vessel in Pīavargya rite 728

Mahāvratā, sexual intercourse in, was symbolic and indulged in by strangers to the sacrifice 1080.

Mahāvryāhrtis, 796n, 1528n.

Mahāvryatīpāta, defined 706, gifts on this most highly commended 706.

Mahāyāna Buddhism, books on 941n-2n; differences of ideals between M. and Hīnayāna 942-43, its doctrine of Bodhisattvas is not consistent with the Gospel preached by Buddha in the first sermon at Benaras 942

Mahāyāna-sūtilāṅkāra of Asaṅga, mentions five points of difference between M. and Hīnayāna 942n; took over the doctrine of bhakti 970.

Maheśvara Tantra 1051 (names of Vaiṣṇava tantras), 1144.

Mahīdhara, commentator of Vāj. S 1037.

Mahāsūra, killed by Durgā, 155n, 184-85, 1047.

Mahmud of Gazni: plundered Kathiawar and Gujarat several times and desecrated temples 1018.

Mahodayaparva 262.

Maithuna, a *makāra*, in Tāntrik worship referred to as pañcamatattva (fifth substance) 1081; esoteric meaning of 1082.

Maṭrāyaṇi-Saṁhitā 727n, 750, 1220n (barhiṛ-devasadanam

- dāmī), 1222, 1224n, 1288n (*vasantāya kapiñjalān-ālabhate*), 1295n, 1305n, 1309n, 1327, 1328n
- Maṇṭrayāni-Upaniṣad 569 (mentions Śani, Rāhu and Ketu), 1419n (*śiṣya* angas only of Yoga), 1430, 1460, 1468.
- Maṇṭreyī, wife of Yājñavalkya in Br. Up 1405
- Maṇṭri Upaniṣad has a long disquisition on time 465-66, 1063n (on *Snuṣmā Nāli*), 1507n.
- Maṇḍhānikāya (ed by Treukner) 1007n, 1022, 1411n
- Majumdar, Prof B C. 843, 883 (origin and character of Pāṇina Literature), 1046n (two hymns to Durgā in Mahābhārata are interpolations)
- Majumdar R C 978n, 1011n (a of 'History of Bengal' ; 1048n (on 'Inscriptions from Kambuja'), a of 'Ancient Indian Colonies' 1618n.
- Majumdar, Surendranath a of paper on 'Bibliography of Ancient Geography of India' 1728n.
- Makāras, five, of Tāntrik cult explained in esoteric senses and also unobjectionable substitutes allowed for the *Paśu* (lowest kind of Śākta worshipper) 1081 and n, substitutes for makāras 1081n; many *tantra* works like Kulārṇava, Pārāṇḍarūtra employ the words *madya*, *matsya* and *māṃsa* in the ordinary sense 1086.
- Makṣā*, meaning of, 738n.
- Makarasankrānti (vide Sankrānti) 211-225, bath with ordinary water (not heated) obligatory on, 212, falls at present on 14th January in the Hindu almanacs based on Sanskrit works while the correct date is 21st December preceding 222, 712, fast for three days or one day in honour of M. 220, gifts are made even now on M. mostly by women 222, great merit results from bath in Ganges on, 212, Hemādri states that the proper day of M was in his day 12 days before the popular day of M and gifts (religions) should be made 12 days before the latter, 712n; it now falls in Pausa but the day changes in terms of the Gregorian calendar 211, 712, it was an important religious festival, but now more a social observance than religious 211, 221, meaning of the word 211, origin of the festival on m 223; procedure observed on, 211-212, prognostications drawn from the supposed directions of the deified M coming, going etc 225, *punyakāla* (holy time) on day of M 212, sesame to be employed on M in water for bath, and should be eaten and are very much in evidence even now 219, 221, twelve *nakṣas* and their western names 211 and n (and all twelve sankrāntis are holy), was supposed (as a divinity) to

ride some vehicle and an Upa-
vāhana (ancillary vehicle), to
wear a garment of some colour,
to carry a weapon, to apply a
tilaka of some substance 224-
225; was supposed to be
either young, middle-aged or
old, to have certain postures
(sitting, standing etc.), to come
from one direction, to go to
another and cast a glance at a
third 225.

Malamāsa, (intercalary month)
671; acts and rites not to be
performed in 673; acts to be
done only in M. 674; kāmya
rite not to be performed in,
unless it is begun before M.
starts 673. obligatory acts and
acts prescribed on definite occa-
sions are to be performed even
in M. such as daily sandhyā
673; rites that could be done
in M. as well as in Śuddha
month 674; Śīddha in M.
674-75

Malamāsatattva 58, 490n, 492,
498-9, 500, 507n, 592n, 664,
671n, 672-73n, 674, 761n,
835n, 1240, 1266n

Mālatimādhava, 1047n; mentions
human sacrifices in temple of
Candikā or Cāmundā 186,
1048.

Mālavagana years, inscriptions
dated in, 652 and n.

Mālavikāgnimitra, 531n, 1028
(Puṣyamitra)

Malignant spirit, known to Rg-
veda 60n

Māmluca—same as Malamāsa
671-672; explained and deri-
ved 671-72.

Mālinīvijayavārtika (a work of
Kashmir Tantrism) of Abhu-
navagupta 1050.

Mālinātha, 1426n, 1531 (his
motto ' nāmūlam līkhyate
kīrcit ').

Māmsa (flesh), esoteric meaning
of, in Tantra 1082; etymology
of, in Manu and Viṣṇu Dh. S,
1533.

Man, psychical powers of are
vast and unknown 1091-92;
man acc. to Christian doctrine
is conceived and born in sin,
while acc. to Vedānta, human
soul is divine 1506n; length
of life of, 100 years, acc. to
Rg, Vāj S, Atharvaveda,
1545

Manasāpñjā, in Bengal and South
India 125, procedure of 125,
Sankalpa in 125n.

Manasāvratā on Jyestha bright
half, 10th tithi, 126.

Mānasollāsa of Cālukya king
Somēśvara (1126-1138 A D)
805 (has verses on ' śakunas ');
809 (on upāśruti), 810n 1654
(on Vāstusāstra and paintings)
and n.

Mānavagrhya-sūtra, 729n-80n,
738n, 748.

Mandalas an item in Tāntrik
worship which is also a feature
of orthodox Hindu practices
in medieval and modern times
1131-34; M and Cakra said
to be synonymous by Jñānār-
navatantra 1133; Buddhist
tantras like Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa
describe M 1133; drawn with
powders of five colours, acc. to
Matsyapurāṇa and also figures

of a lotus with 8 or 12 petals drawn with saffron, or red sandalwood paste or in various colours 1131, eight mandalas, Sarvatobhadra and others, referred to in Agnipurāṇa 1132, four characteristic items in Mandala rites specified, 1133, in Pūṣyasūta a Mandala with different coloured powders was to be drawn 1132; meaning of the word in Tai S, Śat Br. and Br. Up is 'circular form' and 'orb of the Sun,' and later any figure or diagram (generally circular) drawn on an altar 1131-32, means 'circle' in Śulba sūtras and reference to the squaring of a circle (maudala) 1132, references in several purāṇas to invocation of the Sun on the figure of a lotus and also of Nārāyaṇa, and to images or paintings of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa and to Mandalas called Sarvatobhadra etc 1132, several Mandalas described in Jñānārṇava, Śāradātīlaka and other tantras 1132, several M drawn in R̥gveda-brahmakarma-samuccaya (Nirṇed) 1134, Smṛtikaustubha mentions several names of M. 1134, twenty six M described in 26 chapters of Nispauna-yogārāṇi 1133.

Maṇḍanamisra (between about 680-720 A D); explains a verse of Tantravārtika acc to Śiśradīpikā but there is no evidence that he wrote a com on Tantravārtika 1191 and n;

is later than Kumārila and flourished about 680-710 A. D. 1191, 1193-94; his Bhāvanāviveka quotes Tantravārtika 1191n; works of, on P. M. are Vidhiviveka, Bhāvanāviveka (commented upon by Umbeka), Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṃsānukramanī 1191, no evidence that he was a disciple of Kumārila but in Bhāvanāviveka and Vidhiviveka he quotes verses from Tantravārtika and Ślokovārtika and also a passage from Prabhākara's Brhātī 1193, 1198

Mandlik, a. of 'Hindu Law': wrong statement by, about Vedic passages that have a word like 'bi' showing reason 1239u.

Māndhātā, king was ordered by Indra to see that Yavanas, Cīnas, Śabaras, Śakas obeyed parents, performed rites laid down by Veda, made gifts to brāhmanas 54.

Māndavya, writer on Astrology, predecessor of Varāhamihira 592.

Māndūkyopaniṣad 465, 14'3n.

Maṅgala - auspicious sounds to be heard and objects to be seen when starting on an expedition 621; what are M. things 366, 621.

Maṅgala, tradition about beginning of any work with M. laid down by Manu 1207

Maṅgalāvaka, eight substances to be distributed to women when invited in a ceremony or vrata like Saubhāgyasundarī 367.

Manilius, not followed by Bihajjātaka as to Dreskānas 582n

Manittha; two Greeks of that name, one a contemporary of Berossus and the other an author of an astrological poem, 592n.

Manittha, probably an Indian, a. of work on Āyurdāya 592; refers to Horāśāstra of Parāśara 592n.

Manjuśrī-mūlakalpa 1040 (has late elements), 1140

Mankad, Prof D K, 686-7 (on ten meanings of the word 'Yuga'), on Manvantara and 40 years being the unit for a king's reign 696, 844n, 845; on 'Yugapurāna' 826-27; theories of, about Śuṅgas and Sāmaveda singing being of Chinese origin, criticized 844n.

Mansur, king (754-775 A D) in whose reign an Indian astronomer visited his court 699n.

Mantra (or Mantras, acc to context), (vide under 'Aurohindo, Brāhmana texts, Kapaly Sastri, Nigada, Śāradātīlaka Tantra, Veda, Vedic Interpretation). are employed in sacrifices for bringing to mind the act that is being done 1097, 1220, 1244; are the 3rd out of the five classes of Vedic texts 1244, *bṛjā* m like *hṛm*, *śrīm*, are said to make visible the form of the *devatā* in Tāntrik worship 1099; Buddhist Tantras (some) state that certain m. can confer even Buddhahood 1104; called 'Ahhaya' 769n, difficult to

define what a Vedic Mantra is and hence it is held that those Vedic verses or passages are m. that are recognized as such by the learned, 1096, 1098, 1220, 1223, difference between M. and prayer, 1100. difference between Vedic M and Tāntrik M 1107, differing interpretations of Rg IV. 58 3 (catvāri śrngā etc) by Nirukta and others, 985; examples of short mantras of 5, 6, 8, 12, 13 syllables from Smṛtis and Purāṇas as efficacious for securing all objects, 1096 and n, for killing an enemy in Agni-purāṇa, 1102, four classes of Vedic M viz *rk*, *yajus*, *sāman* and *nigada* 1097, 1221, great controversies about meaning and purpose of Vedic M. illustrated, 984-5; great importance attached to recitation of M and many educated men even of these days believe in their great efficacy 172; has three senses, acc to Ahirbudhnyasamhitā, *śihūla*, *sūkṣma* and highest, 1115; have no efficacy if learnt from books but are efficacious when learnt from a qualified guru 1100, 1112, have to be repeated thousands of times to secure full results, 1103-4; M in all tantras are m. of the great Devī 1102; Kutsa's view that M. have no sense or serve no purpose refuted in the Nirukta, 1097, list of hymns and verses of Rgveda that are co-mological, philosophical, or speculative

983-4, most famous Buddhist M. 'Om Man-padme hūm' discussed and results supposed to be derived from it, 1104n, 1454, most sacred Vedic M is Gāyatrī (Rg III 62.10) called Vedamātā in Atharvaveda 1097; no difference of meaning in the words used in Veda and the same words in ordinary life acc to Jaimini and Śabara, 1097, numberless mantras in Tantra 1102, M of Rāma worship 87n; Paurāṇik Mantras like 'dātā-o no' and 'yāntu devaganāh' came to be used even in Śrāddha by Yāj and others, probably to meet Buddha's appeal to masses 1024; peculiar pattern of M. prescribed for worship of a deity 788n, Rgveda I 164 39 is explained in four ways and Rg. I 164 54 in six ways by Sāyana 981-5, repetition of Vedic and Tāntrik M is called 'puraścārana' 1107; 'sac cid-ekam brahma' is the best of mantras acc to Mahānirvāṇa-tantra and perfection in it leads to mokṣa' 1112, several Vedic mantras with two meanings are cited in the Nirukta 981, some Vedic M are hortatory 1214, some Buddhist M embody Mahāyāna doctrines with the addition of syllables like *om*, *phaṭ*, *sāhā* 1105; synonyms of the word Mantra are *śloka*, *brahma*, *gir*, *dhiti*, *mati*, *manisā*, *vacas* *vacasvā* and are used hundreds of times in the Veda and in several

places a Vedic prayer is said to be new 983, Tāntrik M. are treated like Vedic M. with sage, metre, deity and *vinīyoga*, 1103; Tāra or Tāraka M. is *om* 1115, theory about sounds of M. being Śakti, 1100, three classes of Tāntrik M, masculine, feminine, neuter, 1101n, 1103; two theories about M. 1155; varieties of M called *astra*, *hṛdaya*, *kavaca*, *netra*, *rakṣā* are mentioned in Tāntrik texts 1102, verses of Rgveda show that a host of mantras already existed and were inspired by the Lord of Prayers 981-983; Vedic M. were relegated to a secondary role by the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system 1214, Vedic M. were supposed even in Rg to have great potency, that they induced God to come to the sacrifice and to bestow on sacrificer and worshipper valiant sons, wealth and protection 1098, word 'Mantra' derived and explained 1102, word Mantra occurs about 25 times in the Rgveda and 'Mantrakṛt' only once 980, word Mantra is not described as new in the Rg while the words 'Sukṛti' and 'Sūkta' that occur only four or five times are spoken of as new or fresh 983

Mantramahārnava-tantra 1136

Mantramahodadhī 1062n, 1110, 1113, 1136

Mantranyāsa illustrated by Bhāgavata Brahma and Nāradya-purāṇas as to mantras like 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' 1120.

Manu, is used sometimes in the sense of Mantra, both being derived from root 'man' to think 1060, 'Om sac-cidekam brahma' is 'Brahmamānu' 1060n; described in Rgveda as father of humanity and as prescribing the proper path for men 690n, Śavarṇya M. in Rgveda 691; story of M and the deluge, 691n; story of M. and his son Nābhānedīstha 691n

Manusmṛti 24n, 27-29n, 30, 33, 41, 49, 51-2, 67n, 72, 100, 166, 168, 193, 210, 214, 248, 476 (units of time), 517n, 527, 536n, 538-39, 605n, 607, 616, 687-88, 693, 696, 743, 757, 766n, 776n, 782n, 789n, 800, 801n, 820, 825, 862, 868n, 914 (on Śistabrāhmanas), 930-32, 931-8, 945 (virtues necessary for all varṇas), 946n (on Yama and Niyama), 948, 1023-4, 1027, 1042, 1079, 1086 (quoted by Kulārnava), 1096, 1154n, 1156n, 1178, 1190n, 1202-3 (appears to suggest that Veda is self-existent), 1207n, 1214n, 1230-34, 1241n, 1242-43 and n (many Arthavādas in), 1250 (in III. 267 gives several options expressly), 1251-52, 1256n-58n, 1264, 1278, 1288, 1293n, 1296, 1367n, 1378n, 1415n, 1420, 1440-1, 1457 (on duties of Sannyāsins), 1469, 1478, 1515-17, 1533-34, 1545, 1561, 1564-65 (uses word samsāra frequently), 1576n, 1589, 1591, 1593 (on repentance), 1596-

7, 1608, 1611; frequently echoes the very words of the Veda 1265n; mentions many Sāṅkhya tenets 1379, 1413n, 1422, 1424n, 1436n, 1516; practice of M. of stating opposite views on the same point one after another, 1266, 1517, 1619 (limits sadācāra to only certain parts of India, excluding Madhya-deśa and Āryāvarta), 1627n, 1628, 1630, 1633 (varṇa and jāti confounded), 1637, 1638 (brāhmaṇa selling milk for more than three days became a śūdra), 1638n, 1639 (king was a divinity in human form), 1645-6, 1669 (duties common to all men). some verses are identical with those in Śāntiparva, Vana-parva and some Purāṇas 688n, 1266n, 1516n, 1578; some verses of, almost identical with verses in Āp Dh. S. 817, some verses of, almost the same in Matsyapurāṇa 1520n; some verses identical with Parāśarasmṛti 1266n; three theories about creation in 1515-17. very eminent position assigned to M. by Bṛhaspati 1265; whatever Manusmṛti proclaims as dharma was already declared so in the Veda acc to M. II 7. on which commentators differ 1258n

Manus. each Manu during his time created the world and protected it 692; names of all fourteen M. in Nārada-purāṇa 691; names of seven only in Manusmṛti 691-2;

- past six M, 7th (the present one) Varasvata and 7 future ones 688, 691, variation in the names of the future seven M., 691
- Manvādi-tithis. on which each Manvantara was supposed to start 371
- Manvantara (vide 'Yuga') each M had a separate set of sages, gods, kings, smrtis 691, extent of 688, 690n, 697, fourteen M. constitute Kalpa 689, Prof. Mankad's novel theory about M 696, said to be numberless by Manusmṛti 688, sense of, 690n some purāṇas say that in each M Manu and seven sages are devoted to Dharma and promulgate Vedas by orders of Brahmā 692, some writers like Dr Daftari hold that in ancient India existed a public Institution called Manu and Saptarṣis 693.
- Marduk, Babylonian God 546
- Mārgapāli, on Balipratipadā, described 205-6.
- Mārgas, vide Paths
- Marici, Smṛti of 33, 216
- Mark (new Testament) 677, 1461n, 1647n, 1649.
- Mārkaṇḍeya 75n, 100, 147n, 188n; supposed to be one of the eight immortals (cira-jivinaḥ) invoked on Yamadvitiyā 208.
- Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (vide under Dattatreya); 51, 151n, 177, 187n, 243n, 530n (countries under different Nakṣatras); 338n, 561n, 687, 692 (on Manns), 731n, 734 (chapters on Śāntis), 945n (on ātmagunas), 948 (meaning of Ista and Pūrta), 949 (on great merit of relieving the distressed), 967, 1027n (on householderstage), 1213 (on heaven), 1383n, 1438, 1440n, 1444n, 1446 (speaks of ten Dhāraṇās), 1455, 1457, 1522 (chap 5 uses Sāṅkhya technique), 1527, 1576n (on doctrine of Karma), 1590; chapters (78-90 of Venk ed, 81-93 of B. I ed) are called Devīmāhātmya or Saptasatī, deemed a later addition, 155n, 819n, 901-902; contains Gītā doctrine of Niskāma-karma 903, note on 901-903, one of the early Purāṇas and may be assigned to 4th to 6th century A D, 903; one verse from Devīmāhātmya (viz 'Sai ramangala-mangalye' etc.) q in inscription of 289 of Gupta era (608 A D) 902; places proper for Yoga practice and to be avoided for it 1431; refers to the words 'Lagna' and 'Horā' 903, three parts of, viz chap 1-42 (in Venk. ed), 43 to end and Devīmāhātmya 903, translated by Pargiter 883, verses of, identical with those of Viṣṇupurāṇa 1522n, 1647n, 1688
- Marriage, (vide Candrabala, child marriage Restraint Act, Gorajas, Gurāditya, Kūtas, Smāhastha, Tārābala), anuloma marriages allowed by most Smṛtis but medieval writ. eis changed all that by Ka-

varjya 1265-67, auspicious ages for the marriage of maidens and of bridegrooms 611, auspicious times, months and nakṣatras for, 535-36, 609-10, auspicious nakṣatras for M, different views on, 610-11, calculation on tallying the horoscopes of both bride and bridegroom in regard to eight matters, called 'ghatita-gṇa-vicāra' or 'vadhū-vara-melaka-vicāra' 614, *Canṭrabala* and *Tārābala* in M 615, comparative astrological strength of tithi, week-day, nakṣatra, Sun, Moon in m 616, great importance of Jupiter in M 615, importance of *gana* and *nādi* among brāhmanas even now, 614, intricate astrological rules for, 609-616, Jupiter, auspicious and inauspicious positions of, in m 612, Moon, importance of the auspicious position of, in m. 615, not disapproved in *śiṃhasṭha* Guru when performed north of the Ganges and South of the Godāvarī 613, proper *lagna* rāśis at time of m. 612, Rājāmārtanda devotes 150 verses to astrological requirements of m. 610, Rgveda X. 85 is marriage hymn, 497n, rule of 'godhātī' or *gorajas* mūhūrta in m. 613, rules about *śiṃhasṭha* Guru observed even now 613, rules about the sameness of rāśi or nakṣatra of bride and bridegroom in m 614-615, Śaiva marriage acc. to Mahānirvāṇatantra in

which no question of caste arises 1060; Śānti for inauspiciousness of Jupiter 612, tithis proper and inauspicious for m. 611, usages of countries to be followed about month proper for m. 610, Venus, position of, in m. 612, week days proper for m. 611, when a maiden is very grown-up, no waiting for an auspicious time but one should consider only the *lagna* and the moon's position at m 611 Yama and Yamī dialogue (Rg. X 10) wrongly considered by some Western scholars as referring to marriage of brother and sister 209, ban against inter-caste marriages removed by legislation 1636n, futile legislation as to dowry in m 1676.

Mars, statements about position of, in Mahābhārata are irreconcilable 532.

Marshall, Sir John, editor of three volumes on Sanchi 1653 n, a of 'Taxila' (three vol.), and Guide to Taxila 1656

Martin E. W. editor of 'In Search of Fifth', a symposium by several writers 1487n, 1550n

Marc meaning of 'I am not a marxist' 1695

Masharin, means (a wandering ascetic), acc to Pāṇini and Mahābhāṣya 1388n.

Mātharavṛtti, com on Sāṅkhya-kārikā not later than 450 A. D, 1354, furnishes names of Sāṅkhya teachers between Pāṇinī and Īśvarakṛṣṇa

- 1355; on the name Śaṣṭi-tantra 1373n.
- Matthieu, Gospel of, 103, 677, 1546n-47n
- Mathews W. R. a. of 'Christ' (1939) 1481n.
- Mātrā, what is, in Prāṇāyāma 1437-38; Purāṇas like Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma. give different mātṛās for different kinds of Prāṇāyāma 1438 and n.
- Mātr̥s (Mother Goddesses) 1046 (in Gupta Inscriptions); generally said to be eight, but 16, 32, 64 are also mentioned, 169 and n, referred to in Kumārasambhava and Brhatsaṃhitā 186, 1046.
- Mātrkā-nyāsa (Mātrkā means alphabet), dealt with in Kālī-kāpurāṇa 1120.
- Matsya (fish), esoteric meaning of, in some Tantra works 1082.
- Matsyāśi (lit eater of fish), esoteric meaning of, 1084n
- Mātrdatta, commentator of Hiraṇyakeśi-gīhya, 525n
- Mātikāṇḍhantu (a Tāntrik list of om and letters of the alphabet) 1058n
- Matsyapūṇa 40, 45, 49, 52, 57, 61n, 88, 91-2n, 96, 100, 111n, 116, 119n, 122, 147, 162, 202, 210-212, 520n, 540, 545n-6n, 616n (on Yātrā), 622n (on auspicious persons and things), 624-5, 627, 649n, 652n, 660, 681-83n, 687n, 692-3, 695, 734 (on Śāntis), 742-43, 745-46 (numerous Śāntis), 747 (eighteen Śāntis), 749-51, 761, 765n, 769-70, 771, 776-7 (on dreams), 776, 793n, 795n, 798-800, 805, 813n, 817n, 822, 824, 827n, 830n (gives contents of Vāyu), 833-35, 839 (characteristics in addition to five), 842 (full list of Āndhra kings), 845n (period between Parīkṣit and Nanda), 846-48, 850-52, 854, 868, 874n, 877n, 880, 896 (contents of Bhavīsyā), 903n, 915-16, 919, 922 ('Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya' is Mūlamantra), 931, 945n, 946, 969n (ten Ābhira kings), 974, 993 (ten avatāras), 995n (Visnu cursed by Bhṛgu), 1023n-24, 1090n, 1096n, 1114 (description of black magic rite), 1121n (nyāsa with mantras) 1132, 1231, 1372, 1377n-78, 1383 (on Sāṅkhya), 1455, 1470n, 1523n, 1527-28, 1571, 1590 (on rebirths for sins), 1637, 1653 (on writers about Vāstusāstra); Aparārka quote: 400 verses from it and Kalpataru about 2000, 899; chief among Purāṇas acc to Vāmana 833-34, 899, date of, about middle or end of 3rd century A. D. 852, 854, 900, glorifies both Visnu and Śiva 899, has verses that also occur in Yāj. Smṛti, Manusmṛiti and Mahābhārata 749n, 899, 1520, one of the ancient Purāṇas and has perhaps the largest number of Smṛti chapters and the best preserved 899; Padmapurāṇa has hundreds of verses identical with those of M 893; Śaṅkarācārya appears to quote verse (from it) 900; story of

- Purūravas and Urvaśi in Matsya (Chap. 24) and drama Vikramorvaśīya agree closely 900-901, though there are one or two points of difference.
- Matsyendranātha, called Luipa in Tibet 1046n, 1075n.
- Mattavilāsaprahasana of Pallava king Mahendravikramavarman 1074n.
- Mauryas, being greedy of gold, manufactured images of gods for sale 36.
- Mausalaparva 147, 743, 775 (dreams), 969n (on Ābhīras).
- Maxims (some Nyāyas), generally of Mīmāṃsā — vide pp 1339-1351; about *nindā* (condemnation) being meant to prescribe the opposite of what is condemned 96, 1243, Anyāyascānekārthatvaṃ, explained 1292, 1339; Arunādhikarana or Arunānyāya 1294-5, 1340; 'diste satyadrstakalpanā anyāyā — if a seen result or purpose can be found for an act, it is improper to assign an unseen reward for it, 1190n, 1260 and n, 1344, grahaikatvanyāya, explained 1285-86, 1313; hetuvan-nigadādhikarana, 1239n, 1351; Holākādhikarana 237-238, 1281-82, 1351; Kapiñjala-nyāya, explained 1288n-1289, 1341, 'Nāsti vacanasyātibhārah, ' there is nothing too heavy (impossible to prescribe) for a sacred text ' 512, 1245, Nisādashapatr-nyāya 1295-96, 1345; prādhānyena vyapadeśa bhavanti 491, rātri-sattra-nyāya 1257, 1349; Rathakāradhikarana 1290-91, 1349, Sāmarthyādhikarana 1291, 1350; Saṃyoga-prīhaktva, explained and applied 86, 96, 228, 1350; Sarvasākhāpratya-nyāya 640, 1273 (explained) or śākhāntarādhikarananyāya 1349-50, Sthālipnlākanyāya 1255n, 1351, Udbhid-nyāya 1245, 1341; yāvad-vacanam vacanikam 1177, 1348.
- Max-Muller, his date (hypothetical) for the Vedic period, 497, 513, 882; his date for Amarakośa 840n, remarks against his dating for Veda 508, a, of ' Six Systems of Indian Philosophy ' 1200, 1491, wrong translation by, 1579n, 1563n.
- Maxwell on Interpretation of Statutes, 1284-86.
- Maya, astrological writer m. by Varāhamihira 542
- Maya, king of Yavanas, to whom Jyotisa was imparted by the Sun-god 592.
- Māyā 1509; Bādarāyaṇa (V. S. II 2 29) and Śāṅkara are agreed that the ordinary physical world is different from dreams, Śāṅkarācārya employs the word Māyā to express the idea of mystery as to how the finite arises from the Infinite 1510, proper language for most men is not to speak about the world as Māyā (illusion) 1509; Upanisad passages like Katha II 4. 2, Praśna I. 16, Chān. VIII 3.1-2 and Bṛ Up. I 3 28 may suggest the doctrine of M, 1509, word M.

- used in V. S. III. 2. 3 has been differently interpreted by ācāryas 1509, word occurs in Rg. in connection with Indra about his Śakti or Śaktis 1043
- Mayamata 1654.
- Mayāmoha or Mahāmoha, produced from Viṣṇu's body, who deluded the Asuras and raised atheistic objections against offering animals in sacrifices, about feeding brāhmanas in śrāddha, acc. to Viṣṇu and Padma Purāṇas 974-75
- Mayūkhamālikā, com. on Śāstra-dīpikā 1236n, 1294n.
- Mayūracitraka, astrological work attributed to Garga by Utpala 591.
- McTaggart, a of 'Some Dogmas of Religion' 1605.
- McCrindle, a of 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian' 849.
- Measures of corn, pala, prasṛti, kudava, prastha, drona, khāri 810n, 1294 (meaning in Śāstra of these words is to be taken, not the one among mlecchas), Pāṇini mentions ādhaka and khāri 810n, Śabara mentions kudava, ādhaka, drona and khāri 810n; of time, different views on 476-477; of weight like pala (320 rakṭakās), karsa etc 789n.
- Medhājānana, a mantra 35
- Medhātithi, a of bhāṣya on Manusmṛti, 28, 696, 868n, 916n, 1214, 1226n, 1227 (Manu V. 40 is merely an arthavāda), 1229n, 1230 (on Manu III. 45, long note on *nyama* and *pari-* *saṅkhyā*), 1241n, 1252, 1258n (quotes his own work *Smṛti-viveka*), 1273n, 1286, 1312n-3n, 1321, 1376n, 1469n.
- Medicine, founder of, is Kṛsnāt-reya acc. to Śāntiparvan and not Caraka nor Patañjali 1396, mnhūrta for beginning to take m. 626, views differ as to first propounder of medical science 1396.
- Megasthenes, account of number of kings and the total of their reigns given by, 849, reference by, to Heracles, Sourse-nor, Methora 953.
- Meghadūta 668, 1563n, 1571.
- Mehta, Ashoka, a of 'Democratic Socialism' 1681.
- Meissner, a of 'Babylonien und Assyrien', 570n, 595 (Zodiacal signs), 596.
- Men. Br. Up (V 2 3) inculcates on all m. the virtues of self-restraint, charity and compassion 1627.
- Menander, Greek king of 2nd century B. C., 669.
- Meron, V. P., a of 'Transfer of power in India' 1464n, 1662; a. of 'Story of the Integration of States' 1663.
- Meru, mountain on which the gods reside 824n.
- Meru Tantra 1135n-36.
- Mesopotamia (vide under 'Horoscope', 'Zodiac'), influence of, supposed by Prof. Neugebauer on Indian writers about longest and shortest day 542; place value notation in, took 60 as the basic number 518n; put by Prof. Neugebauer and a

few others in place of the Greeks as originators of science etc. 700n.

Meteors, beliefs about e. g. falling on grave occasions and śāntis for such falls, 766-67.

Meton, Greek engineer; took length of year from Nabu 514n. Metonic cycle 646, 662.

Mihirakula, ruthless Hūna invader of India 656, 1109.

Miletus, richest city in Greek world in 6th century B. C. 516n.

Mīmāṃsā (vide under Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra, change, dharma, maxims, smṛtis, Veda, vākya, Kumārila, itikartavyatā, Śābara): differences between M. rules of interpretation and interpretation of Statutes pointed out 1283-4; does not lead in many cases to certain conclusions, as M. writers like Śābara, Kumārila and Prabhākara differ among themselves 1271; first rule of M. is that no part of the Veda (not even a word) can be treated as *anartha* 1281, fundamental difference between Veda and Smṛtis pointed out 1272-3; in Yāj. I 3 M. means probably the work of Jaimini in 12 chapters, 1160; many writers like Mādhavācārya speak of two mīmāṃsās, Pūrvā (12 chap of Jaimini) and Uttara (four chapters forming the Vedāntasūtra) 1160; meaning of the word M., long before the Upanisads 1154; not concerned with legislation by the king or

a sovereign popular assembly, 1283; 'M. Jurisprudence' by Shri Nataraja Ayyar 1201; main purpose is to regulate the procedure, the various auxiliary and principal matters in Vedic sacrifices 1283, of Kāśakṛtsm mentioned by Mahābhāṣya 1157; promises to convey correct knowledge of Dharma and the Veda itself is the means of arriving at that knowledge 1283, purpose of, explained by Tantravārtika 1261, restricted sense of word M. before Yāj. viz. 'investigation into Dharma and arriving at conclusions on doubtful matters' 1154; result of the importance of vidhis and assignment of a very subordinate role to arthavādas and mantras 1285; rules and principles of M. in relation to Dharmaśāstra 1283-1338, rules of, apply only to rites and names of tithis like Jayantī, acc. to S. M. and Puruṣārtha-Cintāmaṇi, and hardly had anything to do with people's practices 133, 1272, rules of interpretation fall into different classes from different stand-points such as general and special, about words and sentences, rules of procedure to be followed when several texts are in conflict, 1285, 1289, rules distinguishing between *vidhi*, *nyāya* and *parisaṅkhyā* are general 1285, rule that Lakṣanā (secondary sense) of a word in a sentence is preferable to the fault of vākya-

bheda 1301, 1303, rule that the singular includes the plural is a general one and so is the rule that a word importing a male includes a female 1285, rule that a doubt about the exact meaning of a part of a passage may be removed by relying on the remaining part of the passage 1240, 1285, rule about understanding words in the Veda and in Jai in the same sense as in popular usage as far as possible 1289, rule that words are to be taken in the primary and not in a secondary sense 1289-90, rule that the same word must not be used in two senses in the same sentence, 1292-93; rule that where words like *yava*, *varāha*, and *vetasa* have two meanings the meaning that the Veda, Śāstra or usage of śāstras attributes to them must be followed 1293-94, rule that words of foreign origin like *pūka*, *nema*, *tāmarasa* and *sata* that are in vogue in Sanskrit are to be understood in the sense they bear in the foreign language 1294, rules about interpretation of sentences 1297-1306, though M. rules have been of considerable help to Dharmīśāstra writers, it should not be supposed that the application of M. rules is easy or always enables scholars to arrive at certain and definite conclusions 1334-36. was very critical about smṛtis and usages 1272, word M

has great antiquity 1152-53. *Mīmāṃsābālaprakāśa* of Śāṅkara-bhaṭṭa (between 1550-1620 A. D.) 1195, 1221, 1225n, 1240n-41, 1252

Mīmāṃsakas. (vide under Colebrooke) are strongly opposed to holding that any part of the Veda is useless or meaningless or non-eternal 1255, Colebrooke said that disquisitions on *Mīmāṃsā* bear a certain resemblance to juridical questions, that the logic of the *Mīmāṃsā* is the logic of the law 1220, made a sweeping generalization that the whole Veda is meant for sacrifices but, though they went too far, they had some grounds for their theory, 991; the word '*Mīmāṃsaka*' occurs in *Mahābhāṣya* 1156,

Mīmāṃsākaustubha of Kṛpadeva, denies that Subhadrā was the daughter of Vasudeva (though the *Ādiparva* expressly states that she was so) 1281n.

Mīmāṃsā-Kośa of svāmī Kevalānanda-sarasvatī in eight volumes (five already published), an encyclopedic work, 1290.

Mīmāṃsāñyāyaprakāśa of Āpadeva (between 1610-1680 A. D.) 1199, 1226n, 1228n, 1235n (on *bhāvanā*), 1237n, 1247n-47n, 1250 (enumerates eight faults of *Vikalpa*), 1254n (on *Sannipatyopahāraka* and *Āradupahāraka*), 1295n, 1315n-16n

Mīmāṃsā-paribhāṣā of Kṛṣṇa-

- yajvan 1237n, 1241, 1254n.
- Mīmāṃsāsūtra-saṅgraha of Śaṅkarabhāṭṭa (summarises in 250 verses 1000 adhikāraṇas of P. M. S.), 1189n
- Mīmāṃsāsūtra : declared to have had 20 chapters by Rāmānuja and Prapañcāhṛdaya and in Inscription of Rājārāja 1159-60; Kṛtakotibhāṣya of, by Baudhāyana 1159; com. of Upavarṣa 1159; com. of Deva-svāmin and Bhavadāsa 1159-60; twenty chapters of, are constituted acc. to some as the twelve chapters ascribed to Jaimini, plus four of Saṅkarsakāṇḍa and four of Vedāntasūtra 1160.
- Minakshi, Dr, a. of 'Administration and social life under Pallavas' 1012n
- Minarāja, a. of Vṛddhayavana-jātaka, which see) 564.
- Mind : pure m. superior to all auspicious or inauspicious times, 627.
- Mirashi, Prof V. V. 945n, 1629n.
- Mishra, Dr. Umesha, a. of 'Critical Bibliography of Mīmāṃsā' and editor of the Viṇṇāna-dīpikā of Padmapāda 1157n, 1599.
- Misra-dhānya, explained 732n.
- Mitākṣarā of Viṇṇāneśvara . 29, 102n, 246, 538n, 749n. 750n, 753, 757, 864-5, 896-7, 1063n (on Nādis), 1181n, 1184n, 1192 (refers to views of Guru on Lipsāsūtra), 1233, 1234 (on Yāj. I 53 about marriages that are void), 1248 (Yāj. I. 129-166 contains many *paryudāsas*), 1251 (allows option following Jābalopaniṣad about time of becoming a Sannyāsin), 1252 and n, 1264, 1269, 1270 (discards Vedic usages if hateful to people), 1273n-74, 1288, 1292, 1302-3 (on Brhaspati about re-union), 1305, 1308-9, 1315-16n (prefers mother to the father as heir), 1317, 1323 (āha), 1328-29, 1336 (differences on vital doctrines of Hindu Law between Mīt and Dāyabhāga), 1421, 1438, 1468, 1597, 1637.
- Mitanni (vide under Bogozkewi, Babylon, Hittite) . names of kings and nobles from M., Nuzi and Syrian documents betray Indo-European origin, 599.
- Mitra, Dr R. C, a. of 'Decline of Buddhism in India' 1003, 1010n, 1011.
- Mitra, Dr. Rajendralal, translated into English Yogasūtra 1394.
- Mitramisra, a. of Viramitodaya (beginning of 17th century A. D.) 835n.
- Mlecchas, had authority to perform vrata according to some 54.
- Modern Review, journal 1033, 1653n (on Konārka temple).
- Modi, Prof P. M., on 'problem of *adukṣyam* sūtras' 1176n.
- Mohaparājaya, a drama by Yaśahpāla, composed between 1072-1075 A. D., introduces Kaula practices 1076.
- Mokṣa (vide under Mukti, puruṣārtha, Sannyāsin, Upaniṣad) 1215-17, 1511-14; acc.

to Kumārila and Prakaraṇa-
pañcīkā M consists in not hav-
ing to assume a body again,
the idea being that the aspirant
should not do forbidden acts
or those that are Kāmya, he
should perform obligatory and
naiṃittaka rites for avoiding
the taint or sin that would
accrue by non-performance
1216, Devala-dharmasūtra
provides that bondage is due to
ahankāra and *mamātā* and
liberation consists in being
free from these 1458, doctrine
of Bhagavad-gītā and some
purāṇas that actions done after
surrendering the fruits to God
do not bind a man but lead
to M 967, is in a way oppo-
sed to first three goals, which
become the preparation for it
1511; is secured by real
knowledge and not by merely
giving up wealth 1369, Kumā-
rila asserts that the Upanisad
exhortations to know the
Ātman are merely arthavādas
1216, Manusmṛiti on *nirāśre-
yasa* (i. e. Mokṣa) being due to
ātmaavidyā 1459, Manu conde-
mns thinking about Mokṣa be-
fore discharging one's debts
(duties) 1511; merely posse-
ssing signs of asceticism, viz
ochre-coloured clothes, shaving
head etc do not lead to M. 1369,
P. M. S., Śābara and Prabhā-
kara do not deal with topic of
M 1215; some Smṛitis like the
Rikṣad-Yogyājñavalkya pro-
vide that the mere knowledge
of the Self is a sign of indolence

and that both knowledge and
actions are necessary for Mokṣa
1216-17; four stages of, in
Viṣṇupurāṇa 959n, Upaniṣads
emphasize that mere knowle-
dge of *brahman* does not at
once lead to Mokṣa, but there
are three stages, knowledge,
cultivation of restraint of senses,
quiescence of mind, meditation
and then only realization of
non-difference of himself from
brahma follows 1511-1513; was
not possible for all and sundry,
but only for a select few 1511;
1631 (it is like a razor's edge),
words *m.*, *mukti*, *kaivalya*,
nirāśreyaśa, *apavarga*, *amīta*,
nirvāna held to be synonyms
by Amarakośa and discussion
about the occurrence of these
in Upaniṣads, Gītā and other
works 1414-15, 1632, concep-
tions about mokṣa differ in
different *śāstras* and even in
vedānta, 1631

Monks Buddhist M were not
to possess property, yet they
had a craving for wealth and
supposed that by means of
certain mantras Kuberā (lord
of wealth) would confer on
them everlasting riches 1115,
Buddhist M believed that by
mantras they would make some
of the Hindu Gods their ser-
vants, they would be surround-
ed by heavenly damsels and
they would acquire proficiency
in śāstras without study etc.
1116

Montagu's characterization of
Indian Govt and about British

policy 1660-61.

Month (or months acc. to context): (vide Intercalary M., *Āyā* M., *Mālamūsa*), *Caitra*, *Vaiśākha* and other M. came to be identified with ancient *Madhya*, *Mādhava* etc 668, *Cāndra* M., 657; ended with Full Moon in ancient times 659, 668, 669, four kinds of, 657, 666; Greek names of months used in a few inscriptions in India 668; intercalary month 646; M. in which the year began in ancient and medieval times was different at different times and in different parts 82, 658; *nākṣatra* m. not required in *Dharmaśāstra* but in *Jyotiṣa* 666; names of twelve M. are very ancient 667-668; names of M. derived from *Nakṣatras* occur in *Brāhmaṇa* literature 667; names of, in South India 671; M. of different lengths for different purposes in *Arthaśāstra* 490, 658; of two kinds *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* 68; one human M. held to be equal to *ahorātra* of *pitṛs* 656n, *Pāṇini* and *Vārhaṇa-kāra* appear to speak about a month ending on Full Moon 68, 667; subject of, most complicated 662; *śūddha*, *nija* or *prākṛta* M. as opposed to *adhikamāsa* 664, word for M. is *mās* or *māsa* 495.

Monuments, of India; the most remarkable ancient monuments are the *stūpa* of *Sanchi*, the paintings in *Ajanta* and *Bagh*

caves, the *Kailas* temple at *Ellora* and *Konārka* in *Orissa* 1652-53.

Moon, though it presents the same face to the earth has other side also, acc. to *Nyāyamañjarī* 470; called *mās* in *Rg*, 495; legend of his marrying 27 daughters (*nakṣatras*) of *Prajāpati*, his fondness for *Rohini* and therefore suffering from *Rājayakṣman* 507; reference to M. as becoming free from the month of *Rāhu* in *Cāṇ.* Up. 569; waxing M. held auspicious by Greeks and Indians 532n; when powerful astrologically 587-588.

Moracs, Mr. Frank, a. of biography of *Pandit Nelru*, 1172n.

Moral code, highest importance attached to a brief moral code (of *ahimsā*, *satya* etc.) by all *Dharmaśāstra* works that enjoined men of all *varṇas* and *castes* to observe them 1637.

Moret, Alexander, on 'Nile and Egyptian civilization' 566n.

Morgan, E. P. edited 'Thus I believe' (1953), 1470n, 1710n.

Morgan, Prof. K. W., a. of 'The path of the Buddha' 942n, 1003.

Morley, Lord, views of, on introducing democracy in India 1660.

Morning, the first fifth part of a day, equal to about three *ghatikās* 81.

Moslem kings, examples of the intolerance of, (like Emperors *Jehangir* and *Aurangzeb*) 1019.

Motor accidents, incidence of, in Bombay city 1678n.

Monni Sadhu, a. of 'Concentration' 1394.

Mountains (vide Himavat); Rg-veda mentions mountains in the plural (of 'parvata') 1527; seven M. of Bharatavarsa called Kulaparvatas acc. to Visnu, Brahma, Brahmānda 430, 1525 and n; myth of wings of M. cut off by Indra 763-764.

Micchakatika, 46, 186.

Mrgāra Anovāka 786.

Mityuñjaya, *mantra* is 'Tryambaka Mantra' (Rg. VII. 59. 12), 792, 814; also called Mrta-saṁjivani, prescribed for purifying the mind 1100.

Mṛtyusūkta 738n.

Mṛtyuyoya (Inauspicious conjunction) defined 707.

Mudrā, 1123-1131; a characteristic item in Tantrik worship 1123, derivation of the word M. differs in different works 1123-24, has several meanings in Tantrasāstra, 1057, 1081, 1123, means the Śakti (woman) associated with a *sādhaka* in Śākta worship 1084, 1123, means also a posture in Yogic practices in which the whole body plays a part and the symbolic or mystic intertwining of fingers and hands as part of worship 1124

Mudrās (vide under Jains, purāṇas, Viṣṇudharmottara, Yoga) great divergence among Tantras, Purāṇas and Yoga works on the number, names and definitions of M. 1125-1131;

appropriate *mudrās* (finger and hand poses) are to be employed in worship, in *japa*, in meditation and in all rites performed for securing some desired object 1124; fine eulogy of, in Viṣṇudharmottara 1129, eight M. in the worship of Viṣṇu mentioned by Brahma and Nāradiya purāṇas, 1127n, M. in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras were probably based on those in Nāṭya 1129; largest number of M. in dancing are contained in in Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, 1128-29, *Mudrās* and *Nyāsa* held to be non-vedic by later works like Dharmasindhu in Mahārāstra at least 1131;

Mudranighantu names and defines nine *Mudrās* (āvāhanī and others) that may be employed in the worship of any god, then enumerates 19 M. appropriate to Viṣṇu worship, ten appropriate to Śiva worship, seven to Gaṇeśa worship, one to the Sun (called Padma) and *Mudrās* of Śakti, Agni, Tripurā and other deities, 1125 and n; Śāradātīlaka names and defines only nine *Mudrās*, while Viṣṇu Saṁhitā states that *Mudrās* are numberless but names and defines about thirty and Jayā-khyasaṁhitā has about 58 *Mudrās* 1125-27; some Dharmasāstra works from 13th century onwards dilate at some length on *Mudrās*, such as Hemādri, Smṛticandrikā 1130-31; Some Purāṇas like Brahma, Nāradiya,

* Kālikā, Viṣṇu-dharmottara describe many mudrās 1127-28; Tāntrika works provide that Mudrās should be practised secretly under cover of a garment and not in presence of many people 1125-26, Yoga works describe various Mudrās, e.g. Hathayogapradīpikā describes ten, Gherandasamhitā 25, Śivasamhitā ten as the best 1127.

Mudrālaksana, a work on Mudrās appropriate to Viṣṇu and other gods 1125n, 1128.

Mudrāṅghantu (glossary of Mudrā names) 1124-25, 1129n, (vide under Lalitopākhyāna) 1129n

Mudrāvidhī, a Jain work, lists 114 Mudrās.

Mudrāvīcāra, a Jain work, lists 73 Mudrās

* Muhūrta: (vide under Upa-
nayana, marriage, week day).
537 ff, called Brāhma 538,
539, called Jaya 539, called
Kutapa 540, called Mantra
539, called Yestha in Kauṣi-
taki Up 538, concurrence of
four elements, viz. tithi, nakṣa-
tra Karana and M, required
for success in a rite or act 604,
616, Coronation of the king,
m. for 616, derivation of the
word 537n, difference in the
length of a M of day and of
night according to the seasons
538, 541, equal to two nādis
or ghaṭis 684, fifteen M. in
the day and also in the night
in the Śat Br. and other
ancient works 537-8, 684,

for religious rites 604ff, for
secular matters such as pur-
chase of merchandise, animals,
for oil bath 626, known by the
names of the deities presiding
over M. 540; Literature on, is
extensive 556-558, loud decla-
ration by brāhmanas enough in
case of urgency 604, meanings
of 537, 543, meaning 'time fit
for performance of auspicious
acts' 543, names of, set out in
Brhadyogayātrā (not in Bihat-
samhitā) 540, names of fifteen
m. by day and of night acc. to
Vāyupurāṇa 540, names of
m. differed in the Brāhma-
nas and Smritis 538; names of
m. acc to Ātharvāna, jyotiṣa and
Muhūrtadarśana 539, names
of the deities, presiding over
the 30 m of day and night
541, new garments, M for
wearing for first time 626,
no need to consider auspi-
ciousness of days, of Jupiter
and Venus in times of distress
604, M. (word) occurs twice
in Rgveda 537, the Muhūrta-
muktāvali provides for an
auspicious time for thieving
558; performance of auspicious
rite in the month of Jyestha
for the eldest boy or girl not
allowed 607, position of Jupi-
ter to be considered for, 608,
Purity of mind superior to all
in acc to Matsya, Varāhami-
hira, Ratnamālā 627; rules
(general) about auspicious
conditions for all undertakings
605, seven auspicious M out
of 15 M. of the day 539,

- simple rule in Āśv. gr. for M. in Upanayana, caula, marriage 536, 609-10, stages in the naming of muhūrtas, three, 540, understanding of M in the sense of auspicious time requires some knowledge of planets, nakṣatras, rāśis, bhāvas (places in horoscope), 543ff, what should be done on the 15 m. of the day acc. to Ātharvanyajotisa 541.
- Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi 189n, 533n, 544n, 556-57, 559-60, 585, 589, 607n, 608n, 609, 611n, 614, 616-17, 619-20, 621n, 622, 624, com. Piyūsadhārā on, 641n, 556, 608n, 616n, 618n, 622n-1, 710n.
- Muhūrtadarśana, also called Vidyāmādhaviya, 539, 556, 623, 666n 705.
- Muhūrtadīpaka of Nāgadeva, 557
- Muhūrta-gaṇapati of Gaṇapati Raval 556.
- Muhūrtakalpadruma of Viṭṭhala (times and places for dikṣā) 556, 1117.
- Muhūrtamālā by Raghunātha 557, 701n (list of words that stand for numerals from one to 42).
- Muhūrtanārtanda of Nārāyaṇa 557, 614, 616, 622, 666n subjects dealt with in 557-8. 626.
- Muhūrtamuktāvali 557.
- Muhūrtatattva of Gaṇeśa, 556.
- Mukerji, D. N. 651n (on kīrti years in Inscriptions)
- Mukerji, R. C. a of 'Ancient Indian fasts and feasts' 60, 128, 149, 173, 205, 235.
- Mukti (vide under Mokṣa), Kulārṇava-tantra states that M does not result from study of Sāstras or Veda, but only from correct knowledge imparted by a *guru* and that two words viz. 'this is mine' and 'nothing is mine' respectively lead to bondage or liberation and then imports Kaula doctrines 1083, four kinds of, named and explained 1631n.
- Muktikā Upaniṣad 1564.
- Mūla, Nakṣatra called Viortau, in Tan. S. 500.
- Mūlakarma, meaning of 1079-80.
- Mundaka Upaniṣad . 475 (names six angas of Veda), 917 (on *parā* and *aparā* vidyā), 921 (passages of, borrowed in Purāṇas), 948, 952, 1055n, 1086 (q by Tantra works), 1360, 1387-89, 1416, 1430, 1448 (on *dhyāna*), 1471 1507, 1512, 1538 (verse 'dvā suparnā' which occurs also in Rg I. 164.20 and Śv. Up. IV. 6) 1546n, 1552n, 1563, 1566, 1585n, 1604, 1607; 1625 (illustration of rivers flowing into the ocean).
- Muni (in the Rgveda) Munis called Vātaraśana were said to have been befriended by Indra 1386.
- Muniz, Milton K, a of 'Theories of the Universe' (omits Indian material) 1486n
- Munshi, K. M, Jubilee volume presented to, 782n
- Murārjunaśra, founder of a third school of Mīmāṃsā (between 1150-1220 A. D.), 1199.

- Murzbach M. M., a. of 'Parsis in India' 264.
- Mus, Paul a. of 'Barabudor' (Java) 1657.
- Musis, works on Indian, 1656-57.
- Mysticism 1463; Dean Inge in 'Christian mysticism' cites (in Appendix) 26 definitions of the word 1463n; definition of, by J. H. Leuba, 1463n, Prof. R. C. Zaehner defines it as 'realization of unity' in 'Mysticism, sacred and profane' (1957), 1463.
- Nābhānedīstha, son of Manu, story of, 691n.
- Nabunessar (747 B. C.), dated observations continuously recorded in Mesopotamia from reign of, 514.
- Naciketas, story of, in Kathopanishad and Anuśāsana-parva 915, 1535, story of, in Tai. Br., slightly different from that in Kathopanishad 1535.
- Nādi, equal to half muhūrta 684; several meanings of, 684n; word occurs in Rgveda 684
- Nādis are ten in human body, three main ones, being 'Idā' (on left side), 'Piṅgalā' (on right side) and 'Susumnā' (middle of spinal chord) and this is based on Upanishad passages 1063n, 1430.
- Nadīs (rivers), are so called only when they are 1008 *dhanus* in length 431, are deemed to be impure (raja-svalā) when the sun is in the middle of Cancer and Lion signs and become unfit for bath 431.
- Nāgapāṇicāmī, 124-127; how observed in the Deccan 125, observed in different ways in all parts of India 124, on 5th of Śrāvana bright half 124; on 5th of Śrāvana dark half in Saurāstra 125, pāṇicāmī mixed with 6th to be preferred 126, procedure of worship of images of nāgas 124-125, some hold that it is one of 3½ most auspicious days in the year instead of Aksayya-tīthi 124
- Nāgarakhanda 227, 229, 693.
- Nāgas-eight named in Bhavīsyottara, but twelve in some Purāṇas, one of whom to be worshipped in each month 124n, figure in the Mabābhārata 126, legend about Kadrū, mother of n 124n, Purāṇas full of stories about 127, when and how worship of N arose in India is a difficult problem 126
- Nāgajyotiḥ, com. of Saptasāli 154n, 155n; a of com. on Yogasūtra in Haridas S. Series.
- Nahusa, made approaches to Śaci and became an *ajagara* 1280.
- Naiskarmyasiddhi (ed. by Col. Jacob) 1175n; a work of Sureśvara 1174, 1216n; com. Candrikā on, 1216n; states that Jaimini composed a Śārirakasūtra, the first two sūtras of which were the same as those of V S, 1174-75
- Narvedya, derivation of the word 35n.
- Nakṣatras (vide astrology), king, Nakṣatra-saṇṇa, Paryasāṇa), All men are concerned with six

n and the king with nine, 529, n. are 27 or 28 (when Abhiyit is added) 529, 497, arguments against the theories of Biot, Weber and others that Indian system of n was borrowed from the Chinese, Babylonians or Arabs 71, 506-510; auspicious n. for marriage, acc to Baud. Gr. Sūtra 497n, 523, characteristics of persons born on each of the 27 n. acc to Bṛhajjātaka 559-560; classified as *punya* (beneficent) and *pāpa* and male and female in Tai Br, Upanisads and Br S 524-5, 559. complete lists of n. in Tai. S., Tai Br, Kāthaka Sam., Mait. Sam. and Atharvaveda 498, countries governed by n. acc to Br S. 14th chap 14, 530, deemed parts (or limbs) of Time looked upon as a Purusa 560-61, different n. associated with eight kinds of dvādaśis 119, different n were called male in different ages 525n; divided into three classes viz auspicious, inauspicious and neutral 544n, enumerated from Kṛttikā to Bharanī in Vedic literature, Vedāṅga-jyotiḥ and Yāj. 498, enumerated from Aśvini to Revatī in works from 3rd or 4th century A. D. and in modern times 498, European equivalents of n in Colebrooke, Burgess and Dikshut 498, fit for *Agnyādhāna*, acc to Śat Br 566, n from Kṛttikā to Viśākhā are called Deva N. and from Anurādhā to Bharanī, Yama n,

505, 524; held to be temples in which gods reside 545-46, homa to 27n. from Aśvini 326, information and legends about n. in Vedic texts 507; Isti to 28 n. from Kṛttikā to Bharanī 505, list of n in Vedic Samhitās with names of deities, gender, number of stars in each 501-504, Maghā and Mūla among n. to be avoided by husband for sexual intercourse, 544n; Nakṣatrestī in Tai Br (III. 1) dealt with, 505; names of n., their sequence, deities fixed from before the Tai S 509; names of, are mostly significant 509; n to be avoided in auspicious rites and particularly in marriage 615, only a few n. mentioned in Old Testament and by ancient Greek writers like Homer and Hesiod 506, notes on n. from Ātharvāna-nakṣatrakalpa and other works 499-500; *pāpanakṣatras* m. by Kāśīkasūtra 535; ploughing on Anurādhā n. mentioned in Tai. Br 521, prejudice against star-gazers and astrologers in Vedic times 526-7; presiding deities of n. in Br S, Atharvāna-nakṣatrakalpa and Viṣṇu dharmottara differ slightly amongst themselves 499n, prime importance of n in the basic Vedic rite of consecrating sacred fires 506, provinces of India governed by nine groups of n. 560, Puroṇurākya and Yājyā verses for each Nakṣatra in Nakṣatrestī 505; Rgveda ex-

pressly names Aghā, Arjuni and Tisya among n. and in a veiled way probably Mrgaśīras, Punarvasu, Pusya, Śatabhīsak and Revati 497-98, 523, rule that whatever nakṣatra or tithi has a certain deity as ruler, the sleeping, turning from one side to another and awakening takes place on that nakṣatra and tithi 111, secret name derived from nakṣatra of birth to be used by sacrificer 505; serious discussions about n in many works 495; seven classes of n. as *dhruva*, *mrdu* etc 215-216; special names of 4th, 10th, 16th, 20th and 23rd nakṣatra from that of birth 329-30, substances governed by each of 27 n., 560; Svāti n., marriage on, led to love among spouses 524, synonyms of, in Rājamārtanda 560, three senses of the word 'nakṣatra' 495-6, two derivations of the word nakṣatra, 510, what actions are beneficial on different classes of n. 510, what n are said to be *Ugra* 275; when n are said to be affected 531, why Vedic list of n. starts from Kṛttikā and why from Aśvinī in classical literature is explicable on astronomical grounds only 507-8; word nakṣatra is applied to the sun also in the Rgveda 516, word nakṣatra occurs frequently in the Rgveda and other Samhitās 495 Nakṣatrasnāna 792-793; Brāhmaṇa who undergoes Pūyas-

nāna thrice with certain additions becomes famous like a king 798; ceremonial bath and worship of nakṣatras and their presiding deities, the mantras employed 792, n. meant for all 798, substances to be added to water for each n. and benefits therefrom 793. Nakṣatravidyā, m in Chāndogya Up 526.

Nakta an alternative to rigidly observed Ekādaśī and is superior to Yāorta 101, rules for observing nakta 101-102; views as to exact time called *nakta* 102

Naktavratā, is independent of the alternative to fast 103

Nakula in Kūmapurāṇa stands for Lakula (which see)

Nalada flowers, for decking the corpse of an *āhūtāgṇi* 731n

Nāmadheya (vide *Śyena*), is the 4th class of Vedic texts bearing on dharma 1244-45, examples of names of Vedic rites such as Udbhūḍ, Citrā, Bala bhūḍ, Abhijit, Viśvajit, 1245.

Nāmakarana (naming a child), rules about proper times for 605

Nanaghat cave Inscription of about 200 B C, 131.

Nanda- (or Nandi) purāṇa, is part of Skanda, acc. to Nityācārapradīpa 880n, note on 890-91, one of the earliest Upapurāṇas composed in 8th or 9th century A D 891.

Nandā, sub-division of tithis 180n, 327.

Nandipurāṇa (vide Nanda-

- purāṇa).
- Nārada, a Devarṣi in Gītā and one of the sons of Brahmā in Purāṇas 1581-82.
- Names, great in the reform of Hindu society and religion in modern times, 1699-1700
- Nanjio Bunyiu, a of catalogue of Tripiṭaka 1040.
- Nārada, a of a work on Jyotiṣa 97, 99, 592, 622n, 790n,
- Nārada-saṁhitā 195n, 197n, 199n, 656
- Nārada, brought doctrine of bhakti from Śvetadvīpa 962.
- Nārada, an author on music in Brahmānda-purāṇa and as the propounder of Gāndharva acc. to Nāṭyaśāstra 896
- Nārada-bhaktisūtra 956, 960, 965n.
- Nārada Pāñcarātra 956.
- Nārada Tantra-describes mudrās appropriate to Viṣṇu worship such as Śaṅkha, Cakra 1125n.
- Nāradiya Purāṇa. (vide Bṛhan Nāradiya), 41, 70, 72n-73n, 79-81n, 88, 95, 98-9, 101, 104-5 103n, 114-5, 117n, 119, 138, 529n, 601, 681, 691, 708, 837n, 920, 927, 1096n, 1102 (for kavaca-mantra), 1127n (on mudrās), 1576n (doctrine of Karma ; note on 892-93, (compiled between 700-1000 A D)
- Nārada-smṛiti 1266, 1286, 1333 (apostate from Sannyāsa becomes a slave of the king), 1582, 1597.
- Narabari Dr H. G. on an account and date of Prarabdha-dhātva-saṁhitā 1601.
- Narain Prof A K., a. of 'Indo Greeks' 827, 829 (on difficult passages of Yugapurāṇa), 963 (on Besnagara column Inscription)
- Naraka (Hell), Medhātithi states that n means extreme pain or suffering 1214 ; seven, acc. to V. S., Śaṅkarācārya, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Yogabhāṣya 825, 1529, twenty one acc to Manu, Yāj, Viṣṇu Dh S. 825, 1214n.
- Narakacaturdaśī 197, also called Bhūtacaturdaśī 198.
- Narakāsura, killed by Kṛṣṇa and lights lighted with four wicks in memory of 197
- Narasimha (or Nṛsimha) Purāṇa, 35, 149, 691, 754, 915, 922, 926, 971, 974, 978-982, 1024, 1096n, 1455, 1649, Aparāṅka quotes it 9 times and only about 30 verses, half of which deal with Sannyāsa, composed solely for the glorification of Narasimha identified with Nārāyaṇa 978 ; chap 36 enumerate eleven avatāras (including Buddha and Balarāma) and chap 37-54 narrate stories of all avatāras except Buddha, Hazra (Prof) bases his remarks upon several mss. besides the only printed edition pub by Gopal Narayan & Co (in 1911) 878-880, Hazra concedes that N was revised several times, that Hemādri had a more extensive N before him 881, Hazra holds that present N is to be placed between 100-300 A. D 879, listening to stories of ten ava-

- tāras (excluding Buddha) takes the devotee to Viṣṇu 879, Matsya states that N. contained 18000 verses, while printed N. contains only about 3400 verses, hence the latter is only a substitute 880; present N. may be assigned to 9th century A. D. 892; note on 891-92; on usefulness of images of gods 973n, 1121n; Tulasī story in N. indicates lateness 882, whole Purāṇa is suspect and no certain conclusion about its date can be drawn 882.
- Nārāyaṇa, com. of Āśv Gr. S. 802n.
- Nārāyaṇa, etymologies of the word in Manu, Śāntiparva and some Purāṇas 1516 and n
- Nārāyaṇī, name applied to Devī 176n.
- Nārāyaṇīya (a section of Śāntiparva). deals with Kṛṣṇa worship 953, 957, 1365, difference between N. and Gītā 961-962.
- Nārāyaṇopaniṣad 1045.
- Nāśadiya-sūkta 1490-91: a unique hymn, Śatapatha Br. on it 1490n, some passages are still obscure 1490, translated and explained 1491, translations and remarks by Western Scholars 1491.
- Nāstika, is primarily one, acc to Kumārila, who does not believe in the existence of the individual soul 1206n, the Kāśikā on Pāṇ IV. 4 60 holds that it means one who does not believe in the Hereafter 1206n
- Natarajan, S., a of 'A century of Social Reform' 1636n, 1700.
- Nātyaśāstra (of Bharata), 896n, 1037n, 1129n (mentions Garuḍa which is a mūrā in Mūrā-mṅghanītu), 1129, 1630.
- Nātyaveda, Vararuci as proficient in 900n.
- Nautical almanac 676, 682, 711.
- Navagrahaśānti (vide Ayutahoma, Grahayajña, Lakṣahoma and Kotihoma, sacrifice, planets): 749-756, all religious rites to be performed after N. 749; becomes elaborate in Bhavisyottara and medieval works 753, colours and presiding deities of Navagrahas 751, mantras for the nine grahas from Yāj., Matsya, and Vaikhāṇasa-Smṛtiasūtra and Bṛhad-yogayātrā slightly differ 750-51, 755n, 919, model of all Śānti homas in all medieval digests 749, procedure of, in Yāj. and Matsya 750-752; procedure different for each graha in Madanaratna 755; purposes for which N. was to be performed 749; supposition that each of nine grahas has a separate gotra and country of birth 753; three kinds of, viz Ayutahoma, Lakṣahoma and Kotihoma acc to Matsya 749, verses of Matsyapurāṇa describing how the figures of nine grahas were to be drawn or painted 753, Yāj. does not even refer to Ayutahoma and the two others 753n.
- Navagrahayāga (vide Grahapūjā) 296-7
- Navāṇṇa-bhaksana (partaking of

- grains from fresh crops) 330-1.
- Navarātra, twice, in Caitra and Āśvina 179, 186 (vide under Durgāpūjā).
- Navarātrapradīpa of Vināyaka alias Nanda pandita 155-156.
- Nawrath, E. A., a. of 'Immortal India' (Bombay, 1956)
- Nayavivēka of Bhavadeva or Bhavanātha, a work of Prābhākara school, 1189, referred to by Smṛti-candrikā, Viramitrodaya on Vyavahāra and Vyavahāramayūkha, 1192, 1233
- Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, 595, ordered Chaldeans to find out the dream he had forgotten and to interpret it 781.
- Nehru Pandit, Prime minister, tribute to ancient Brāhmana ideal 1640; to old teaching of Dharma, 1664, about Gandhiji's ideas on self-restraint 1670 (on necessity of a worth while ideal); 1678-79, speeches of, collected by Sriman Narayan for the A. I. C. C. (1956) on socialistic pattern 1680-81; admits that adequate incentives must be offered 1683; Criticizes Gandhiji's attitude to sex and praise of poverty and ascetic life 1619, Autobiography by, 1689, 1708n (on Politics).
- Nepal, gambling in, on large scale on Bahupratipadā, 203.
- Neugebauer Prof. Otto; a. of 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' and several papers, 181, 483, 490n, 514n, 517-18, 520n, 521, 512 (criticized), 519n, 566n, 571n (criticized), 582n, 597, 631n, 650n, 676n, 699n, 700n, 741n.
- New Indian Antiquary (a journal), 1408n, 1601.
- Newton, laws of motion expounded by, are now held to be approximations, 1503n
- Nigada, examples of 1222, is Yajus, but is loudly uttered, while Yajus is recited in a low voice 1097, 1222
- Nighantu 10, 35-36n, 855, 1044, 1600n.
- Night, no bath or making gifts or śrāddha at n, except on expressly stated occasions 79, 244, Rgveda X. 127 is hymn to n. employed as Śānti 730.
- Niśreyasa, meaning of, 1037n, 1515n, occurs in Pāṇini V. 4. 77 and Kaus. Up, 1468n, stated to be goal of the study of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika Sūtras 1468 Mahābhāṣya explains it 1515n.
- Nilakantha, com. of, on Mahābhārata 1570n.
- Nilamatapurāṇa 200.
- Nilapantadarśana, work of Tāntrik Vajrayāna Buddhist sect, in which the three jewels are Kāma, courtesan and wine, while the three jewels of devout Buddhists are Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha 1073.
- Nimesa, time required for pronouncing a short syllable 476.
- Nimitta (see under 'utpāta'), auspicious nimittas very few as compared with inauspicious ones 744, distinguished from utpāta 743. long lists of in-

- auspicious nimittas 743-744 ; meaning of, 743 ; *Manu* mentions n. and utpāta in same verse 743.
- Nimitta*, a work attributed to Digambara Jain Bhadrabāhu 743n, 805n, contents of, 805n ; later than *Varāhamihira* and not concerned with *Dharmaśāstra* and does not dilate on Śāntis, 805n
- Nirājana*, a Śānti 335, 759, 783, of horses and elephants 184, of king and soldiers 193 ; on the king's march for invasion 187 ; procedure of and mantras in 193
- Niravasita*, meaning of 926n.
- Nirayana*, meaning of 712.
- Nirgrantha*, naked Jain monk 978n.
- Nirṇayāmṛta*, 69n-71n, 89n, 93, 100n, 101, 134, 146n, 154n, 195n, 196n, 230, 663
- Nirṇayasindhu* (written in 1612 A. D.), 31-33n, 41n-43, 47n-50n, 51-53n, 54, 61n, 62n, 70-71n, 72n, 73n, 75, 84-86, 88, 90-2, 96n, 97n, 104, 109, 112, 113, 115, 119, 121n, 123n, 127, 133-34, 142n, 144-45n ; 146n, 151n, 153n-4n, 157n, 161n-2n, 169, 171, 173, 178n, 179, 180, 182-4n, 188-90, 195, 196n-199n, 201n, 203n-5n, 207n-8n, 218n-9n, 221, 223n, 228n, 240-1, 243n-4, 246n-7n, 607n-8n, 610n, 612n, 613-4, 626, 633n, 660, 664n-5n, 672-74, 710n, 762, 765n-6n, 773, 788n, 925, 926n, 1106, 1117 (times for dikṣā), 1289, 1307, 1332.
- Nirukta*, (vide ' Vedic interpretation ' and ' Yāska '); 984, 985 (two interpretations of several *Rgveda* Mantras), 987, 991 (discussion whether Vedic Mantras have meanings), 1033n, 1044 (explains Rg. I. 164. 11), 1097, 1102, 1156n, 1181, 1203, 1237n, 1238n, 1240n, 1256n, 1275-76 (PMS agrees with many conclusions of N), 1364n, 1460n, 1536n, 1540n, 1578-79 (on *Varṣvānara*), 1587n, 1633 (word jāti occurs), 1664 (story of *Devāpi* and *Śantann*).
- Nirvāna* 1008n, 1022, not clearly defined by Buddha 941, really indescribable just as *brahman* is described as ' neti ' 1008n ; Saundarananda on, 940n-41 ; N. as synonym of *Mokṣa* does not occur in principal *Upanisads*, but in *Gītā*, 1515.
- Nisāda* 554n, 1296 ; could offer an istī to Rudra, with a Vedic mantra though he did not belong to any of higher varnas 1642
- Nisādasthapati*, meaning of, 1296.
- Nisedha* vide *Pratisedha*
- Nispannayogāvali* of *Abhayākara-gupta*, Buddhist Tāntrik work, 1050, 1133, 1143.
- Nistya*, called *Svāti* in other texts 500.
- Nityamayūkha* 923.
- Nityā* is Śakti, that is non-different from Śiva 1091n
- Nityācārapaddhati* of *Vidyākara* 924n, 1110n.
- Nityācāra-pradīpa* of *Narasimha Vajapeyayin* ; enumerates 18 *Purāṇas* and refers to *Nara*

- śiṣha P., 880n.
- Nityānuṣāda*, explained and illustrated 1250, the word occurs frequently in Jamini 1250.
- Nityāśoḍaśikārnava* (part of *Vāmakeśvara Tantra*) · 1050n, 1058n, 1091, 1136 names 64 tantras including eight *Yāmalas* 1050, names and defines *Trikhanda* and other *mudrās* 1126-27
- Nityotsava* (a *Tāntrik* work of *Umānandanātha*, pupil of *Bhāsurānandanātha*) praises his guru hyperbolically 1071; 1117 (on *dikṣā*), 1136 (on *Yantras*).
- Niyamas* are called *tapas* by *Āp Dh. S* and *Amarakośa* 29; five named by *Yogasūtra* 29n, 1421n, but *Yuktidipikā* differs, many enumerated by *Vāyu-purāṇa* 29n; ten *Niyamas-m* by *Yāj* 29n, N. of *Y S* II, 32 are of a positive character (viz. be pure, be contented etc.), 1422
- Niyama-vidhis*, are classified into three, viz. those concerned with *pratimūḍhis*, with *pratipatti* and those concerned with matters other than these two, with illustrations 1231-32; taking food facing the east is an example of a n not concerned with *pratimūḍhi* nor *pratipatti* 1232
- Niyoga*, practice of, allowed as well as condemned by the extant *Manusmṛti* 1266 *Rg X* 10 2 refers to it and *Gautama* and others and even *Yāj* states the procedure and conditions of it, 1268 and n.
- Noushirwan*, Sassanian king (531-579 A. D.), dream of, interpreted by *Buzurmīhir* (probably *Varāhamihira*) 781.
- Nrpa* (word) represents number 16, 703n.
- Nṛsiṃhācārya* 228n
- Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa*, vide *Narasimha*.
- Number, 18 prominent in *Mahābhārata* 842.
- Numerals, Indian (vide decimal system and place value systems) · their antiquity and method of writing them 697-704; *Āryabhata* mentions ten orders of n from one to *binda*, each ten times of the the preceding from place (*sthāna*) to place 698; *Āryabhata's* method of giving numerical values to letters from *h* to *m* 704; denoted by complete words suggesting numbers 701, eighteen orders of numbers from one to *parārdha*, mentioned by *Vāyu* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* and *Lilāvati* 698; from one to ten, hundred, thousand and ten thousand, several times occur in *Rg* 697; Greeks appear to have had no single word for million 698; larger numbers are sometimes mentioned in the *Rgveda* before smaller numbers 697; list of the word for 18 orders of n 699; list of Sanskrit words suggesting numbers from one onwards 702-703; method of using a group of words for the place of units tens etc acc to 'aukāṇām vāmato gathī' 704; names for astronomical numbers of years settled in times of

Vedio Saṁhitās at least 1000 years B. C. 697-8; names of Vedio metres such as Asti, Atyasti suggest numerals 16, 17 etc. 703n; Pāṇini mentions *pankti* (ten), *viṁśati* up to navati and śata 698; several methods of writing n., 701-702; Tai. S. mentions bricks from one, one hundred, thousand, ayuta, nyuta, prayuta, arbuda, nyarbuda, samudra, madhya, anta and parārdha 697-698, Varāhamihira employs words suggesting numerals even in the place value system 701, 703.

Nyāsa (mystical sanctification of several parts or limbs of the body with Vedic, Tāntrik or other mantras), (vide under āṅganyāsa, hamsanyāsa, mantranyāsa, mātṛkānyāsa, prāṇanyāsa); 87, 168, 1120-1123; N. is an important item in the Tāntrik ritual 1120, N. compared by Woodroffe with the Christian method of making the sign of the cross 1123; expressly provided by Devībhāgavata as part of Sandhyā worship 1121, in modern times some orthodox people perform two kinds of n viz Antarmātṛkā and Bahirmātṛkā, 1122; is *avaidika* and should not be performed acc. to Dharmaśāstra and Saṁskāratnamālā, 1121n, of different names of Viṣṇu, viz. Govinda, Trivikrama etc on fingers of right hand, the palm etc 1121-22; n of several portions of Gāyatrī, of single letters of

Gāyatrī on one's limbs 1122, n. of letters of alphabet from 'a' to 'kṣa', acc. to Mahānirvāṇa. Śāradā and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on several limbs 1122; several varieties of n. described in tantra works and Purāṇas 1120-21; several works, some *tantras* and Purāṇas also, dilate upon n. 1120, sixteen verses of Puruṣasūkta for n. on several limbs in Viṣṇu worship 1122; N. was taken over from Tantra works in the Purāṇas and medieval Dharmaśāstra works for the rites of orthodox people some centuries before Yoga-yājñavalkya and Aparārka 1122.

Nyāya (system of logic), for its necessity in the interpretation of the Veda, Kumārila relies on Manu 1261.

Nyāya, a source of Dharma 1152; also means the adhikarāṇas of Jaimini, expounding the points of Dharma 1155n.

Nyāya-kusumāñjali of Udayana. 1624.

Nyāyamañjarī of Jayantabhaṭṭa 469-470.

Nyāyaparīśuddhi of Veṅkatanātha 1158.

Nyāyaratnākara (of Pārthasārathi-miśra), a com. on Śloka-vārtika; 1159n, 1179n, 1183n, 1188, 1205n, 1207, 1210 (creation and dissolution of world is arthavāda), 1212 (on four possible views on prāmāṇya and aprāmāṇya of cognitions), 1216, 1225n, 1376n, 1600.

- Nyāyaratnamālā · 1321n (divides all texts into Upadeśa and Atideśa), 1324n.
- Nyāyasudhā or Rānaka of Someśvara, a com on Tantravārtika 1188, 1247n (quotes a verse as from Kumārila's Bīhatikā), 1297n
- Nyāyasūtra · 469, 1324n (defines āha), 1468, goal of study of, is mihśreyasa (Moksa) 1468.
- Nyāyavārtika 469n
- Nyāyavād, meaning of, 1153n
- Oceans-said in the purānas to be seven surrounding the dvīpas 440-441, 1524; said to be four, 445 (under Sāgaravratā).
- O'Connor, N. J., a of 'How Buddhism left India' 1003
- Officials, to be maintained by king and their salaries 819.
- Oldenberg 494n
- Old Testament 676-7, references to astrologers, stargazers and prognosticators of Babylon 548.
- O'Leary, De Lacy, author of 'Arabic thought and its place in world History' 483n.
- Olmstead 646.
- Om, a sacred syllable, the symbol of brahma and may be called a bija in Tantra language, 1097, importance of Om borrowed from Upanisads by Yogasūtra 1417; is called Pranava 1097n, is called Tāra in Tantra works, 1099n, eulogy of om in Yogasūtra, 1413 and n. identified with brahma in Tai Up. 1416.
- Omara R C, a of 'The Mystics, ascetics and saints of India' 1427
- Oppenheim A. Leo, a. of 'Interpretation of dreams in ancient Near East' 810n.
- Oppert, G. editor of 'Śukranīti-sāra' 1036
- Orion, work of Lokamānya Tīlak, 498-9n, 510.
- Option-see Vikalpa
- Orissa Historical Research Journal 174n
- Osborne, Arthur, work of, on 'Raman Maharshi' 1479n.
- Owl, hooting of, 729.
- Padapātha of the Rgveda 22n, 861 (ascribed to Śākalya)
- Padārthanirūpana, a work of Raghunātha 470.
- Padārthānūsamaya method 1317, 1345, is reverse of Kāndānūsamaya and is set out in P. M. S. V. 2. 1-3.
- Padmapāda, a. of Vyjñāna-dīpikā 1574n
- Padmapurāna 32, 37, 40, 42-45, 56-7, 97-8, 103, 108n, 112n, 125, 135, 147, 195, 196n-97, 201n, 202, 204n-07n, 210, 223, 227, 561n, 672, 751, 770n, 779n, 805, 811 (on Upaśruti-like divination), 817n, 824n, 841 (chapters identical with those of Matsya), 856-57n, 862-63n, 876n, 915-16, 922-23, 930-32, 934-5, 945-6, 948, 960, 964, 966n, 968, 971-72, 974n, 976 (condemns Advaita and Mīmāṃsā), 1024, 1121 (on nyāsa), 1136, 1207 and 1209 (avers that Mīmāṃsā, is nirvīra). 1213 (description of heaven), 1383, 1385,

- 1470n, 1528, 1570n, 1576 (on doctrine of Karma), note on, 893, thousands of verses common to Matsya and Padma, the latter being the borrower 893; two recensions of 893.
- Pañgi-rahasya Brāhmaṇa 1360 (q. by Śaṅkarācārya).
- Pañgya, 66
- Paintings famous ancient paintings in India are those at Ajanta and in Bagh caves 1654-55, works on Ajanta p. by Dr. Yazdani, Mukula-chandra Dey and Balasaheb Pant, chief of Aundh State 1654-55
- Pañāmaha-siddhānta (astronomical work), (vide Pītāmaha-siddhānta below), probably composed about 80 A. D. 488, 517; states that Yuga was constituted of five years and employed Śaka 2 for its epoch, 488 and n.
- Paithīnāsī, a smṛti 54, 72n, 785n.
- Pākayañjās (vide under 'Yajña'): 1233n.
- Pakistan, came into existence in 1947 and there is now hardly any Hindu or Sikh to be found in West P. 1464n.
- Paksa (fortnight); rites for gods and for prosperity to be performed in bright p and for pitrs and magic in dark p 385, word p. occurs in Tai. Br and Upaniṣads 670.
- Pakṣati, meaning of 671
- Pala, a measure of corn equal to 16th of prastha, 810n
- Palāśī (lit. eater of *pala* : e flesh) esoteric meaning of, 1084n.
- Pallavas (twigs with leaves) also called Pañcabhaṅga: five auspicious p. are those of mango, aśvattha, vata, plakṣa, and udumbara 336, 339, 759.
- Palli (house lizard), (vide under 'Vasantarāja-śākuna'). fall of p. on right side of a male and left side of a woman is auspicious 792; Śānti on fall or contact of p on a limb, or on p. creeping up a person's limb 792.
- Palmistry. certain lines on the band of a woman were deemed to indicate death of the husband even in the times of Pāṇini and the Kāśikā 525.
- Pañcabhaṅga-dala (leaves of five trees) (vide 'Pallavas' above) 336.
- Pañcanjanāḥ, meaning of 126.
- Pañcamakāraśodhanavidhi (a Śākta work) 1053n, 1087n (describes the sanctification of *makāras* with Vedic mantras).
- Pañcāṅga (calendar), (see week day, Yoga). five important parts in P. are tithi, weekday, nakṣatra, Yoga and Karana 666, fourth anga of p is Yoga 704, generally prepared for each year 666, must be prepared for every town or place more than 15 or 20 miles away from Bombay or Madras or Calcutta where p are at present prepared, if accuracy as to tithi, nakṣatra is required 713; numerous p in use now in India 641, necessity of p. for all Hindus, 650; samples

of pages from a *Pañcāṅga* of śaka 1878 (1956 A. D) and from another 223 years earlier facing pp 666-667 , varieties of, in South India, such as *Vākya* and *Siddhāntacandra* 612

Pañcāgnividya (described in *Bṛ Up VI. 2 2ff* and *Chān V. 3 2ff*) is an *upāsana* 1548-58, 1562-3 , is concerned with only one aspect of transmigration viz. the path of those who practise a life of sacrifices, works of public utility and alms-giving and follow *Pitryāna* path 1584.

Pañcapādikā (of *Padmapāda*) (severely criticizes the view that the *Viśayavākya* of P. M. *Sūtra I 1 1* is 'astavarśam tam-adhyāpayita') : 1182n, 1190

Pañcaratnas (five jewels) are gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl acc to one view or are gold, silver, pearl, coral and *rājāvarta* acc to another view 219, 337.

Pañcarātra (vide *Śvetadvīpa*), *Bhāna* mentions *Bhāgavatas* and *Pañcarātras* separately in *Harṣacarita* 955n, doctrine is only one of several *bhakti* schools 962 . *Dronaparva* puts forward four forms (*mūrtis*) of Supreme Person different from those in *Śāntiparva* 956 , general view of most medieval writers on *Dharma-śāstra* was that *Pañcarātra* and *Pāupāta* *śāstras* are authoritative only so far as they are not opposed

to the *Veda* 962 ; identified with *Sāttvata* in *Śāntiparva* 953, 955n ; is called ' *Ekāntadharmā* ' 953, 1390n , is called *Sāttvataśāstra* 1032n , is said to be one of five lores, its promulgator being *Bhagavat Vāsudeva* himself 954 ; *Nārada*'s name is concerned with *Pañcarātra* in *Śāntiparva* 956 , peculiar doctrine of P. is that of *vyūhas* (forms) of the Supreme Person called *Vāsudeva*, *Sankarsana*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*, each of the latter springing from the preceding, 953 , P. doctrine refuted in *Vedāntasūtra II 2 42-45* acc to *Śankarācārya* 953, 955, what is refuted being the doctrine of *Sankarsana* springing from *Vāsudeva* and so on 955 , P. *Saṁhitās* m by *Rāmānuja* in *bhāṣya* on V. S are *Panskara*, *Sāttvata* and *Parama* 957n ; *Śāntiparva* speaks of one, two, three or four *vyūhas* 962 , *Śaṇḍilya* was supposed in *Śankarācārya*'s times to have promulgated the *Bhāgavata* or *Pañcarātra Śāstra* 955 , several guesses about why the system is so called 954n ; several *Pañcarātra-saṁhitās* published so far are later than the *Gītā* 956 ; twenty five works on P mentioned by *Agnipurāṇa* and *Maheśvaratantra* 956-57 , *Vyūhas*, doctrine of, 953, 962 ; worship of *Vāsudeva* is older than *Pāṇini* 962

Pañcarākha, 1373-74 , composed

- Śaṣṭitantra 1356n, date of, not later than first century B. C. 1356, and Janaka, king of Mithilā, his pupil, acc to Mahābhārata 1365-1371; described as the foremost pupil of Āsuri and known as Kāpileya in the Mahābhārata, 1365-71, described in some chapters of Śāntiparva as an *advaitin* grafting some doctrines of later Sāṅkhya for explaining creation etc. 1367; dialogue between P. and Janaka about rising superior to old age and death 1368, expounded to Janaka, Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Rājāniti, called threefold mokṣa 1368-1369, gotra of, was Pārāśarya and he was a *bhikṣu* 1368, identity of P. and Vāsaganya extremely doubtful, 1374-75; literal meaning of the name 1369n, passages ascribed to P. are brought together by Hall and Garbe 1371n, P. of the Mahābhārata is not identical with the Pāñcāśikha of Śaṣṭitantra and his views are different from the Sāṅkhya, 1370-71, differs from official Sāṅkhya 1370-71, quotations attributed to P are mostly in prose 1373n, views described as Sāṅkhya in some chapters of Śāntiparva bring the peculiar Sāṅkhya doctrines in line with the idea of Vāśudeva or highest Self 1371.
- Pāñcāśrotas, a holy place 1365.
- Pāñcāsiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira 213n, 479 (was a *karapa*), 511n, 514n-5, 519n, 614 (tr. by Thibaut and Drieder), 653n-4, 663n, 676, 680, 702n, 703n
- Panchayat, village, starting of; dangers in the present stage 1677.
- Pāṇḍavas, though five, had the same wife Draupadi 1286.
- Pandit M P, a. of 'Lights on Tantra' 1150, criticized 1150.
- Panikkar, Saïdar K M, a. of 'India and China' 1040
- Pāṇini, 5, 10, 27, 36, 67, 68n, 130, 150n, 185n, 203, 467, 487n, 492n, 499, 500, 510, 516n, 525, 541-42, 561n, 592n, 667, 670-1, 684, 703n, 708, 720n, 738n, 740n, 742n, 820, 850, 926n, 962-3n, 1032, 1128 (knew Natasūtras of Śīlālin and Kṛśāśva), 1153 (explains 'Mīmāṃsate'), 1157-58, 1167 (mentions Kāśyapa to show respect), 1168-1169, 1198n (charge that Pāṇini violates his own rules), 1203 (distinguishes between the author of a work and expositor or transmitter of it), 1307n, 1310n, 1361n, 1368n, 1378, 1388n, 1389, 1397 (does not observe his own rules), 1439n, 1488n, 1524n, 1546n, 1552n; called Śālāturiya by Bhāmaha and other medieval writers 512; date of, 1169; hailed from Northwest India 512, in P.'s times there were mendicant ascetics (*bhikṣu*) who studied the Bhikṣusūtra of Pārāśarya and that of Karmanda and were called 'Pārāśarīno bhikṣuṣaḥ' 1168-69,

- 1368n; names of countries and places expressly mentioned by P. 1528n, papers on geographical details in, 1527n, teaches formation of words like Taksasila 542, was acquainted with the whole of India from the extreme northwest of India to Kalinga (Orissa), Āśmaka (country near Ajantā and Paithan) and modern Kutch 1528n, 1614 (Sindhu as the name of a country), 1633 (word jāti occurs), 1638 (on Brāhmanaka), 1646, 1651 (names at least ten predecessors and shows that before him there was considerable secular literature).
- Pāṇiniya śikṣā 1096n.
- Parakṛti or Parakriyā, meaning of, 1223n.
- Paramārtha, translated Sāṅkhya-lārikā into Chinese, 1353, 1382n.
- Paramasi, defined in Vāyu and Brāhmānda Purāṇas) 1390.
- Paramasūhṛtā, 954n
- Pārana (vide Udyāpana), in some cases performed by merely sipping water 191n; derivation of, 120n, last rite in a vrata is P. 120, should be done on 12th tithi in Ekādaśi-vrata, but not on 13th, 120, word P. occurs in Śākuntala and Raghuvamśa 120.
- Pārāṇandasūtra (a Tāntrik work): 1051n (states that it contains the cream of Veda viz Kauladharmā), 1073-56 (philosophy and brief contents of), 1073n (mentions names of teachers ending in 'Ānanda', speaks of three mārgas (paths) viz. Daksina, Vāma, Uttara, 1054-56, speaks of jīvanmuktī and quotes Upanisads 1055, 1084n (well known verse 'pītṛā pītṛā' etc. esoterically explained), 1086.
- Parāśara, astronomer and astrologer 531, 587n, 593, 613, 637n (m. by Br S. on Grahayuddha), 745, 765.
- Parāśara-Mādhavīya, com. on Parāśarasmiti; 42n, 868n, 1166 (in some passages Bādarāyana and in some others Vyāsa is said to be the a of V. S.), 1182n, 1227-28, 1288n (on Kapīñjalanyāya), 1306n, 1311, 1312n, 1314, 1323, 1333 (on avestyadhikarana).
- Parāśara-smṛiti 52, 147n, 218, 897 (m by Bhavīsyapurāṇa), 1266 and n, 1306n (bath, sandhyā etc are different acts), 1314, 1322, was to prevail in Kaliyuga, but it allows a brāhmaṇa to eat food at the house of certain sūdras, permits remarriage of widows in certain circumstances, 1266, 1608
- Parāśarya, a of Bhiksusūtra, acc. to Pāṇini, 1368n.
- Pāraśavas, in Vāyupurāṇa stand for Pārsi i e ancient Persians that appear to be m. by Pāṇini 850n, 851.
- Pāraskara-gīhya-sūtra 27, 126, 524, 535, 622, 740n.
- Parāśarīma, exploits of, described in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 89n, 90n, horoscope of, furnished by Nirṇayasindhu exa-

mined 628-629; loss of power of, when he met Rāma 89n; made Western sea recede 89n; resided on Mahendra mountain 89n.

Paraśurāma Jayantī 89-90, on 3rd of Vaiśākha bright half 89, temples of Paraśurāma 90; time of celebration 89-90.

Paraśurāma - Kalpasūtra 1049, 1054 (on tantra and about secrecy), 1063 (on 36 tattvas), 1074n (provides that after dīksā guru to give a name to disciple ending in Ānanda-nātha), 1077, 1084n, 1101, commentary of Rāmeśvara on 1077, 1084.

Paraśurāmapratāpa 106n, mentions 26 items in Jāgara 106n.

Pargiter, F. E (vide under Parīksit). 688, 851, 862n (translation of a passage of Kaṭilya criticized), a of 'Purāna texts of the dynasties of the Kali age', 842n, 843, 914; attaches no importance to what Brahmanda, Matsya and Vāyu state that they mention the principal kings of three lines, 846; constructs history from earliest times to Bhārata war, which he holds to have taken place about 950 B. C; brushes aside the duration between Parīksit and Nandas, 846; criticism of the methods and views of Pargiter-845-852; holds that there were two traditions, one Brahmanic and the other Ksatriya represented in the Purānas, 845; holds dozens of times that

brāhmanas had no historic sense, 845, 856; holds that extant Purānas are Sanskritizations of Prākṛit works 845; is wrong in identifying the Bhavīsyat-purāna m. by Āpastamba with extant Bhavīsyapurāna 851, Kurfel disagrees with Pargiter about two separate traditions (brāhmana and ksatriya) and about Purānas being Sanskritizations of Prākṛit works 849, P. and Kurfel take no proper notice of what Megasthenes says about a list of 153 kings covering a period of 6451 years, 849; theory of P., about brāhmanas having deliberately suppressed all information about him who compiled and arranged the Veda, criticized 858-861, thinks that Hinduism secured its revival and the downfall of Buddhism largely through the Paurānika literature 914n, view of P. blaming brāhmanas for absence of reference in P. to Guptas and their successors, criticized 856-57.

Paribhāṣāprakāśa (part of Viramirodaya of Mitrāmītra) 835n, 921n, 923n, 954n. 955, 1262.

Pārijāta, an early medieval work 962

Pāriplava (narration of, in Rājasūya) derivation of the word in Śān. Śrauta-sūtra 816n; Hotṛ priest recited Itihāsa and Purāna separately on two days 816, 866-67

Parīṣad: how to constitute a p.

- for deciding difficult matters of dharma 1458
- Parisaṅkhyā, defined and illustrated 1229, it is liable to three faults, acc. to Śābara 1230, the word does not occur in Mahābhāṣya, though employed by Jaimini 1156-57, 1230
- Parsis; vide 'Parsis in India' by M. M. Marzban 264.
- Pārthasārathimītra, a. of four works on P. M. Śāstra, Nyāya-ratnākara, Tantraratna, Śāstra-dīpikā, Nyāya-ratna mālā, 1188-89, 1199, 1317n, flourished between 900-1100 A. D., 1199.
- Parvau Days · Homas for worship of the sun and for Śāntis to be performed on, 757; what are P. 221
- Paryudāsa (proviso or exception), explained and exemplified from Vedic and Dharma-śāstra works (as on pp 1248-1250 and Yāj I 129-166).
- Pāṣā, 12th tithi: is so called 341.
- Pāsupata Śāstras, doctrines of, written in books of palm leaves in Bāna's days, 1047 various kinds of, m in Padma, Kūrma and Devibhāgavata and condemned, 974n, 977-8.
- Pāsupata-sūtra of Nakulīśa (i. e. Lakulīśa), 978n
- Pātālas (nether regions), generally understood as seven, but the names somewhat differ in Purāṇas 1528.
- Pātāliputra, also called Puspapura, founded by Udayi, son of Śunugra 527.
- Patāñjali: (vide under Mahābhāṣya) · 67, 68n, 130, 467 (quotes verse that occurs in Mahābhārata), 541 2, 720n, a. of Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 963: deemed by medieval writers to be an avatāra of Śeṣa and to have composed works on Grammar, medicine and Yoga 1396, points of difference between P. and modern psychologists like Freud 1414-15, question of identity of the author of Yogasūtra and of Mahābhāṣya discussed by several authors 1397-99.
- Paths (Mārgas), (vide under 'bhakti', jñāna, Karma); bhakti and Jñāna described and distinguished 964-65, 1369, 1648.
- Paths, called Devayāna and Pitryāna, 1548 and n, 1551, 1557 (vide Br Up. VI. 2 and under Devayāna).
- Patil, Dr D. R., paper of, on 'Gupta Inscriptions and Purāṇic tradition' 844, 883, a of 'Cultural History from Vāyupurāṇa' 907.
- Pātimokkha containing 227 articles was to be read twice a month in an assembly of at least four Buddhist monks and confession of breaches had to be made to them 1026
- Pātra brāhmana, defined 937-38.
- Paulus Alexandrinus 515n.
- Paulīśasiddhānta (see under Lātadeva), not later than 100 A. D according to Thibaut 514n, one of the five ancient astronomical siddhāntas 514n;

quoted by Utpala 477; said to be accurate by Varāha 514n: P. restricted itself mostly to astronomical matters 517n, 593; Thibaut admits that it cannot be proved that P. is related to the work of Greek astrologer Paulus 517; Weber held that it was borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus (4th A. D.)

Paulkasa, equated with Cāndāla in Br. Up. 1633

Paurṇamāsī, 348, derivation of 667; two kinds of, Anumati and Rākā, both m. in Tai S. and Śat. Br. 62-3; word P. occurs frequently in Atharvaveda 65.

Pausṭika rites, what are 349; distinguished from Sāntika rites 349.

Pāramāna hymn 759.

Pavitrāṇi (holy texts), by repeating which a man expiates sins, cited by Dharmaśāstras of Gautama, Bauddhāyana, Vasistha and Viṣṇu 1416n.

Pavitrārōpana (offering the sacred Upavita to Gods) 111, 339-40

Payne E. A., a of 'the Śāktas', 1038-9, 1048n, 1092.

People: millions on millions of common p. are influenced to keep to the path of virtue and right by the fear of God, of public opinion, fear of punishment by the State and by the prickings of their conscience 1474; Vanapūrva holds that what the majority of people practise is the dharma in the midst of conflicting śrutiś,

smṛtiś and learned men 1469; three classes of people viz those who believe and worship a personal god with ritual and sacrifices, those who pray, seek God and come to realize that God is both immanent and transcendent, those few people, the great Masters and sages who lose the sense of ego and are ripe for entering into union with the One 1508-9; p. in several lands had conceit that they were far superior to others and had a mission to propagate like the British imperialists 1619.

Perry W. J., a. of 'Children of the Sun', holds that archaic civilization of India and China did not first develop there but in Egypt, 482n.

Persecution in India (vide under Buddhism, Gahleo, Inquisition, Tolerance, Toleration Act, heretics), sporadic cases of religious P. exemplified 1011n; followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam did not hesitate for centuries to inculcate their doctrines by terrible persecutions and bloody wars and this spirit shocks people brought up in Hinduism or Buddhism 1471, harsh laws were in force in England a little over a hundred years ago against Roman Catholics and non-conformists 1476n

Persians, practice of marrying mother among ancient, 554

Person, characteristics of, born when the Moon is in the śukla

- from Aries onwards 569.
- Persons, eight mythological long-lived persons, images of, to be worshipped on Yamadvitīyā 208.
- Pessimism no real pessimism in principal Dharmaśāstra works 1630.
- Philologists some p deriving word 'sinivāli' by the combination of 'sin' (moon), a Babylonian word, and Dravidian 'vel' (white light), criticized 64.
- Philosophy, most men want to rely on something deemed higher than themselves such as Revelation and God, 1472, one of the oldest problems of P. is, Faith and Reason and there has been a constant struggle between these two, 1472; Time is first among the great problems of P. 463, central point of much of Indian P. is contained in Chān Up. VI. 1, 1631-52.
- Philostratus (1st quarter of 3rd century A. D.), a of 'Life of Apollonius of Tyana,' 600, 681.
- Pillai, Swamikantha, a of 'Indian Ephemeris' 303n, 628 (discusses Rāma's horoscope), 616n, 648 (on eras), 708.
- Pindaśodhana meaning is Bhūtaśuddhi in Tantrī works 1095n.
- Pingala, a of Vedaṅga on Ne'res, mentions Sūrya for zero and is m. by Śāhira 700-701; probably his work is the same as Chandovicitti m by Āp Dh S 701
- Pitāmaha 69n, 78n, 1323 (on balance ordeal).
- Pitāmaha-siddhānta (on astronomy) 654, 663; q. by Utpala 477, 488, one of the five siddhāntas and said to be far from accurate, 514n, 592 (regarded Tuesday as inauspicious)
- Pitis, path to the world of, described in Yāj, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Matsya and other Purānas 826.
- Pitryāna path (vide under Devayāna and B. Up VI 2 2), 1548n.
- Plan, Third five year, and its objectives 1683-84, total investment programme of, comes to 10400 crores of rupees, nearly half of which is to be raised by additional taxation, external assistance and deficit financing 1689-90
- Planets (vide 'Astrology', 'Astronomy', Babylonian, graha-yuddha, Moon, Navagraha-śānti, Śānti, Saturn, Sun): ancient Vedic literature says hardly anything about astrological significance of P. 569, are concerned with or govern specially certain matters 590; are either friends or enemies of each other, but not indifferent, acc. to Yavanas 586, arrangement or order of P in Yāj. and Purānas 678-79; arrangement of P different in different countries and times 571n; as rulers of eight directions 574; bala (strength) of P. four kinds of 587, classification of P. as beneficent or malefic 635-36; classification

of P. as masculine, feminine and neuter 575, 635-36; cult of P. not current in Vedic times 294; *daśās* and *antar-daśās* of, 590-591, differentiated as *sātvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* 574, different kinds of gifts for unfavourable P., 755; doctrine of *drsti* of, 589, 637; evil influences of, removed by *śāntis* 608, identified with Babylonian gods 522: importance of Venus and Jupiter in settling marriage 610, 612; Jupiter, known to *Rgveda* 294, 569; Kautilya on astrological significance of, 569-570, *Mahābhārata* knew influence of, on *nakṣatras*, but not on *rāśis* 569, methods of nullifying evil influence of 608; natural powerfulness of, 577; nine P. names of, with synonyms 570, nine conditions of P. 588; no convincing explanation as to why certain *rāśis* are *svagrha* or *ucca* of P. 636; purpose of the classification of P. as to colour or as lords of directions 574, Sanskrit synonyms of, contain some Greek words 571n, 572, stories of ancient kings and heroes that suffered from unfavourable aspects of P. 755; supposed *gotras* and country of origin of, 753, tables showing *rāśis* as *svagrha* (house) and *ucca* (exaltation) of, showing parts of human body, jewels and metals governed by several P., showing some characteristics of P. such as colour,

whether beneficent or malefic etc 573-576; three kinds of conjunctions of, 583n; three P. added in modern times, 571, Venus probably referred to as Vena in *Rg* 569; view that Hindu arrangement of P. is of Greek origin criticized, 571n, wearing certain precious stones and metals deemed to reduce evil influence of, 608; word P. derived from a Greek word 570

Plans, five year 1679n

Plato, beliefs of, that the earth was a cube, in *punarjanma*, that arts and sciences declined from perfection 512, 688n, 1530; held in his *Timaeus* that dreams are prophetic 781; in his exuberant imagination constructed the physical world on the pattern of geometrical figures familiar to him 1502n; on Being and Becoming 1505, philosophy and cosmology of, were looked upon as acme of wisdom up to 19th century, but modern scientists (says Sartre) regard Plato's theories as monuments of unwisdom 1502n.

Pliny 566

Politics (*Rājaniṭi*), four *upāyas* in, 617; six *angas* of, 117.

Pollard, Robert S. W.; a. of 'Conscience and Liberty' 1476n

Pollution by touch or by shadow, idea of, must be given up 1709.

Poona Orientalist, a journal, 520n, 647n, 686, 842n, 1145.

Pongal (Tamil word), festival

- corresponding to Makara-saṅkrānti of Northern and Western India 222,
- Population, huge in India, most of which is on the margin of subsistence level, 1687; Government of India and the planners have no well thought out plan for control of p. and very little is being done to control systematically the terrific growth of p. 1687.
- Portent: (vide under Utpāta), of images of gods, described as dancing, laughing, trembling and weeping in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Br. S., 769-770, on birth of two or more children at the same delivery to a woman or monstrosities or strange births to cows, mares etc. 773-774.
- Poussin, Prof. Vallet, 1039.
- Prabhākara (vide under Kumārila). called 'Our Guru' by Śālikanātha, 1189-90, a. of com. called Brh̥ti on P. M. Sūtra 1189, flourished between 675-725 A. D., 1198, inscriptions and other evidence establish that P. held an eminent position in Karnātaka and Marathi countries in 11th century A. D. 1192; held the view that no word was significant in isolation but became significant when joined with a word or words in a sentence 1296, Jaiminiya-nyāya-mūlā-vikāra cites 15 points of difference between P. and Kumārila 1189; later than Kumārila, though no substantial evidence (except tradition) for holding that P. was a pupil of Kumārila 1192; quotes Kīrātārjunīya 1195.
- Prābhākara School, 1179n; works of 1189.
- Prabodhacandrodaya, a drama, mentions several writers and works on PMS including Mahodadhi and Māhāvratī, 1189-90,
- Pracetā 77n
- Practices (vide under 'changes'), even Vedic p. have been discarded from time to time by the weight of the opinion of the masses 1267-9, 1470. when popular p. and opinions should be followed 1470
- Pradhan, Prof. S. N., a. of 'Chronology of Ancient India', regards Paurāṇik accounts as practically worthless 847.
- Pradhāna actions, as contrasted with gṇa-bhūta, explained, 1237.
- Pradoṣa, period of three or six ghatikās after sunset 102, 188n, 230.
- Prahlāda, attained highest bliss through the grace of God 961; great devotee of Viṣṇu and grandfather of Bali, 202.
- Prajāpati and his incest 235, 498n, 507, 1280; desiring to propagate, practised *tapas* and created the three worlds 1498, identified with Samvatsara 65; jumped into the sky as a deer pursued by Rudra 496n, myth in Ait. Br. as to how P. came to be called Ka 1497-98;

Myth about creation of Agni by P. and appeasing Agni with Sāmī plant in Tai. Br. 725; Nakṣatras as daughters of P. married to king Soma 507, rarely mentioned in the Rg. becomes the most prominent god in the Brāhmaṇa texts 1497; some nakṣatras described as parts of the body of P. 561.

Prajāpati-ratas, 24, 95-96, 1234, observances by a sacrificer while the sacrifice lasts such as 'he should not see the rising or setting sun' are declared to be *puruṣārtha* 1234.

Prajñopāyavinīśayāsiddhi of Anangavajra (about 705 A. D.) 1050, 1064; says that a yogin who desires union with mother, sister, daughter would obtain *siddhi* quickly, 1065n-67 meaning of Prajñā and Upāya, 1071, 1123.

Prakarana-paṭicikā of Śālikanātha, 1202n, 1205 (on word and sense), 1214n (on *svarga*), 1216n (on *mokṣa*); it is a work of the Prābhākara school 1189, admits that *adhyāpana-vidhi* put forward by Prābhākara is only inferred from Manu 1190n; quotes several verses from Ślokavārtika 1191; states that there is no proof that a yāga (sacrifice) is the means of pleasing the deity 1209.

Pralaya (dissolution of the world), (vide 'Cosmogony' and 'Cosmology'); of four kinds, according to Purāṇas, 693-94, 1503; *prākṛtika* pr.

based on Sāṅkhya, 694-695; recurrent absorptions of all beings and elements at the advent of Brahmā's night and reappearing at day 695, 1503; terrible and harrowing descriptions of *naimittika pralaya* from Kūrmapurāṇa and Vanaparva, 694; works like Harivaṃśa and Purāṇas say that at the end of Kalpa the sage Mārkaṇḍeya alone remains, lies in the side of Viṣṇu and comes out of Viṣṇu's mouth 695.

Pramāṇas (means of knowledge) (vide cognition): are six according to Kumārila, while Prābhākara rejects the 6th i. e. *abhāva* 1185, 1212.

Pramāṇavārtika, bhāṣya on, by Prajñākaragupta (700 A. D.) 472.

Prāṇa. Atharvaveda on Prāṇa as Prajāpati 1495; controversy about meaning (in ancient times) of *prāṇa* and *apāṇa* 1434, five āhūtis in *agnihotra* to *prāṇa*, *apāṇa*, *vyāṇa*, *samāna* and *udāna* in Upaniṣads, 1433, P in Upaniṣads becomes the vital force of all beings, the representative of *brahman* 1433, P. means thoracic breath and *apāṇa* means abdominal breath 1434; some difference in the operation of the five *prāṇas* made at least a thousand years before Christ 1433.

Prāṇatoshinī, a Tāntrik compilation, 1075n (on qualifications of a female guru and requiring that disciples were to worship

guru and his predecessors)
 Pranava, means *om* 1416.
 Pranavanyāsa, illustrated, 1120.
 Prānāyāma (vide under Kum-
 bhaka, mātrā, pūraka, recaka);
 1432-44; called *sagarbha* or
sabija and *agarbha* or *abija*
 1442-43, condemned by
 Hemacandra 1411; definition
 of P. in Yogasūtra and bhāṣya
 shows that main element in P.
 is Kumbhaka 1437; deriva-
 tion of the word 'prāna' 1432,
deśa, *lāla* and *sankhyā* in rela-
 tion to P. explained 1437-38;
 eight kinds of P. named in
 Hathayogpradīpikā 1443, five
 prānas named in Tai S 1433;
 for *ekāgratā* P. is the means
 1437; germ of the theory of
 the importance of P. in Br Up.
 433, great eulogy of P. in
 Mann (as highest tapas) and
 Smṛtis 1440-41, 1443; *japa*
 of *om*, Gāyatrī and Vṛāhtis
 in P. prescribed by Smṛtis and
 medieval works, though Y S.
 and bhāṣya silent on this 1439,
japa for P. in Sandhyābanda
 set out 1442n; Kumbhaka,
 why so called 1439n; Kum-
 bhaka performed after pūraka,
 if not learnt under an expert,
 may cause harm to heart etc.,
 1441; literally P. means 're-
 straint or pause of prāna' 1432,
 practice of P. leads to dwind-
 ling of *Kṛāśa*, makes Yogin's
 mind fit for dhāraṇā and free
 from sins, acc to Mann and
 others 12-0n, 1440-4; Prāna
 and Aśa in Rgveda mean
 'breath' 1432; Purāṇas and

others added five more prānas
 1436; recaka, pūraka, kum-
 bhaka (terms) used by Deva-
 Dharmasūtra, but not by Y. S.
 and its bhāṣya which employ
 'śrūsa', 'prāśvāsa' and 'gati-
 vācheda' 1438-39, Recaka
 and others illustrated in Kuva-
 layānanda's handbook on P.
 1442n; simplest mode of
 practising P. described 1440,
 sūtras on Dharma shows that
 P. had been regarded as a sort
 of penance for removing taint
 attached to sins or misadven-
 tures 1436; synonyms of, 1432:
 three kinds of viz. mild, mode-
 rate and keen when pause is
 kept for 36, 72 and 108 mātrās
 respectively 1437; three views
 on duration of pūraka, kum-
 bhaka, recaka 1438; value of
 P. for physical health and for
 spiritual purposes 1441; word
 P. not found in principal Up
 but occurs frequently in
 Dharmasūtras 1436.

Pranītā water, explained 802.

Prapañcāhṛdaya, 1159n, 1197
 (attributes to Bodhāyana a
 com. called Kṛtakoti on both
 Mīmāṃsās)

Prapañcāsātra tantra, 34n 1070,
 1072, 1099-1102, 1105-6, 1112
 (enumerates eight *siddhis*),
 1117, 1120, 1133, 1139; ascrib-
 ed to Śaṅkarācārya and men-
 tions all avatāras except
 Buddha, 995-96, 1105; doubts
 about its being Śaṅkarācārya's
 work 1105; sets out a mantra
 for six cruel rites 1105; com.
 on, ascribed to Padmapāda

1105.

Prārabdha-Dhvānta-Samhrti, of Acyutarāya Modaka (composed in 1819 A. D.), on *Prārabdha-karma* (past actions that produce the present body); described 1600-1604; main object of the work is to combat the idea that all human acts from conception to death are governed by past deeds alone, 1601.

Prasaṅga, occurs when something done in one place is helpful in another place also, just like a lamp 1333; twelfth chap of P. M. S. deals with *prasaṅga*, *vilalpa* and the like 1333; *Prāyaścittaviveka* relies on this doctrine 1333-34

Prasāsana, means 'Government or domination' 1583n.

Prasastapāda, *bhāṣyakāra* of *Varaṇasikasūtra*, 468n, 469, 472, 476 (units of time from *ksana* to *pralaya*)

Prasna-upanishad, 126, 731, 732n, 918, 948, 1361-2, 1387, 1417 (on *om*) 1430, 1433-35; 1444-45, 1478, 1502, 1514, 1532 (on *Devayāna* and *Pitryāna* paths), 1559, 1585n, 1607, 1625.

Prastara, first handful of *Darbha* grass cut for religious purposes 1241n.

Prasthāna, technical meaning is starting on an auspicious conjunction for journey or invasion but returning to one's place after going a short distance and actually proceeding after a few days thereafter 620-21.

Pratikūla, meaning of 748n

Pratinidhi (substitute or representative); first rule that, if a substance prescribed for preparing an offering perishes or is lost in an obligatory rite or a *kāmya* rite after it is begun, another substance (such as *nivāras* for rice grain may be substituted 1319; no p. allowed for a mantra, deity, vedic fire, for *kriyās* like *Prayājas* or for the *Yajamāna* (except in *Satras*) 53, 1320-21, substitute for wife of sacrificer (if she be dead) was image of her made of gold or of kuśas 53; what is expressly forbidden for use in Vedic sacrifices such as *māsās* cannot be substitutes for *mudga* 1320, 1347 (*māsamudganyāya*); when a vedic text expressly prescribes a substitute for a substance (as *Pātikas* for *Soma* plant) only that substance can be substituted and not another more similar, 1319, when a substitute has to be employed, the subsidiary acts of sprinkling with water, pounding etc. are to be performed on the substitute and the appropriate change in wording by adaptation should be made, 1319-20.

Pratipadvrata 82-84; in intercalary month of *Caitra* beginning of year is on first tithi of that month 83, *pratipad* of *Caitra* observed in Deccan with some pomp and religious rites as the beginning of the year 82, *pratipad* of *Caitra* is in

popular belief one of the 31 auspicious days of the year, 84, rites of the beginning of year in Castra described in Brahmapurāṇa and other works 82-83, rule is that the tithi to be observed as beginning is the one mixed with amāvāsyā, when it is viddhā 83; views differ as to the pratipad on which religious rites are to be performed when there is an intercalary month 83-84, why called *pratipad* 83

Pratipatti or *Pratipattikarma* (vide *Arthakarma*) examples are casting into water all utensils and things smeared with soma at the time of the final purification bath, cremating a sacrificer when dead with his *yajñapātras*, which is P of the implements 1231-32; means final disposal of some materials employed in a sacrifice 1231, occurs in several sūtras of Jaimini 1231, works on *Dharmaśāstras* rely on *pratipatti*, as in case of *pindas* to be given to a *brāhmāna* or to be eaten by a cow or goat 1231.

Pratisedha (or *niśedha*, prohibition); (vide under 'na', fifth (and last) class of Vedic texts 1246, a sentence in which 'na' is employed is either a *pratisedha* or *paryudāsa* or an *arīhāvāda* and these three have to be clearly distinguished 1249; a true prohibition would occur when something is first prescribed and then prohibited, the stock example

being that of *śoḍaśin* cnp, 1249; distinguished from *Paryudāsa*, 1247-48, Pāṇini devotes several sūtras to 'na' and expressly states that *pratisedha* is one of the meanings 1246, particle 'na' sometimes changed to 'a' or to 'an' indicates *pratisedha* and other senses also 1246; result or reward of following *pratisedha* is cessation of harm (*anartha-nivṛtti*) 1247, *Vidhi* and P. are different in their import in five points 1247; where two texts are quite irreconcilable there is option 1249.

Pratisthā (establishment of an image) 1024; Paurāṇika procedure to be followed in 1024.

Pratyāhāra, 5th aṅga of Yoga 1444-5, derivation of the word 1444n, in *Yogasūtra* and in *Aśvamedhikaparva* 1401; means withdrawal of senses from sense objects on account of restraint of mind 1444; several definitions of 1444-5.

Pravāhana Jaivali, a *rājanya*, put five questions to Śṛetaketu and then answered them 1548-49.

Pravaramaṇjari 1174.

Pravarasena, Vākātaka emperor, performed four *Aśvamedhas*, 1028

Pravargya, Śānti m, from Vāj S. and Tai A 724, 727.

Prajāyas, are five oblations of clarified butter ancillary to *Darśa-pūrnāmāsa* and are *kratvantha* while *Darśapūrnāmāsa* is *purusārtha* 1233n,

- Prāyaścittas (vide under expiations); different views whether results of wrong acts intentionally done could be removed by, 1588-89, for killing a man who is only a brāhmaṇa by caste 897; were called vratas by Manu and others 27.
- Prāyaścitta-mayūkha 52.
- Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa of Bhavadēva 1242, 1296.
- Prāyaścittatattva 158, 1320 (on māsa-mudga-nyāya), 1592n.
- Prāyaścitta-viveka, 1233-34, 1542n.
- Prāyaścitti (averting evil effects of a mishap to sacrificial milk or materials 727.
- Prayogapārijāta 633
- Prayojaka (motivating force) and prayojya: are topics of 4th chap. of P. M. S along with kratvartha and puruṣārtha 1311; Kratu is the prayojaka of Prayājas that are declared as kratvartha 1311; p. is that for the sake of which a man is led to perform something by a Vedic exhortatory text 1311.
- Precession of Equinoxes, suspected by Hemādri and Aparārka, but they did not know its cause nor the rate of precession 223; practically discovered by Kidinnu, 514n, present rate of, held to be 50 2 *vikalās* every year 712
- Predictions, were based also on dreams, flight and cries of birds, signs on livers of the sheep killed in sacrifices to gods in Babylon and Rome, 521.
- Pringle-Pattison, a. of 'Idea of God' 1506n; a. of 'Idea of immortality' 1609.
- Puolkar Prof. A. K., a. of 'The printing Press in India' 1020n.
- Prisoners (see under King) 531.
- Proceedings of All India O. Conferene 1186n.
- Proceedings of American Philosophical Society 490n, 506, 514n, 522n.
- Prognostications (see 'birds', 'cāsa', throbbing, horses), were drawn in Vedic times and up to Pāṇini mainly from nakṣatras, days and bodily marks 525; drawn even in Rgveda from cries of certain birds 526, drawn from tasks and movements of elephants 801.
- Prohibition of intoxicating drinks in only a few states of India, criticized 1675-76.
- Prthvicandrodaya 31n, 42n, 47n, 121n, 1289.
- Ptolemy (vide under horoscope); author of Syntaxis (or Almagest) and of Tetrabiblos, 471, 551, 568, 573n, difference between P. and Bṛhajjātaka on classification, colours and other matters about Rāśis 568; divided the day into sixty parts in the Almagest and also in hours in his manual tables 682; has no word which corresponds exactly with Kulira 563; his Almagest was astronomical Bible in Europe for about 1400 years 482, 512; his arguments in favour of Astrology 553-4;

- his Tetrabiblos remained supreme for 1400 years and has even now great authority for believers in Astrology 551, held geocentric theory and so had to adopt theory of eccentric orbits and epicycles and yet could predict eclipses correctly, 633-34, is concerned in Tetrabiblos with rāsis (signs of the Zodiac) and rarely, if at all, with nakṣatras 561; in his 'Geography of India' (about 150 A. D.) refers to Ptolemaios, king of Baithan (Paithan) as ruler in his day 842-43, much of Greek literature on astronomy and astrology disappeared owing to works of P. 481, 514, speaks of male and female signs and of *śhiva* and *śhivdehu* as Biha-jjataka does 568, several discrepancies in essential matters between Ptolemy's work and Hindu astronomical works 520, 530, two points in which Varāhamihira differs from P viz he does not mention the countries governed by rāsis but by nakṣatras and Varāha confines himself to parts of Bhāratavarṣa, while P deals with all countries then known, 530, wrote about 150 A. D. and based his Almagest on the observations of Hipparchus 514
- Pūjā derivation of the word 35-37; distinction between *homa* and *p* not much 37, *upacāras* in, had vedic origin 35-36, word *P.* not borrowed from Dravidians 37.
- Pūjāprakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya) 37, 157, 170n, 1095n, 1122 (dwells upon several nyāsas), 1124n, 1128n (prescribes that āvāhana in Viṣṇu worship should be made with 'Sahasraśīrṣā,' (Bg. X 90. 1, and 14 mudrās should be shown), 1120-31 (defines in all 32 mudrās).
- Pnlaha, quoted as a smṛti writer 517n.
- Pulastya, quoted as a smṛti writer many times by Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā 517n: should be followed, acc to Mit as to what should be offered in śrāddha, and not Yāj 1269
- Pulindas, associated with Āndhras in Aśoka's 13th Rock Edict, 850n
- Pulisa Alberuni says that P. held that the day of Viṣṇu is equal to whole life of Brahmā 691; Thibaut wrong in holding that the name Pulisa has decidedly a non-Indian appearance 517.
- Plkasa, a degraded caste 969n.
- Pumsavana, auspicious times for, prescribed in Gṛhyasūtras 534-35.
- Punarvasu, nakṣatra, 499, 535 (literally means 'fresh wealth' or 'new growth').
- Purāḥalpa, meaning of 1233.
- Pnrānas (vide under Alberuni, Bhāgavata, bhakti, brāhmanas, Buddha and Buddhism, images, itihāsa-purāṇa, mahā-purāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa, Pargiter, Pāriplava, pūrta, Saurapurāṇa, Śūdra, Upapurāṇa,

Vāyupurāṇa, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Vyāsa): 815-1002; are far more reliable than most of the Upapurāṇas 835-37; are used for divining the future 811; caution required before recognizing P. as reliable representatives for ascertaining the general state of Indian society and beliefs 535; classification of P. as encyclopaedic, historical, sectarian etc 842; connect different gods with the conferring of health, wealth, knowledge, *muṁti* 119; contain at least 25 thousand verses on Vratas 57; contain verses, *gāthās* and *anuvāṁśīloka*s sung by Paurāṇikas 854; contents of all P. noted by Agni, Matsya, Nāradiya and Skanda 834; contents and characteristic features of P. mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya 824-25; contents of P. in the days of Āp. Dh. S. 818; dates of P. and Upapurāṇas are at most tentative until critical editions are prepared 872, deemed to be composed by Vyāsa, son of Parāśara and Satyawati at end of Drāpara age 849; derivation of the word Purāṇa in Nirukta, Vāyu, Padma and Brahmāṇḍa and change in meaning 855-56; devote much space to legends about Parāśara 90n; Devibhāgavata and Bhāgavata P. say that Mahābhārata and P. were composed by Vyāsa for women and Śūdras 921-22; Dharmasūtra of Āp. twice quotes two verses

from a Purāṇa and names a Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa 817; differences as to names of 18 P. and great differences as to their extent and contents 830, divided into three groups, sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa and their main objects 815, 839. do contain ancient legends and traditions, but very much tampered with 838; early Sanskrit writers like Śaṅkara, Bāṇa, Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya and others show that in their times P. existed, the contents of which were just like those of the extant P. 821-26; emphasize that for the proper understanding of the Veda knowledge of Inbāsa and P. essential 914; even early Purāṇas like Matsya were influenced by black magic rites 1114; examples of identical chapters and verses in several purāṇas 803, 841, 929, 1522n, 1523n 2479; existence of some P. containing accounts of creation, dissolution and Smṛti material before 500 B. C. indicated by Āp. Dh. S. 818; explain at great length creation and dissolution of the elements about which Upaniṣads drop brief hints 914; extant P. contain far more topics than the five topics of creation etc. and some P. barely touch the five and exhaustively deal with entirely different topics 841, extent of all P. together said to be originally four lakhs of Ślokaś acc. to Matsya and

Padma 829n, extent of P was acc to Bhavīsyā 12000 verses but later Skanda was inflated to one lakh verses and Bhavīsyā to 50,000 verses, 833; extol vratas, pilgrimages and bhakti as superior to Vedic sacrifices 43-45, 916, extravagant praise of themselves by P 915-916, 929, extravagant praise in P. of the remembrance of Viṣṇu's or Hari's name 971, first Purāṇa is said to be Brāhma in Viṣṇu and Brahma purāṇas, while Devī-bhāgavata says it is Matsya 829n, five characteristics of, acc. to several purāṇas, are sarga (creation), pratisarga (creation after dissolution), Vamśa (dynasties of Gods, patriarchs and kings), manvantaras (vast cycles of time), Vamśānucarita (deeds and history of descendants of dynasties) 839, from about the 6th or 7th century A. D. the Purāṇas began to incorporate the special ceremonial of Śāktas and a few Purāṇas like Devīpurāṇa, Kālikā, Mārkaṇḍeya (Devīmāhātmya) provide for the employment of Mahāras in Devī worship 1095, guru's position in P 1033n, gradually P. procedure either came to supersede Vedic procedure or got mixed up with the latter in some matters such as Devapūjā, consecration of temples and images etc 922-924, Hazra's view that the text of the extant P which are the

results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made at different times and by different sects is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution is quite correct, 872, Gautama Dh S. refers to study of P by learned brāhmanas 818, Hindu rites in medieval and modern times were deemed to give rewards promised in Veda, Smṛti and Purāṇas 913, history of Adhishimākṛtsna, his contemporaries and their descendants described in a prophetic vein in P 850, importance of Introductory remarks of Dānasāgara on P, 867-871; influence of P. on Dharmaśāstra digests on succession and inheritance etc. 810, influence of P. on Dharmasāstra 913-1002, institute comparison between yajñas and pilgrimages 933, introduced striking changes in ideals, religious rites and practices 928-929, Itihāsa-Purāṇa lumped together in Upanisads as the 5th Veda 840, Itihāsa distinguished from Purāṇa 840, Kirfel wrong in holding that the five topics (sarga etc.) alone were the constituent parts of very ancient Purāṇas 841; Kirfel and Fargiter have not clearly noticed the fact that P divide future kings into two groups, one of Aila, Aiksvāka and Māgadha lines up to the last scions of these and the other of later Kings in the Pradyota,

Śuṅga, Andhra and others 850, Kumārilabhatta on the contents of P. 823-24, lay emphasis on bhakti, on ahimsā, on pūrtadharmā 947-50; list of 18 Purānas completed long before 1000 A. D. 831; list of 18 principal Purānas together with the number of ślokas in each acc. to different works 831-832; M. as a compound word (itihāsapurānam) or as two words (itihāsaḥ purānam) in Tai. Ā., Chan Up. and Br. Up. 815, list of works, papers and translations of p 883; m. by the extant Mahābhārata in numerous places 821, m by Kautilya and Manusmṛti 819-20, m. by Kautilya and Yāj. Smṛti as one of the fourteen branches of knowledge and for japa 820; Mahābhārata quotes hundreds of verses called Ānavaṁśa and gāthās, many of which deal with Paurāṇika matters and have a Paurāṇika ring 853-54, Mahāpurāna (word) applied to the 18 P. in Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata 830n; mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' confers all objects, frees from sins and leads to mokṣa, acc. to Naraśimha and Vāmana 922, 971; Matsyapurāna sets out other characteristics of P. 839; Mit prescribes a smṛti mantra in śrāddha which occurs in Garuḍa and Skanda P. and some digests prescribe Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras even for brāhmanas in religious rites 920, modern works and papers

dealing with several questions relating to Purānas set out 843-845, Nāradiya Purāna describes the relation between Veda, Smṛti and Purānas and provides that he who calls P. as arthavādas goes to hell 927, myths and legends of Purānas on creation of universe, about eclipses etc must in modern times held as mere myths 1709-10, no Mahāpurāna composed after the 9th century A. D. but additional matter was unscrupulously added in several Purānas, the worst example being that of Bhavīśya (part III) which contains stories of Adam and Eve, Taimur, Akbar, Cantanya, Nadīrshah 855, not restricted to religious matters or to five characteristics but some of them deal exhaustively with rājanīti, 1000-1001; number of P. is traditionally eighteen called Mahāpurānas and enumerated in many Purānas, though some Purānas say originally there was only one, 829-830, on doctrine of Karma 1576-77, on rebirth for sins 1590; one important topic is 'avatāras' 922ff, only pursue an attitude to Veda and sacrifices that is found in such Upaniṣads as Mūṇḍaka and Katha 817, order in which P. are enumerated is not uniform, most putting Brahma as first, while Vāyu and Devībhāgavata put Matsya as first and Skanda puts Brahmānda as first 833,

Padmapurāṇa says that some vratas are superior to a hundred Vedic sacrifices 934, placed before all people (including śūdras) easy ways whereby they could secure spiritual life and bliss in the Hereafter 930; played a substantial role in bringing about the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from India in various ways 913-914, points of distinction between Upapurāṇas and the 18 Mahāpurāṇas 836-37, printed P. and mss. thereof, give four different periods of time viz. 1015, 1050, 1115 and 1500 from the birth of Parīkṣit to the crowning of Nanda, which Pargiter discards 845-46, proclaim often that *samsāra* is full of misery and is impermanent 1555, put emphasis on profuse expense in śrāddhas and inveigh against stinginess 931, quote *anuvamśa* ślokas or gāthās about such ancient kings as Kārtavīrya, Sumitra and Kṣemaka, last scions of Aila and Aikṣvāka dynasties, but none about later dynasties of Śungas or Āndhras 851, reading of or listening to recitation of P. believed to remove sins 915-16, reasons why many conclusions drawn from the current printed editions and mss. of Purāṇas must be held to be merely tentative 837-38, reasons why extant Purāṇas do not narrate traditions about

Gupta dynasty and those that succeeded it 856; references to pages of the four vol. of H¹ of Dh. on dāna, śrāddha, tirtha and vrata 998-999; said to be the heart of dharma, while Veda and Smṛti are eyes 924; sectarian bigotry of some Purāṇas exemplified 976-977; seven P. contain historical material viz. ancient dynasties up to Bhārata war and from Bhārata war to the downfall of Āndhras and the rise of Guptas, such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Brahmānda, Bhāgavata 842, several among the extant P. were composed or completed in the period from the 5th to the 9th century A. D., 854-55; several P. contain a much smaller number of ślokas than are assigned to them by authorities as in the case of Viṣṇupurāṇa and Kūrma 832-33; several P. such as Matsya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Bhaviṣya contain much Dharmaśāstra material 815, several P. describe the eight angas of Yoga 1455, several P. like Agni, Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara are encyclopaedias and illustrate India's life, character, achievements and shortcomings 925, several P. such as Vāyu and Brahmānda give a different version of the transmission of P. 861-62, some like Bhāgavata, Kūrma, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu espouse the Gītā doctrine of niskāma-karmayoga 967, some Purāṇas like Garuḍa describe

nyāsas 1120; some P. like Devibhāgavata, Kālikā, Viṣṇu-dharmottara describe at length mudrās, 1127-28; some P. deal at length with śāntis 734-35; some P. deal with units of time 476; some P. emphasize that God is one, that no difference should be made between Śiva and Viṣṇu 1189-90, some P. like Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata are full of eulogies of the theory and practice of Bhakti and illustrative stories 971-73, some P. make Rudra declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu, denounce Śaiva siddhāntas and that Śiva promulgated non-vedic views at the request of Viṣṇu, while Agni, Bhāgavata, Matsya and Vāyu, appear to say that Viṣṇu himself deluded people 974-75; some P. held that Saptarṣi constellation was in Maghā nakṣatra when Yudhiṣṭhira was king and that they stay in one nakṣatra for a century 520n; some P. transfer with slight variations Upa-nisad passages in their texts 921; some P. name minor works called Upa-purāṇas, but Matsya and Kūrma expressly state that they arose from the 18 Purāṇas and were composed as summaries after studying the Purāṇas 815, 835; sometimes P. describe themselves as Itihāsa and the Mahābhārata is called Purāṇa rarely 840; sometimes Purāṇas put forward very modern

ideas such as saying that social service and removal of distress is highest dharma 949; P. are sources of Dharma and Vidyās acc to Yāj. but there is no evidence as to the number Yāj. knew 835n, stages in the evolution of P. are four or five 853-855, stories that occur in the Veda and Upaniṣads such as of Harīścandra, Purūravas and Urvaśī are elaborated in Purāṇas 914-15, strike the keynote that great rewards can be had by little effort as by dānas, vratas, pilgrimages 45, 928, 930; Tai. Ār. speaks of itihāsas and purāṇas in the plural and so knew at least three Purāṇas 817, 853; task before P. was twofold, viz to undermine the power and prestige of Buddhism, and other non-Vedic systems and to wean away large sections of the masses from the attractive features of Buddhism and therefore promise the same rewards as Buddhism held forth by a restatement of Hindu religion, philosophy and practices 913, 929-30; ten topics of, according to Bhāgavata 839; topics of tīrtha, dāna, śrāddha and vrata cover about one lakh of verses in the extant P. 841, total number of ślokas in 18 Purāṇas according to most Purāṇas is 400600, 832, transformation in ideas, ideals and practices of Indian people due to P. in the first centuries of

Christian era 815, treat Vedas as authoritative and prescribe the use of Vedic mantras in many rites, 918-919, two separate Purāṇa versions called Āgneya, Brāhma, Linga and Viṣṇu known to Ballālasena in latter half of 12th cen. A. D 870, Vāyupurāṇa named as first among 18 P. by Matsya, Agni, Nāradya, while several of the other P. substitute Śiva for Vāyṇ but Vāyu is one of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas and not Śivapurāṇa 830, Vāyupurāṇa and Śiva P. both included among 18 P. by Ballālasena 870; Vedārthasaṅgraha of Rāmānujācārya states that all Purāṇas should be so interpreted as not to be in conflict with Viṣṇupurāṇa 957n, Vedic mantras occurring in Purāṇas were not to be read or listened to by sūdras 935, Viṣṇupurāṇa alone of all extant P. closely agrees with the definition given by Amarakośa but it also contains several other topics 841, was eloquent as to great efficacy of vratas, śrāddha, pilgrimages, fasts, gifts, repetition of the name of God, *bhakti* 52, 930, 933-34, P. were affected by the theory of the power of mantras 1105, word Purāṇa occurs over a dozen times in Bg and means 'ancient, old' 855, Yājñ Smṛti holds Purāṇa as one of the sources of Vidyā and Dharma 854, Purāṇas give informa-

tion on Architecture, sculpture and painting, 1653-54.

Purāṇasamuccaya, q by Hemādri 188n, by Nīrṇayasindhu 998n.

Puraścārana (of a mantra); 1107-1112; (vide under 'Mantra'); five are minimum constituents of P. viz pūjā, japa, tarpaṇa, homa, dinner to brāhmaṇas, 1107n-9; mantra to be repeated 1008, 108 or 10 or 108, 28 or 8 times, if any one of five constituents cannot be carried out, japa of mantra twice as many times as prescribed or dinner to brāhmaṇas may be substituted, 1109, in P. mantra is to be repeated 8000 times, if no express direction about number, 1110; meaning of, 1107-8; places where P. is to be practised 1110, signs that indicate perfection in mantra, 1111, terrible way to secure perfection in mantra in a single night by going to cemetery, securing the corpse of a cāṇḍāla, or one killed with a sword, or of a young warrior, wash it, worship it and Durgā-this being called Śavasādhana vidhi, 1109, various modes of P. 1107-9, way-of, suggested by Rāghavabhatta 1109

Pure everything is pure to the p. and it is the hankering that is blamable, acc to some Śākta works 1093.

Pūrṇāhuti, explained 347, 1224n.

Pūrnāpātra 183.

Pūrnā-tiṭhi 189n.

Purobita (vide under 'king').

- of king, to perform Śānti rites for prosperity, and magic rites 742, qualifications of p. of king 528, 543, 741-2.
- Purohitaswami, a of 'Aphorisms of Yoga' 1393, 1429-30 (on rousing Kundalinī), 1442n.
- Pūrtadharmā : (vide under Istā-pūrta and Purāṇas) : means works of public utility, such as wells, tanks, parks, temples etc. 947-949; Amarakośa defines it 948; pūrta dharma secures moksa 949.
- Purusa : derivation of the word in three ways, 1364n, in Sāṅkhya 1357-58; in the eye as Ātman, in the Chān. Up. 1446.
- Purūravas and Urvaśī, story of, in Rgveda and Viṣṇupurāṇa 915.
- Puruṣaparīkṣā, a work of Vidyāpati, 1076.
- Puruṣakāra and Daiva, discussed 545.
- Purusārthas (goals of human life), (vide moksa, sannyāsa) : are four, Dharma (actions prescribed by Śāstra, doing one's duties), Artha (economics, politics, civics), Kāma (enjoyment of pleasures and aesthetics) and Moksa (liberation), the last being the highest to be attained only by a few, 921n, 1510-11, 1626-32; Bhagavad-gītā demands a life dedicated to active work and regards doing one's duty as worship 1511; enjoyment of sexual life and pleasures not in conflict with Dharma is not condemned by Manu and other śāstras and in the Gītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma not in conflict with Dharma 1511, Mahābhārata is the śāstra of all p. acc. to Mārkaṇḍeya 819n; Manu states conclusion that there are three p. for all men and condemns premature Sannyāsa resorted to before fulfilling one's duties (one's three debts) 1511, Rgveda contains prayers for health, happiness and a life of hundred years 1510-11.
- Purusārtha-vidhi : (see Kratvartha). defined in P. M. S. IV 1. 2, 1232, rules about the acquisition of wealth are P. 192, 1233, is what a man undertakes for securing the reward of happiness 1232, principal sacrifices like Darśa-pūrnāmāsa are included under P. 1232.
- Purusārtha-cintāmaṇi 17n, 68n, 71n, 78n, 83n, 90-1, 100n-102, 127, 135, 146, 154n, 179, 182-3, 188-190n, 191n, 192, 197n, 199n, 204n, 207n, 227, 230, 232, 229n, 240, 481n, 672, 740n.
- Purusārthasudhānidhi, of Sāyana 1631n.
- Purusasūkta-held to be a late hymn by modern scholars, 1632.
- Purusottamamāsa Intercalary month 671, why so called 672.
- Purusottamatattva 1132
- Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras and Dharmaśāstra 1152-1351; (vide under anuvāda, bādha, Bādarāyaṇa, Bhagavadgītā, bhāvanā,

dharma, dīksā, God, Jaimini, Krama, Kumārila, mantra, maxims, mīmāṃsā, niyama, parisankhyā, Śābara, Śāstra, sūtra, svarga, ūha, Veda, Vedāntasūtra, vidhi, Vṛttakāra, words), 33, 67n, 237, 536 (auspicious times for all rites in honour of gods), 989-90, *adhikārin* of P. M. S. is one who has studied the Veda from *guru* 1180, approximate date of, between 400-200 B. C. 1157n, 1197, authors mentioned by both P. M. S. and V. S. 1173, authors mentioned by P. M. S. alone and not mentioned by V. S. 1173, Brahmasūtra expressly mentioned in Gītā (13.4) is not the present V. S. but probably another work or other works of Bādarī, Audolomī and Kāśakrtsna, 1171-74, called 'Prathamatantra' by Śāṅkarācārya, 1032, chronological order of Kumārila, Prabhākara, Mandana, Ubbeka, Śāhikānātha, all writers on Mīmāṃsā, between 650-750 A. D. 1190-95, close correspondence between Āp. Dh. S. and P. M. S., 1155; close correspondence between Jaimini's Sūtra and Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra exemplified 1155-56, *Codanā* (word) in the Mīmāṃsā sense employed by Vṛttakakāra and Mahābhāṣya 1158, conclusions about Vyāsa, Jaimini, Bādarīyana, Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra and Vedāntasūtra tentatively presented 1177-78, controversies

about Vṛttakāra, Upavarsa and Bodhāyana, 1186n-1187n; declared by Padmapurāṇa as unmeaning on account of its atheistic teaching, 976, date of P. M. S., acc. to Jacobi and Kerth, about 200 A. D. 1157; dates (approximate) of several writers on P. M. S. in Sanskrit 1197-1200, descriptions of creation and dissolution of the world are not to be literally understood, the universe as a whole has no beginning and no end, descriptions are meant to illustrate power of *dāna* and human effort and to urge men to perform their duties enjoined by Veda 1209-10; dharma is the proper subject of P. M. S. acc. to Śāstradīpikā and not 'Vedārtha' 1180, Dharmasūtras like those of Gautama and Āp. disclose familiarity with technical terms and principles of P. 1154-55, doctrines of early and principal writers on P. are rather startling, they have hardly any place for God or the deities, and their theory about Yajña smacks of a businesslike system 1217, P. M. S. does not state how much of the Veda has to be studied before one enters upon the understanding of the meaning 1180, earliest extant com. is that of Śābara 1187, emphasizes the distinction between an author of a book and its expositor or transmitter 1203n, employs the word *Smṛiti* in the sense of Dharmasāstra,

1237, examination of views of Bādarāyana cited five times and conclusions therefrom, 1170; first six chapters consider the procedure of rites like Darśapūrṇamāsa, the details of which are expressly laid down in the Veda while the following six consider the modifications (vikrtis) and details that have to be added or omitted 1321; four *anubandhas* of, 1179n; fundamental and characteristic doctrines (nine in all) of P. M. S. 1202-1207, *guruparamparās* in Sāma-vidhāna Br, Nyāyaratnākara and Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī slightly differ 1161n; ideas of P. about creation and dissolution of the world are opposed to those of Mahābhārata and Gītā, 1210, if there be only one Jaimini (and not two) no satisfactory explanation why the author of P. M. S. should name himself only five times in about 2700 sūtras, 1166-67, insists on certain moral rules (such as not speaking falsely) and other rules of conduct such as giving up flesh, sexual intercourse for one engaged in Darśapūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices 1217n, Kumārila shows scant respect for Jaimini, charges him with composing some sūtras without much substance and remarks that Jaimini's sūtra is improper 1335; list of works and papers in English on Pūrvaśikṣā, 1200-1201; looked upon by

medieval writers as the most important of vidyāsthānas 1159, many verses quoted by Śabara on P. M. and other matters 1187, most extensive of all Darśanas, containing about 2700 sūtras and over 900 *adhikaraṇas*, 1182, names nine authors on Mimāṃsā, besides Jaimini himself 1157n; names other writers only 27 times while V. S. having only about 1/5th of the sūtras in P. M. S. quotes other writers 32 times, 1160-61; number of *adhikaraṇas* put at 915 or 1000 by different authors, 1160, 1189n, numerous commentaries on P. M. S. 1186-87; one of the characteristic doctrines of P. M. S. is *śruti-prāmāṇya*, 1212, Padmapurāṇa asserts that Jaimini composed a vast but useless Śāstra by expounding the view that there was no god 1207, 1209; PMS is not as much concerned about mokṣa or man's destiny after death as other *darśanas* are 1217; PMS, Śabara, Kumārila make substantial contributions to the exegesis of Vedic texts 1217-18, postulates that *apūrva* yields the rewards of sacrifices and not God, 1211; question whether Jaimini and Bādarāyana were contemporaries and if not, what their relation was, discussed, 1161 ff, questions of identity and relationship among Kumārila, Prabhākara, Maṇḍana, Ubbeka, Śālikanātha, Sureśvara, set out

with some discussion 1193-95, relation of dharma to the Veda and the P. M. S. is clearly and briefly brought out by Kumārila 1185; relies upon popular usages, apart from Veda and Smṛtis in many sūtras 1255, requires that men of the three varnas should not only study the Veda but they must also understand its meaning 1180, Śābara and Kumārila differ about the subject matters of certain adhikaranas 1335, Śābara gives a summary of the first chap. of P. M. S. and at the beginning of each of the other chapters gives a summary of the preceding chapter 1186, Śābara proposes two (even three or four-) explanations of several sūtras and adhikaranas 1334-35, Śābara holds two or more sūtras as forming one *adhikarana* and alternatively treats one of them as a separate *adhikarana* 1334, Śābara omits II. 4. 17 and six sūtras after III. 4. 9, 1162n, 1334, Śābara says that the Yājñikas do not declare that rewards result from the mere memorization of the Veda, 1180, Sastri, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, holds that Jaimini mentioned in P. M. S. VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini mentioned four times more in other sūtras and this view criticized 1162-64, some sūtras are repeated 30 and 24 times 1182, subjects of the twelve chapters of P. M. S., acc. to Jaiminīya-

nyāyamālā-vistāra, 1185-86; subjects of the four *pādas* of the first chapter are vidhi, arthavāda (including mantras), Smṛtis (including customs and usages) and names of rites such as 'udbhīd' 1186, table of outstanding works and writers on P. M. S. with tentative dates 1197-1200, various readings in, 1334, tenth chapter is longest, the 3rd comes next and 10th deals with *bādha* and *samuccaya*, 1326 27, Vārtikas of Kātyāyana and the Mahābhāṣya establish that Mīmāṃsā terms had been elaborated long before them 1156-1158, very rarely refers to other ācāryas by the word 'eke' and V. S. also does so rarely, its references in the words 'eke', 'ekesām' and 'anye' being made to Vedic recensions or Upaśads 1173, word 'Nyāyavid' is applied to writers on P. M. 1155n; words 'codanā', 'upadeśa' and 'vidhi' are synonyms acc. to Śābara and 'codanā' means a sentence that urges men to do some act 1183-85; works and writers from Jaimini onwards rely on smṛtis and Dharmaśāstra 1178, writers on P. M. are called by Bālakṛiḍā of Viśvarūpa simply 'nyāyavidah' or 'nyāyavidoyājñikāh' 1155n

Pūrtapragñā (in Br. Up IV 4. 2) meaning of, 1602n.

Pusalker, Dr. A. D., a of 'Studies in the Epics and Purānas of India' and of 'Progress of

Indic studies' in Silver Jubilee Vol of E. O. R. I., 830n, 844, 886, 910.

Puṣya, a nakṣatra, also called 'Siddhya' 499n, 525, most powerful among nakṣatras 794

Puṣyamitra, called Senānti in Purāṇas, Harsacarita and Ayodhyā inscription 1008n, 1028; alleged persecution of Buddhists by, discussed 1008-1010.

Puṣyasnāna (or Bārhaspatya-snāna): (vide Nakṣatrasnāna) 793-797; all utpātas destroyed by Śānti in P. 793; Bṛhaspati is presiding deity of Puṣya 798; clay collected from several places such as mountain top and king's head and other limbs rubbed with it in P, 797-798; leaves of 15 plants to be cast in jars filled with water 795; Mandala drawn with powders of different colours in, 1132; many Purāṇik mantras along with Vedic ones prescribed by the Matsya, Br. S. and Hemādri 795-96; part of laksahoma, acc. to Matsya 798; release of prisoners jailed for offences at the end of, 797; procedure of P. employed in the case of king's elephants and horses to free them from diseases, 797; proper time, procedure and duration for performing P. acc. to Viṣṇudharmottara 798-799, reward and results of P. 799.

Puṣyavrata, m. in Āp. Dh. S. 346, 799.

Pythagoras (Greek philosopher)

believed in punarjanma and there are controversies as to whether he borrowed from India, 1530.

'Questions of Mīlinda' 940n; has passages closely agreeing with Gītā 970, 972, 1023n.

Rabindranath Tagore, poet and reformer, a. of Gītānjali 1700, 1711.

Radhakrishnan, Dr S : a of Indian 'Philosophy' 1200, 1209, 1393, 1491, 1605; a. of 'Source book of Indian Philosophy' 1394, (jointly with C. A. Moore); a. of 'India and China' 1122; a. of 'Religion and Society' 1618n, 1689, 1695, a of 'The Brahmasūtras', pp. 194-207 of Introduction on 'Karma and Punarjanma', 1605; a. of 'Idealist view of life' 1612, a of 'Eastern Religions and Western thought' 1647 (Schweitzer Criticized); a. of 'Kalkin or future of civilization' 1668 (defects of modern Democracy).

Rāghavabhatta, commentator of Śāradātilaka, 1101n, 1112n, 1123 (on mudrā), 1124, has an elaborate note on *purasāraṇa*, 1108-1110; holds that Prapñicasāra is Śāṅkarācārya's own work 1105, quotes Śulbasūtra 1132, quotes numerous passages on *nyāsa*, 1120, 1122, states that Tantra cult is based on Upanisads like Rāmāpūrvatāpanīya 1045. Raghavan, Dr. V. 1163n, 1369, 1408n.

- Raghunandana, a. of several
Tattvas 30, 46, 90n, 158, 175,
178, 186-7, 198, 545, 753, 835n,
919, 1043n, 1118, 1132-33,
1238 (illustrates 'rātrisattrā-
nyāya'), 1240, 1291.
- Raghunātha, a. of 'Padārtha-
nirūpana' 470.
- Raghuvamśa 193, 500, 531n, 537,
539, 628, 744n, 797n, 905n,
997, 1027, 1152n, 1213, 1384,
1426 (mentions Virāsana),
1461 (references to Yoga
technique), 1571.
- Rāhu (ascending node or the
point where the orbit of the
moon intersects the eclipse in
passing northwards 574, and
Ketu m. in Mahābhārata 569,
demon R. represented as serp-
ent in Śāntis on eclipses 766;
mantra repeated in Śānti for
R. 766n, story of the part of
R. at churning of ocean 766n.
- Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 472n,
942n, 1022-23 (paper on
Vajrayāna and the 84 siddhas),
1073 (paper of, about Vajra-
yāna and Mantrayāna' in
Journal Asiatique), 1075n
(gives list of 84 siddhas from
Luipā to Bhaḥpā with details.
- Rainfall, in the four months
from Pausa, inauspicious for
seven days for vrata and yātrā
after it stops 620
- Rājadharmā-kaustubha 923,
1333
- Rājamārtanda of Bhoja, com on
Yogasūtra 1439n, 1444n,
1449n.
- Rājamārtanda of Bhoja (on
astrology and dharmasāstra
topics) 46, 61n, 68, 72n, 75n,
78, 79n, 83n, 90n-91, 114n,
116, 125, 132n, 144, 181, 191n,
194, 212n-3n, 220, 529n, 547,
555, 560, 571, 604, 606-7 (70
verses on Upaṇyāna),
608n-9n, 610, 612n, 613-4,
615n, 616-7, 619-620n, 621n,
623, 624-6, 672, 710, 885;
mentions only 24 vratas 46,
58, quoted by V. K. K. 110n.
- Rājanītiprakāśa 622, 737n, 806,
923
- Rājanītiratnākara 176, 616.
- Rājanya, meaning of, 1549n
- Rajas, meaning of 1540.
- Rājasūya (sacrifice) performed
by Pṣyamitra and Khāravela
1028.
- Rājatarangī (middle of 12th
century A. D.), 630, 649, 655,
669, 737n. 1074-75 (has sev-
eral reference to Tāntrikas and
their doings).
- Rājavārtika (quoted by Vācas-
pati) 1359n,
- Rajendralal Mitra, Dr 141
- Raji, story of his depriving Indra
of share in sacrifices and
Bṛhaspati deluding the sons of
R. by composing a work on
Jinadharma 974.
- Rākā (Paurṇamāsī mixed with
pratipadī), worshipped in Rg.
for a rich and famous son 63.
- Raksābandhana, on Full Moon
of Śrāvana, 127-128
- Rāksoghna hymns 813
- Ram Mohan Roy, founder of
Brāhma Samāj, 1699
- Rāma, (vide under Rāmāyana):
astrological details about birth
of Rāma 84-85, became Lord

- of the world by vratas in Tretā 55; episode in the Epic 838n; given as a synonym of Haladhara and of Daśaratha's son by Amarakośa 84; kept golden image of Sītā by his side when he performed Aśvamedha 53n, 1281; killed Rāvana on Durgādevi's inspiration acc. to Kālikā 160n; no name so holy and so constantly on Hindu lips as Rāma's 88; story of his ascent to heaven followed by subjects in his capital 959.
- Rāmaliṅga, celebrations in North India on first ten days of Āṣvina-śukla 193.
- Rāmanavami Vrata 84-88; Kṛtyakalpataru does not deal with it 84; procedure of R. prescribed in medieval works 86-87; procedure of R. in modern times 88; whether R. is nitya or kāmya 85-86.
- Ramana Maharshi (1879-1950), sage of Arunachal 1479n, work on, by Arthur Osborne 1479n.
- Rāmānuja; a. of Bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra 956n, 1158; a. of Vedārthasangraha 957; born in 1127 A. D., does not quote the Bhāgavatapurāṇa at all in bhāṣya on V. S., while quoting over a hundred verses from Viṣṇupurāṇa 95; five heads of the doctrines of the school of, 961n. holds that whole of Pañcarātra has Vedic authority 954-55.
- Rāmānujācārya, a. of Tantrarahasya and Nāyakarātna (com. on Njāyatnamālā) 12.0, flourished about 1500-1575 A. D., 1200.
- Rāmapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad 1102, 1135.
- Rāmārcanacandrikā of Ānandavanayati 84.
- Ramaswami (Sastri), Pandit V. A. 1186n, 1187n.
- Rāmāyana dreams frequently mentioned in, as indicating future catastrophies 775; flesh of five five-nailed animals may be eaten 1156n; horoscope of Rāma in Bālakāṇḍa of, examined 84-85, 627-28; omens described in 743, several passages in, contain references to planets in relation to nakṣatras indicating misfortunes to people in general or to individuals 531, solar eclipse at an unusual time 744, 1628 (three puruṣāsthas), 1629n, 1631.
- Rāmeśvara, commentator of Parāśurāmakalpasūtra 1077.
- Ramakrishna Paramahansa, guru of Vivekānanda 1699-1700.
- Ramakrishna Mission 1699-1700.
- Ranade, M. G. and Prārthanāsamāja 1700.
- Ranade, Prof. R. D. a. of 'Constructive survey of the Upanishadic philosophy' 1537-41, holds view that from certain mantras of Rg. it can be said that an approach to the idea of Transmigration was being made by Vedic sages 1537ff; views and interpretations of the Rg. passages by Prof. Ranade held to be wrong 1537-42.
- Rao, Prof. V. K. R. V. paper of,

in 'Changing India', 1678n, 1683

Rashdall a. of 'Theory of Good and Evil', 1575

Rāśis (signs of Zodiac): (vide under Constellation, dre-skāna, horā, Mahābhārata, Nārāyana, person, Rudra, Zodiac), are twelve, each extending over $2\frac{1}{4}$ nakshatras from Aśvinī onwards in order 561, are identified from Mesa onwards with the limbs of the Kālapuruṣa or of Nārāyana 564n; as lords of the quarters (diśās) and usefulness thereof 568, classifications of r, as male or female, movable and fixed, due to fancy and ideas of symmetry and sequence 635, Chinese names of rāśis are different such as rat, ox, tiger etc 566, 635, colours of the twelve r acc to Brhuj-jātaka 568, description of the appearance of r in Brhaj-jātaka, in the Yavanajātaka q. by Utpala and in Vāmanapurāṇa 564; descriptions of seven r. show that they are figures of animals and five are like human beings 564-5, many scholars deny that there is similarity between the majority of the twelve signs in zodiac and the natural appearance of the objects signified by them 565; mentioned by Vrddha-Garga and Kāśyapa 592, no Greek word corresponding to Mīna (Pisces) mentioned by Brhaj-jātaka in some editions 562n,

names of signs among Babylonians, Assyrians and Chaldeans cited by several scholars do not tally 565n, names of r. are purely imaginary 565, 635, no proof that the rāśi system was borrowed by India from the Greeks 594; principles of astronomy based on r. probably established in India in the three centuries before Christ 638, purpose of identification of r with limbs of Kālapuruṣa 561, purpose and astrological indications of the classifications of r. acc. to Utpala 568; Sārāvali mentions no Greek word for Mīna 563n; six items in relation to the r. occupied by a planet called Ṣaḍvarga 583, table of r. as *svagrha*, *ucca* and *nīca* of the planets 576, table of r. with English and Latin equivalents and synonyms 562, things supposed to be under the influence of the several r. 564; what r. are powerful by day, at night and in twilight 569, when are r. powerful 577

Rāstrabhṛt Anuvāka 786.

Ratana-sutta 943

Rathakāra, in Tai.Br means a man of that caste, not one who manufactures chariots (the etymological sense) and he can repeat the Vedic mantra 'ibhūpām tvā' etc though not entitled to Upanayana 1290, 1612

Rathantara sāman, 726; means only the music and not the

rk set to music, 1222.

Rationalism : (vide under doubt, God, people, Hinduism, persecution, science, tradition, utilitarianism). accepts the postulates which science finds convenient and useful but science works within narrow limits, it is not concerned with morals or spirituality or values of life 1475, in Europe emphasis on rationalism arose as the Christian churches, particularly Roman Catholic, were extremely intolerant of the slightest departure from religious views held at particular times 1576-77, there are subconscious and non-rational impulses, beliefs and intuitions in men that are held by men to be truer or of a higher order than what is on the rationalistic level 1475; thoughtful men in Europe during 18th and 19th centuries had boundless faith in r. and progress, but this faith is now greatly weakened 1478.

Rationalists (vide 'Communism and Communists'); r. arrive at different conclusions on the same matter in different ages and even in the same age what appears reasonable to one group is held unreasonable by another group 1477; argue that they should not have to prove negative propositions (such as there is no God) but theists must prove the positive proposition of God's existence etc 1473; it should not be supposed that

ancient and medieval India had no rationalists or atheists, in fact there were several r. such as the Lokāyatas and rationalistic critics of sacrifices, Śrāddhas etc. 974 (note 1596), 1472, Bentham and the two Mills put forward the theory of utilitarianism 1479; many r. hold that there is no proof of the existence of God or any higher Intelligence than man's, deny individual soul and immortality, and argue that in all religions there is some truth with a great deal of error 1472, problem of evil in the world is, acc to r., a great stumbling block in accepting God as good, kind, omnipotent and all-knowing, 1473, r. and utilitarians are not agreed upon any definite principles of conduct for common men and women 1480, r. substitute blocks of humanity or the leaders of such blocks for authority and worship, the likely result being that humanity would soon be wiped out 1474, warning of Gītā against unsettling the minds of ignorant persons 1480.

Ratnamālā 62, 69, 70n, 604n, 605, 607n, 608-10, 615-19, 620n-25, 627, 657n, 682n, 704-5, 707n, 793 (on Pusya)

Ratnāvali 46.

Rātri-word r. not so frequent in

Ēg as the word 'ahan' 675

Rātrisūkta, a Khilasūkta after

Ēg X 127, 232 and n

Raudra Gaṇa, mantras addressed

- to Rudra in Śāntas 770.
- Rāvana, dreams of Trījātā about, 775.
- Rawlinson, a of 'Five monarchies of the ancient world' 514n, 595n.
- Rayachaudhuri Dr H. C. 650n (on Vikramāditya), 883 (on discrepancies between Purāna accounts and inscriptions).
- Rāyaspoṣa verses 796n.
- Rbhus controversies about what they stand for 982, legend that R. slept for twelve days, explained 498-99.
- Reality, is of three kinds, (1) Pāramārthikī (Absolute or highest), the province of Parā vidyā, (2) Vyāvahārikī (empirical), the province of aparā vidyā, (3) Prātibhasikī (which pertains to dream states in which pleasure and pain may be experienced while the dream lasts), 1506.
- Rebirths for sins, authorities on, collected in one place 1590; for persons guilty of mortal sins after undergoing hell tortures specified by Manu and Yāj and rebirth for lesser sins 1590-91; for those guilty of thefts of certain articles have some understandable logic behind them 1491.
- Re-incarnation (Punarjanma) 1530-1612, great difference between the Hindu theory of avatāras and Christian doctrine of r. 992
- Rele, Dr. V G., a of 'Mysterious Kundalini' 1145, 1393, 1443 (criticized by Shri Kaval-
- ayānanda).
- Religion or (religions): as believed at present by most men can hardly be a panacea for the ills of the world 1480; many eminent men attribute the present difficulties to the two world wars and are busy in inviting all men back to r., but the crux of the problem is what religious tenets and practices are to be inculcated among men in the present age 1480-81, most r. postulate three fundamental entities, God, individual soul and external world 1506; virtues preached at different times as most important have been different (such as monachism, charity, humility, social service, heroism) 1481, whether religion is necessary or not some worth-while ideal is necessary, acc. to Pandit Nehru 1670; and modern Indians with several attitudes towards re. form, 1700-1701.
- Religious Rites calendar required for finding out proper times for, 641, must be performed at the correct time (i.e. season, tithi etc.) acc. to Śāstra 713, rule that, if one able to carry out main provisions of R. resorts to alternatives provided for those who are unable, he does not secure the other-worldly rewards of that rite 100.
- Renou, Prof L, 493n, 505n (a of 'L' Inde Classique'), 1006n (on 'Religions of

- Ancient India'), 1397-98 (against identity of two Patañjalis).
- Representative (vide under 'Pratinidhi'), not allowed in certain cases 53.
- Republics in ancient India, acc. to Jayaswal 1663.
- Revatī, the Yogatārā of nakṣatra R. corresponds to Zeta Piscium of modern astronomers 712.
- Rhys Davids, 542, 940, 1033 (a of 'Buddhist India')
- (Mrs.) Rhys Davids: 1007 (on 'Relation between Buddhism and Brahmanism') says Buddha agreed with Upaniṣad teachings about high moral endeavour).
- R̥gveda (vide God, Veda): 2-22, 35-6, 60n, 62-3, 87, 112, 126, 129, 137, 146, 150-151, 153, 159, 168, 171, 179n, 183, 205, 209, 219n, 223, 233, 241, 463, 488-9, 491-93, 495-98, 506, 537-38, 579, 582, 596, 671, 675, 684, 686-7, 690n, 691-92, 697, 703n, 719-24, 726n-28n, 729-31, 733, 737n-39n, 740-41, 750, 756, 758, 761-63, 771n, 772-3, 780n, 781, 785-9, 790n, 791, 796, 802, 814, 859, 916-17, 919-20, 934, 947, 950-51, 970, 980-985, 987-91, 997, 1031, 1035-36 (mystic words and spells in), 1043-44, 1045 (R̥g. V. 47. 4 deemed to refer to Kādividyā), 1052n, (R̥g verses q. in Kulārnavatānta), 1058, 1059 (R̥g. IV. 40 5 ('Hamsah' etc.) to be recited over wine and other tattvas in Tāntrik worship), 1078, 1086 (verses of, q. by Mahāmīrvānta), 1098, 1100 (Vedic Mantras employed in T. works exemplified), 1121n, 1131 (orb of Sun is called wheel), 1156n, 1181, 1184, 1203-4 (references that are held historical), 1213 (who went to heaven and what joys were there), 1218 (Madhvācārya claims that he is referred to in R̥g. text I. 141. 1-3), 1221n, 1223, 1227n, 1244 (mantras full of faith in God and beatitude), 1255-56, 1257n, 1265n, 1268 and n, 1276n, 1309n, 1311n, 1316, 1321, 1362, 1372, 1382n, 1385-86, 1471 (quoted often by Upaniṣads), 1478 (some doubters about Indra), 1487-1493, 1497-98, 1516 R̥g. IX. 62. 1 explained in Tāndya), 1517, 1527-8, 1532-33 (passages where word Karman occurs), 1536-37 (R̥g. VII. 33. 10-14 about Vasistha's two births explained), 1537-44, 1546n, 1548n, 1553-54, 1568n (interpretation of R̥g. X. 190. 3), 1576n, 1578 (Vasvānara), 1595, 1600 and n, 1613-4 (river Sindhu), 1619-20 (meaning of 'Kṛnavanto Viśvam Āryam'), 1622, 1631n, 1644 (indications of at least three Āframās), 1646 (shift towards oblation of cooked food or ghee as equal to animal sacrifices); 1676 (Vasistha's prayer that sins due to wine and gambling may be forgiven); prayer to bestow ten

- songs on newly married bride) (X 85. 16 explained), 1610n
 R (X 117. 6) differentiates between rk verses, Yajus texts and Sāman chants 859, hardly 1/3 of over ten thousand Mantras of Rgveda are employed in the Vedic rites 1223; has two arrangements, viz one into Maṇḍalas and Sūktas and the other into astakas adhyāyas and Vargas, while Tai. S and Atharvaveda are arranged into Kāṇḍas 859; pada-pāṭha or kramapāṭha of R is not eternal but is man-made and the former is ascribed to Śākalya who is criticized by the Nirukta 861; rsis of, had arrived at idea that there is only one Supreme Being addressed under different names 1487, verses of, occur in other Vedic saṁhitās 22, war of ten kings against Sudās 1644
 Rgvedi, Mr., work of, on 'History of Aryan festivals' in Marathi 60.
 Rg-vidhāna 728n-29n.
 Rkprātisākhya 703n
 Rivara J. H. de Cunha, a of paper on 'Historical essay on the Konkani language' 1020.
 Rivers Āpayā, Drsadvatī and Sarasvatī m as holy rivers for establishing Agni in Rg, 523, eighteen or 19 rivers are mentioned in order from Ganges in the east to Kubhā (Kabul river), Gomati and Krumu (Kurram) in the west 1528, many rivers m. in Anuśāsana-parva 1528; several Purāṇas mention rivers as flowing from the principal mountains 1528, seven Sindhus mentioned in Rg. 1528, six rivers mentioned as very holy and connected with Himavat and six more south of Vindhya 243.
 Robertson, Archibald, a of 'Rationalism in theory and practice' 1476n, 1481n, 1616 (on meaning of word civilization)
 Rodasī, wife of Rudra, acc. to Yaska and connected with Maruts in Rg, 1044.
 Rohmī, nakṣatra, moon said to be fond of, 507.
 Romaka is probably Alexandria in Āryabhata's work, 676n.
 Romaka-siddhānta 680, (vide under Śrisena), Dikṣit contends that the R. summarised in Pañcasiddhāntikā is different from the work of Śrisena and was composed before 150 A. D 515n, length of year, acc. to R. agrees with Hipparchus and Ptolemy 515, no calendars in India based on it 515n, Thibaut on, 515n; probably composed in Sanskrit by a Greek settled in India, 515n, Thibaut on, 515.
 Roman Church: prepared an Index of forbidden books (the edition of 1949 contains 5000 titles) and another Index of books permitted but some passages from which were to be expurgated 1576.
 Roth Cecil, a of 'Short History of the Jews' (for persecution

of the Jews) 1019.

Roland, Benjamin, a. of 'The Art and Architecture of India' 1656.

Royce, J., a. of 'the world and the individual,' expounds Chān. Up. III 14 and VI. 2-15 and Br. Up. 1500, quotes from a mystic work 'who knows Him is silent' 1505.

Ṛsabha, a predecessor of Varāhamihira 622.

Ṛṣipaticami-vrata: (vide 'Seven sages'): 149-151, meant for all, but now practised mostly by women 149, number seven important in, 151; object was to remove all sins and troubles of three kinds and ridding women of contacts during monthly illness 950; performed on 5th of Bhādrapada bright half 149-151 (mixed with 4th and not with 6th tithi); performer not to eat anything in this vrata produced on land ploughed by oxen or watered by the labour of oxen 150; procedure of 149-150; Saṅkalpa in 150n; seven sages and Arundhati worshipped in, 150-51, worship of sages is performed with Ṛgveda mantras 150-51.

Ṛsiputra, a. of a work on astrology, 593 (Br. S. quotes 15 verses of his), 767, 768n, 778n (Br. S. summarises its views)

Ṛta, meaning of, acc. to Prof. Apte, is 'belt of Zodiac' 3, three meanings of, 320; wheel of, in Ṛg. 488-489, 1627; (ṛta gave place to *satya* later).

Ṛtavya hymns are Ṛg II. 36 and 37, 492.

Ruben, Prof. on 'Purāṇic line of Heroes' 883.

Rudra (see under 'Śāstras'), deemed by Padmapurāṇa to have assumed the form of Kāla with *rāśis* as his limbs 561n; is supposed to have deluded people and asuras by composing false śāstras at the bidding of Viṣṇu, 974.

Rudra (see under *Ekādaśī*, *Laghurudra*, *Mahārudra*, *Atirudra*): 1024; name of Rudrādhāya, viz. eleven *anuvākas* in Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11, beginning with 'namas-te Rudra manyave', reciting them once being called 'āvartana' and reciting eleven times is called 'Ekādaśī', 759, 813 and n; word r. is harsh name 721n; worship by R. takes three forms viz. *japa*, *homa* and *abhiśeka* (sprinkling a person with holy water over which Rudra mantras have been repeated), 814.

Rudradhara, a. of 'Śuddhiviveka' 52, 1296 (held Śūdra cannot adopt a son)

Rudragana (mantras) 796n.

Rudragāyatri 108n.

Rudrayāmala, a *Tāntrik* work; 736n, 965n, 1034, 1061n (on cakras and *Sahasrārācakra*); 1088n (a *Vīra Sādhaka* could associate with another's wife as *Śakti* in worship), 1101, 1144-45.

Rudriya (servant of Rudra), substituted for Rudra in Art.

- Br. for averting Rudra's wrath 721n.
- Rukmāṅgada and Mohinī story of, in Nāradiya-purāṇa 892; proclamation of, about the observance of Ekādaśī 892.
- Rūpasamrddha, meaning of, 789n, 1097, 1276n.
- Russell, Bertrand, a of 'Impact of Science on Society' 765n, remarks of on Milton's use of popular beliefs about eclipses 765.
- Russle, Lord, of Liverpool, a of Sconrge of the Svastika', wherein he cites the confession of Hoss that not less than three million people were put to death at Auschwitz, 1480n.
- Russia · great inequalities of income in, even after 40 years of totalitarian rule between the salaries of Academicians and high placed executives on one hand and of common men on the other 1682-83
- Rutter, Owen, a of 'Scales of Karma' 1594, 1605.
- Śabara, a. of bhāṣya on Pūrva mīmāṃsā-sūtra (vide under Kumārila, Vrttikāra), vrata defined, 28, 33-4, 73n, 86n, 96n, 237, 607, 701n, 821, 985, 992n, 1032 (meaning of Tantra), 1097-98 (mantras are 'arthaprakāśaka'), 1114n, 1154n-56n, 1158, 1167 (Jaimini mentions Bādarāyana in P M S I 1 5 and XI 1 65), 1178 (quotes a Smṛti verse almost identical with Manu), 1180, 1183, 1186-87 (mentions vrttikāra with respect) 1197, 1202-05, 1208, 1209n, 1211n (on Apūrva), 1212n, 1213 (popular views about heaven), 1214 (mental happiness is svarga), 1220-21 (on mantras, their classifications and definitions), 1222, 1224 ('śabda-pramāṇakā vāyam'), 1225n (defines vidhi), 1226 (what signifies a vidhi), 1227n, 1231n, 1236n, 1237, 1241, 1249n, 1254n, 1255, 1257-60, 1283n, 1286n, 1289-90, 1292, 1294, 1295n, 1297n-1300n, 1304n, 1305n-1308, 1310-1312n, 1317n-18n, 1321n, 1322, 1324n, 1325-1326n, 1329n, 1331n cites a verse defining 'tantra'), 1332n-35, 1512n (on affix 'tvā'), 1527, 1544n, 1626, at least one thousand quotations on Śabara's bhāṣya are taken from Tai. S. and Br. 1218; bhāṣya of, is earliest extant com on P M. S 1187, bhāṣya of, quotes about three thousand quotations of which several hundreds have not been identified 1218, Brhātī, is com of Prabhākara on, 1189, difference between S. and Kumārila as to the subject matter of P M. Sūtras, 1262-63), 1335; flourished between 200-400 A D. 1197; frequently quotes the very words of the Nirukta or pointedly refers to them, 1276 and n, gives three interpretations of P. M. S IV. 1 2, out of which one relates to acquisition of wealth 1233, gives far-fetched explanations of

the words 'Savitr', 'Āśvins' and 'Pūsan' when the Mantra 'devasya tvā' (Tal. S. II. 4 6. 1) is to be addressed by *ūha* to a deity other than Agni, 1325 and n; mentions Holākā festival as prevalent in Eastern parts of Bhārata 237; numerous commentaries on bhāṣya of 1187-88; omits some sūtras, acc. to Kumārila 1162n, 1188, 1227n, no commentary on Śabara's bhāṣya, composed before Kumārila now available 1188; quotes several verses on P. M. matters and also on other topics 1187, stories of events that never occurred are mentioned in the Veda for praise (says Ś.) 1224; styled *vr̥ttikāra* sometimes by Kumārila himself 1197.

Śābarotsava, in Durgāpūja 176-77.

Sabatini, Rafael, work of, on 'Spanish Inquisition' 933n.

Sabbāsavasutta 943.

Śabdakalpadrūma 760.

Sabbath 677; Jews observed Saturday as S (and not Sunday) 677, observed on different week days by various peoples 677.

Sabhāparva 27n, 90n, 130, 488n, 539, 698 (names for numerals from *ayuta* to *parārdha*), 743 (omens), 744 (eclipse), 745 (three kinds of utpātas), 971n (story of Śiśupāla), 1161 (pupils of Vyāsa).

Sabine, W. H. W. a. of 'Second sight in daily life' develops a novel theory on dreams 782.

Sacri. word Ś occurs in the sense of 'Śakti' about 50 times in Rg. and does not mean wife of Indra 1043.

Sacred books of the East (series) 527, 777, 939n-40n, 943, 970n, 972, 978n, 1022-23n, 1026, 1037n, 1038, 1042, 1070, 1107, 1153, 1579n, 1583n, 1613n, 1627, 1663.

Sacrifice (see under Yajña, wife, Dakṣmā); disposal of implements of S. 1232; even the R̥gveda discloses that a complicated sacrificial ritual existed in its times 991; provides that husband and wife should perform a S. in co-operation, but where the Veda expressly provides that certain matters are to be performed by the male sacrificer it is the male alone that can perform them 1287; results of paucity or absence of food, or mantras, proper fees, are disastrous in different ways 753; *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices (such as *Viśvajit*) for which the Veda does not expressly declare a reward 1312, ten implements required in S. enumerated in Tal. S., each of which is to be employed for the purpose prescribed by Veda 1292, 1331n, wrangling about food or fees causes misfortune to sacrificer 753.

Sadācāra (usages or practices of *śiṣtas*), (vide 'śiṣta', *Smṛti*, *Kalivarjya*). intricate questions about the relative force of Śruti, *Smṛti* and *Sadācāra*

- arise 1264, Kumārila's position is that those usages alone are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by śīstas under the belief that they are part of Dharma (right conduct) and for which no visible motive such as pleasure, acquisition of wealth or satisfaction of desires can be predicated and that it does not follow that all actions of śīstas are to be accepted as dharma, that Manu's advice to follow one's ancestors' path means a path of good people 1264, 1280, some great men, acc to Gautama, Āp Dh S., Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X 33. 30), were guilty of violations of dharma and excesses, and twelve examples are cited by Kumārila who explains them away or says that they were not thought to be dharma by those persons themselves 1280.
- Ṣaḍaṅganyāsa, exemplified by Dharmasindhu and declared to be *avaiḍika* 1121n.
- Ṣaḍaśītimukha, 213n, m. in inscriptions 213n, punyakāla is 60 ghatikās 215.
- Sadāvrata (or annadānamāhātmya) 437.
- Sad-dharma-pundarikasūtra (a standard work of Mahāyāna), agrees closely with Gītā 970, contains many dhāraṇīs (spells) 1104n
- Sādhanamālā (a composite Vajrayāna work of 3rd century A D to 12th): 1038-39, 1050, 1070 (six cruel magic acts), 1104, 1116n, 1146; asserts that there is nothing that cannot be attained by mantras if proper procedure be followed 1104.
- Ṣadvimśa-Brāhmaṇa 734 (śāntis), 1114n (Śyenayāga details), 1245.
- Sagara, sons of, were reduced to ashes by Kapila 1362
- Saha, Dr. Meghnad, 713-4, President of Calendar Reform Committee and author of the C R C. Report 714n; Report of, has exhaustive alphabetical list of Hindu festivals, but no details except month, fortnight and tithi are given 253, 614, 648-49
- Sahasrabhojanavidhi (procedure of giving dinner to one thousand brāhmanas at one time) 445.
- Sāhityadarpana, 1297n-98, present author's notes on, referred to 1297.
- Saints (vide Kabir) in medieval times in India there were women S like Mirabai and Andal, untouchables as saints, viz Chokhāmēlā and Raidas, Mahomedan saints like Kabir 969; names of saints and mystics in all parts of India from 13th to 17th century A. D that agreed on certain fundamentals viz unity of God, need of self-purification, condemnation of pride of caste and of ritual, and surrender to God for salvation, 969-970.
- Śaiva- (see under 'Śāstras');

Siddhāntas were composed at Visnu's bidding by Śiva for deluding people and asuras 974-975.

Śāka (vegetable) has ten forms 423.

Śāka era: 649 (began when 3179 years of Kālī had expired), 679n; in medieval times came to be called Śālivāhana 655, Inscriptions of Ksatrapa kings bearing the number of the year are held to be in Śāka era, 654; Śakas in Yagapurāna 828; most astronomical works in Sanskrit employ Śāka era from about 500 A.D., 653; origin of the name Śāka era is a most difficult and unsolved problem 653ff, origin of the name Śālivāhana 655, some modern writers like Burgess and Dr. Saha hold that this era was started by calculation and taken backwards, 649.

Śāka and Yavana and other foreign tribes held to be originally Ksatiriyas by Manu and others 1634n.

Śāladhūma, meaning of, 740n; Charpentier on 740n.

Śāka-Kusāṇa, paper by Prof Basham 654n.

Śākalya, a. of the *padapāṭha* of the R̥gveda 861.

Śāketa, m. in Yagapurāna 827-28.

Śakra-dhvajotthāpana: (vide 'Indradhvajotthāpana'), m. by Sarasvatikanthābharana of Bhoja 42.

Śākta or Śāktas (vide Lahtā-

māhātmya): all women are fit for intercourse to S. worshipper except the wives of his guru or the wives of Vira kind of worshippers 1093; are mentioned among six *darśanas* by Vāyupurāna 1042, belief of, that female jackal is a messenger of Kālī and is auspicious 808; Bengal and Assam, chief strongholds of Śākta cult 1076, chief characteristics of the cult of 1041-2, cult of S. promises men both *bhoga* and *yoga* 1092n; cult of, prevalent long before 8th century A. D. in India, especially in Bengal and Assam 1041; eight *ksetras* of 1039; great aim of Śākta is to realise his identity with yantra, mantra, guru and devī 1138, have no higher means of happiness and liberation than the fifth tattva 1093; list of works on Ś. doctrines in English 1048n, principal work of Ś is Devīmāhātmya 1041; Purānas that eulogise Devī 1042; several Upanisads relied upon as the basis of Ś cult by Rāghavabhatta and Bhāskar erāya, but those upanīsada are later writings 1045; Rg. V. 47. 4 is fancifully interpreted by Ś as referring to their views 1218, Śāktavidyas are said to be Kādī, Hādī or Sādī 1045n, sect mark of Ś and Śarvas was *tripundra* 1076n; special form of worship which sometimes assumed debased or revolting forms 1042; wine was not prohibited only when

it was taken for pleasure 1094, word Śakta means 'one who is a devotee of Śakti' (cosmic power or energy) 1041.

Śaktapramoda, 1041n

Śakti (vide under Devī, Durgā, Kālī, Kṁdalinī, cakras, five Makāras), conceived to be the primordial source governing all activity in the universe, 1141, different names of Ś. or Kālī in Purānas like Matsya, Kūrma, Brahma, 1041-42, doctrine of Vedānta that *brahma* is endowed with all powers might have suggested all engrossing power of Ś 1045n, ideas associated with Ś and Śaci in Rg are those of creation, protection, valour and bounty 1043, is all pervading, most subtle, is the Kundalinī coiled like a snake and manifests herself in the form of the fifty letters of the alphabet from *a* to *ṣa* 1061, name Bhadrakālī occurs in Śān gr and Manu 1042, Kaulāvāṇīnirṇaya asserts that if a man, after partaking of *bhāṅg*, engages in meditation, he directly sees the deity, 1082, praise of Devī spoken of as primordial Śakti, that all gods including Śiva himself derive their powers from her 1058, Rgveda speaks of the Ś. of the great gods, but they are Śaktis of the gods and not separate creative principles 1043, śāstras opposed to Veda like Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala, Vāma, Arhata were propagated by

Devī for deluding the world 1042, sometimes the word 'Māyā' is used with Indra, instead of Śakti 1043; when worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh and edibles becomes pleased 1042, 1058, word Ś occurs about a dozen times in Rgveda, five times with Indra, twice with pitrs, once with Aśvins 1043, worshipped generally under the name Devī 1041, worship of, necessarily requires wine and other makāras acc to several Tantra works 1082.

Śakti (vide under 'women'). means the woman associated with a *sādhaka* in Yogic practices and in the worship of Śakti 1052n, 1085; young courtesan is Ś incarnate and *brahma* 1056.

Śaktisāngama-tantra, 263, 1052n, 1053 ('kula' means upāsaka of Kālī), 1054, 1056, 1064-65, 1080 (offers symbolic explanations of five Makāras), 1105n, (on Trailokyamohana mantra), 1109n, 1117 (proper times for dīksā)

Śaknnas (vide birds, divination, nimitta, Vasantarāja-śaknna). are declared by Varābamihira to be indicative of the actions of persons in their former lives and by Vasantarāja 538, 806; authors and works on 622, Bhāguri, Bharadvāja and Dravyavardhana on, 591, extensive literature on, 805-6; hooting of owl on top of a house at night portends sorrow

and death of owner's son 808 ; words Śakuna and Śakuni mean 'bird' in Rgveda, gradually came to mean premonitions conveyed by cries and movements of birds and then any prognosticatory sign 804-805 ; some animals and birds are useless for prognostications at certain seasons 808-809 ; *Upasruti* as method 809-810. Śakuntala of Kālidāsa : 46, 120, 517, 687, 800, 1027, 1046n (Śiva as 'parigataśaktih'), 1071, 1596.

Śalākarma (construction of a house) ; vide under 'house'.

Śālihotra, q. by Hemādri on *Aśvasānti* 804.

Śālikanātha, a. of com Rjuvimālā on *Bṛhatī* and of *Prakarana-pāṇicikā* 1189, flourished between 710-770 A. D., 1198 ; reason for the view that Ś. was a direct pupil of Prabhākara 1190, 1193.

Śālivāhana, era (vide Śaka era) : these words occur in Inscriptions of 13th and 14th century A. D., 655.

Śalokat's a kind of *muktā* 1631n.

Śalyaparva 90n, 520n, 687n, 742n, 743-44, 764, 767, 787n, 1219, 1391.

Śam : *adhrigu*-praisa, bearing of on root *śam*, 724 ; undeclinable 'śam' occurs about 160 times in the Rgveda 719-720, joined to 'yoh' in a compound or with 'ca' between the two, meaning 'happiness and welfare or 'health' and wealth' 719 ; sometimes used as a

noun 720.

Samādhi 1449n-1451 ; derivation of, 1449n, two kinds of S. viz. *Samprajñāta* or *Sañjā* and *Asamprajñāta* or *nirbija* 1450-51, there is a blending of subject and object, the individual soul and paramātman 1450, *sañjā* s. of four stages, 1450-51, the word *Samādhi*, was known to V. S., *Maṭṭrāyani* Up. and *Gītā*, 1390, 1450

Samāja (festive meeting), m. by Āp. Dh. S. and Aśoka 1017.

Sāman meaning of, 1221, means a *sāmaveda* chant 1543 ; means also 'reconciliation' 1543, parts (five) of each S. 1544.

Samāsasamhitā, of *Varāhamihira*, quoted by *Utpalā* 742n.

Sāmaveda 721n, 733n, 734, 1221 (has not one thousand *Śākhās*, but *gītīs*), 1543 (all verses of, except about 75, are taken from the Rgveda).

Samayamayūkha 66n, 83, 111, 129n, 133-35, 136n-37n, 145-46n, 154n, 170n, 180-81n, 182, 184, 189n, 198n, 215n, 218, 227n-8n, 232n, 243n-4n.

Samayapradīpa 29, 40n, 41, 50, 52, 75n, 81n, 125.

Samayaprakāśa, 91n, 97n, 99n, 248, 663, 664n-5n, 672-674n, 675n.

Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa 733-4, 790, 1161.

Sāmba, an *Uapurāna* m. by *Matsya*, *Alberuni* and *Dāna-sāgara* 873, 910, date of, discussed 872-3, Prof. Hazra

- himself finds that more than half of it belongs to period 950-1500 A. D., 873, no evidence that the half of S. which Prof. Hazra puts down between 500-800 A. D. is earlier than 800 A. D. or even 950 A. D., 873.
- Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, revised Bhavīsyat-purāṇa and established images of the Sun in four places, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa, 818n, 898
- Sāmbhūta or Śākhā (natural astrology), a branch of Jyotiṣa, subjects of, 479
- Śamī and Śamī occur in some R̥gveda verses 723, Śāyana explains as 'Karma' (religious rite, action) 723-4
- Śamī (vide under Śānti) cult of, is ancient 194, plant or branch, connected with appeasing terrible aspects 724, war supposed to destroy sins and appease the wrath of gods when worshipped 192, 725, worshipped on Vijayādaśmī 190
- Śāmidhenī verses generally 15, 726, spoken of, as thunderbolt 726-7.
- Śāmrājyalakṣmī-pīṭhikā, observances in 18n
- Sāmsāra (cycle of births and deaths), 1563-65, Kāma as the root of s. as it gives rise to volition (*kratu*) which leads to deeds, 1548, Manu frequently employs it 1564-65, word occurs in Kathopaniṣad and Śv. Up. 1564.
- Saṁsarpa (vide intercalary month). 671-2, distinguished from Amhaspatī 672
- Sāṁskāra (in P. M. S.) is what when performed makes a substance fit for some purpose 1308n.
- Sāṁskāra-kaustubha 1290.
- Sāṁskāra-prakāśa 614, 1244n-5n
- Sāṁskāra-ratnamālā, 614, 1121n, (holds nyāsa is avaidika).
- Saṁuccaya (or abhyuccaya, addition or combination) 1328-29; Mit on Yāj. III. 243 furnishes examples of S. in the matter of expiations from Dharmaśāstra 1328-29.
- Samudragupta, greatest of the Gupta emperors 843, performed Aśvamedha that had long been in abeyance, 1028
- Samuel, Viscount 148n, 1575n.
- Samuel, 194 (Bible).
- Samvartaka (terrible) fires or clouds at time of *Pralaya*, 686n.
- Sāṁvatsara identified with Prajāpati in Śat. Br 65, years of Bārhaspatya type were so called 660-61, names of, were supposed to indicate different consequences for each 662.
- Sāṁvatsarīkasattva, observances in, 18n
- Sāṁyuttanikāya 1005n.
- Sanātana-dharma the word occurs in Matsya-purāṇa and in Khanapur plates of Mādhavarman (6th century A. D.) 945n, 1629n, meaning of, 1629 and n.
- Sanat-kumāra and Nārada, story of, in Chāṇ. Up. VII. 26. 2, where the former is called Skanda, both being semi-

- divine, the former being a mind-born son of Brahmā.
- Sānchi: sculptures on eastern gateway of 127, 1653n (works on the stūpa at).
- Sandhyā, is period of three ghaṭikās before and after sunrise 438.
- Sandhyā (morning and evening worship) *nyāsa* included in S. by some works 1121-22; worship of the Sun daily in the evening is to be done with some mantras addressed to Varuna (in Rg. I. 25) acc. to Parāśaramādihaviya and modern Mahārāstra practice, 1311n.
- Sāndilya, vide under Pāñcarātra 955n.
- Sāndilya-bhakti-sūtra 952n, 966-7, 958n, 959, 965n, 966, 968 (path of bhakti open to all including cāndālas), com. on by Svapneśvara 956-59, 965-6n.
- Saṅgha, elective procedure in 1663.
- Saṃpradosa-vrata 421.
- Sanjana J. E. : a of 'Dogma of re-incarnation', criticized 1605-1608, 1611, asserts that a man who believes in re-incarnation is not a true Zoroastrian, which is criticized 1605-6; employs offensive language about those who differ from him, particularly about Theosophists, 1606-7, his interpretation of Manu VI. 63 is wrong 1565; is guilty of serious mistakes 1607-8.
- Saṅkalpa, necessary in every religious rite, contents of, 650, formula of, in vrata, 81; in a fast or vrata to be made in the morning 202
- Śaṅkarācārya (vide Abhinavagupta, Devala, Śrīharsa Tārānāth) 731n-2n, 779n, 821, 824-26, 860n, 866 (Prof. Hazra misunderstands what Ś. says), 900n, 906n, 944n, 955 (on Pāñcarātra), 963n, 1032-1045, 1153 (on V. S. I. 1. 1.), 1155n, 1158, 1160 (Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Vedānta-sūtras as one śāstra), 1154-65, 1172 (on Gītā 13. 4), 1202, 1205, 1211 and n. (on *Apūrva*), 1218, 1241n, 1250 (quotes sūtra in which the words paryudāsa, pratishedha and vikalpa occurs), 1251n, 1254-5 (Agnihotra as āradūpakāra in acquiring knowledge of *brahma*), 1289-90, 1292n, 1297n, 1300, 1307n, 1359n, 1360-62, 1365, 1388 (position as to Yoga), 1389n, 1390, 1400n, 1426, 1432, 1434-35 (on Chān Up. I. 3. 3, misunderstood by Caland, Dumont and others), 1435 (Ś. on Br. Up I. 5. 3 and on Praśna), 1446, 1468, 1469-70, 1484n, 1485, 1488n, (explains 'asat'), 1499n, 1500, 1504-5, 1507-8, 1516n, 1517, 1541-42, 1546n, 1548, 1552n, 1554, 1561n, 1563n-64n, 1566-68, 1576n, 1579n, 1588, 1591, 1607; doctrine of Māyā declared by Padmapurāṇa as Bauddha in disguise, 976; holds that Bādarāyana a. of V. S. is different from Vedavyāsa, a. of Mahābhārata, 1166; horoscope

- of, in com. on Saundaryalaharī examined 629, Prapañcasāra-tantra, ascribed to Ś. dilates upon a mantra called Trailokyamohana for accomplishing six cruel acts 1070; Saundaryalaharī, ascribed to S. 1049n; says that Manusmṛti and Devala-dharmasūtra accept some doctrines of Sāṅkhya system 1352, verses quoted by Ś on V S. I 3. 30 as Smṛtis, set out, identified in Śāntiparva and Purāṇas 1568n, view that Śūdras like Vīdura and Dharmavyādha had brahmajñāna and a śūdra may secure mokṣa by reading the Itihāsa and Purāṇas, and Vācakaṇṇi Gārgī, though a woman, possessed brahmajñāna 921n, 1642.
- Śankaradigvijaya of Mādhavācārya, 1010n, contains an absurd story about king Sudhanvan's order for persecuting Buddhists 1010n, throws all history and chronology to winds to glorify Śankarācārya 1010n.
- Śankaragītā 79n.
- Śankaravijaya of Ānandagiri, 1136n.
- Sāṅkarsa-kāṇḍa, exercised hardly any influence on Dharmasāstra 1159, for discussion about devatās 1159, held to be a pariśista (supplement) of Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra by Appayadiksita 1159, much neglected in later times 1159, views differ about its authorship 1158-59.
- Śāṅkha-likhita sūtra 52, 527, 1590
- Sankhasmṛti 27, 1016n, 1440 (same verse as Manu VI. 72), 1441 (same in Manu), 1448n (eight verses quoted).
- Sāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa 24, 26, 241, 659n, 726-7, 1153, 1234 (on the observances of a sacrificer)
- Śāṅkhāyana-grhyasūtra 27, 730, 761 (on Mahāśānti), 1042.
- Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra 26, 671n, 672, 816, 1032 (meaning of Tantra).
- Sāṅkhya system (vide Devala, elements, guṇas, Kapila, Pañcasikha, Upaniṣad, Vindhyavāsa) and Dharmasāstra 1352-1384; and Yoga in Śr. Up. 1352, S. and Yoga are one acc. to Śāntiparva 1367, contradictions in S. pointed out by Śankarācārya 1357n, does not include time among 25 Tattvas but includes it under Karanas 468, derived from the word *sāṅkhyā* that has two senses 1378, dispassionate appraisal of Sāṅkhya by Dr. Behanan 1384, described in Purāṇas such as Kūrma and Viṣṇu 825n, eighteen schools of, acc. to Chinese sources 1353, enumeration of 25 tattvas of, 694n; evolution of world, acc. to S. described in Yāj Smṛti 825-26, expounded by Kapilamuni to Āsuri 1356, followers of S. system explained Vedānta passages as favourable to them and V S I 1. 5-18 refute it, 1218; high praise of, in Śānti-

parva 1363-65; is called Sāṅkhyatantra by Śaṅkarācārya 1032; is near to Vedānta because of the theory of non-difference between cause and effect that it propounds 1352, is within Vedic orthodoxy as to those views not in conflict with Veda 1362; *kaivalya* is the goal of S. 1361n, Kapila Muni, originator of S. acc to Sāṅkhyakārikā 1356, S. Kr̥tānta expressly m. in Gītā (18 13) 1378, Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva) and Āśvamedhika and S. 1363-1371; means 'tattvajñāna' or 'a person knowing ultimate reality' in the Gītā 1378; most fundamental conceptions of S. are two distinct essences viz. Prakṛti or Pradhāna and Puruṣas (that are many), three guṇas, twenty-five tattvas 1357-1359; numerous teachers about *puruṣa*, mentioned in Śāntiparva 1367, 1374; one of the six well-known darśanas 1352; poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa utilize S. doctrines 1384; propounds a theory of cosmic evolution based on reason alone without postulating God as creator 1358; S. propounded in the Śāntiparva is a good deal different from the standard S. 1370-3, Purāṇas dwell at some length on S. doctrines 1382-84, *puruṣa* is *bhoktṛ* (and not *kartṛ*) 1358; origin and development of S. is a difficult problem, 1353; Pāñcāśikha (vide under that

word) 1371; relation of S to Upaniṣads, discussed 1362-3; relied on Upaniṣad passages (such as 'ajām-ekām' in Śv. Up. IV. 5) in support of their views about Prakṛti and guṇas, some philosophers combined S, Yoga and Parmeśvara and some Mahābhārata references to S are made with reference to them 1365, 1371, striking passages where S. doctrines and terms appear in Bhagavad-gītā 1375-6; teachers of, mentioned by Yuktidīpikā 1354-55, teachers such as Pañicādhikarāṇa and Paurika not known before 1384; views of Garbe, Jacobi and Oldenberg on S and Upaniṣads 1363; went through several phases 1353; why so called 1377-78; works like Buddhacarita, Carakasaṃhitā, Sūśruta, Manusmṛti, Yāj. smṛti, Devaladharmasūtra mention S. tenets 1378-1381, works and papers on S system mentioned in one place 1353n

Sāṅkhyā kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa : 468, 691n, 900n, 1033n, (calls S. system 'Tantra'), 1353, 1359n, 1364n, 1374n, 1376n-77n, 1379n, 1383n, 1402-3, 1410, commentaries on viz. Mātharavittī, Yuktidīpikā, that of Gaudapāda, Sāṅkhyatattvakauṇḍī of Vācaspati 1354-55; commentary called Jayamaṅgalā ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya, 1355, date of, between 250-325 A. D., 1354-5, 1355; foremost ex

- ponent of Sāṅkhya from at least 5th Century A. D 1353, 1356, known as Sāṅkhya-saptatī and in Chinese as Suvarnasaptatī 1356n; quoted by Śaṅkarācārya 1353, 1358n, translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in 546 A. D 1353.
- Sāṅkhya-pravacanasūtra 1353, 1358n, ed. by Garbe, a late work of about 1400 A. D, 1353, bhāṣya on, of Viṣṇuabhikṣu (about 1550 A. D) 1355, states that no śāstra that admits a soul is unauthoritative, that there is no contradiction among śāstras, each being of full force and true in its own sphere, that Sāṅkhya is not in irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine of a personal God or with advaita Vedānta 976, 1355, com. of Bhāva Gaṇeśa on 1373
- Sāṅkhya-tattvakaumudī of Vācaspati 468n, 1214 (quotes verse defining what svarga means), 1359n, quotes Rājāvartaka on topics of Sastitantra).
- Sankrānti (vide under *śekha*) 211-221, acts forbidden on 221, bath in Ganges on, highly commended 220, baths to be taken and gifts to be made during punyakāla (holy time) 217-218, *bhoga*, meaning of, 216n; came to be deified and identified with Durgā 213, each of twelve S in a year has seven names depending on the week days or certain classes of Nakṣatras on which it occurs 215; each of seven S. is beneficial to different varṇas and classes of people 216, gifts of special kinds recommended on twelve S. 218, grant (ancient) made on Jupiter's entrance into *Vṛabha* (bull) rāśi 212n, japa and gifts on, yield inexhaustible results 214, means only Ravisankrānti acc. to late works 213; merit of gifts on several S. 220; Punyakāla, differing views on, 216-7; punyakālas for the passage of the Sun and planets entering into a rāśi 212-13; śrāddha on S prescribed by some works 221; thirty ghatikās before and after the moment of Sun's entrance into a rāśi are said to be time of S. but the holiest times differ 215-216, Vratas, fifteen, on S. 221.
- Saṅkṣepa-sārīraka 1603.
- Sannipatyopakāra (actions or rites), are also called Sāmavāyika or āśrayi-karmāṇi 1254; are acts such as the pounding of grains, proksana (sprinkling water over substances etc) i. e. they are Samskāra (make something fit or embellish) 1150
- Sannyāsin being aṣṭ before discharging the three debts severely condemned by Manu and Yāj. 1511; duties of, in Manusmṛti and Yāj., many of which are applicable to Yogins 1457; Jābālopaniṣad makes becoming

disgusted (with worldly life) the condition precedent for becoming a parivrājaka or S. 1514; Upanisads inculcate that S. was to give up all actions, even good ones, except living by begging till the body lasted 1514; 1644 (rules for S. and for forest hermit identical to some extent, 1645 (most honoured at śrāddha dinner and competent to decide doubtful points of dharma).

Sanskrit Literature: about 4500 works from S. were translated into Tibetan 1041, hardly any evidence exists of the translation of Chinese or Tibetan works into Sanskrit, 1039-1040; much of it has perished beyond recovery 481; much that survives is religious and not intended to be a full treatment of any topic 481; is vast and varied, continued for at least three thousand years, penetrated countries in S. E Asia and gave rise to several sciences such as comparative philology 1650; Histories of S. L. by various scholars 1650; for variety and vastness of, vide under H. Gowen.

Śantama 722; Ś occurs about two dozen times in Rg. and means 'beneficent' 722.

Śantaraksita (705-762 A. D.), a. of Tattvasaṅgraha 1037. 1212n, frequently criticizes Kumārila without naming him but does not name or quote Prabhākara 1191, pupil Kamalaśīla wrote com. on

Tattvasaṅgraha 1037n, 1191 (names Kumārila many times). Śāntāliya hymn (Rg. VII. 35. 1-15) 790n-91.

Śānti 719-814: (vide under adbhuta, Āślesā, birds, bees, Hoens, Kauśikasūtra, Gomukhaprasavaśānti, nimitta, Rāhu, nakṣatras, navagrahas, prasavaśānti, Udakaśānti, utpāta, Vināyakaśānti, Vāstaśānti, Vasantarāja): Aśvaśānti, for removal of dangers to and diseases of horses 804; auspicious tithis for adbhutaśānti 790; by owner of a cow that had delivery in Bhādrapada or a she-buffalo that had it in Pausa or Māgha or on a Wednesday or a mare by day, which are sometimes performed even now 789-90; connected with Śakunas 804; cult of Śāntis extensive in medieval times as in Madanaratna 736-738, definitions of, 756-757; derivation of, from root 'Śam' 719; efficacy of śāntis against āntarikṣa and divya utpātas 746; elaborate treatment of S. in post-vedic literature, 734-35; extensive literature on Śāntis indicated 731-735; for bad dreams by reciting Rg. X. 164. 1-5, 728-729; for birth of twins to a woman or mare or cow 738; for eclipses described 765-766; for ten dreams m. in Art. Ār. 731; for dreams in Atharvaveda verses and in Gīhya works 732-34; for earthquakes, eclipses (solar and lunar) 739n; for fall of

meteors 766-7, for forest dog barking, vulture shrieking or owl hooting 728, for images laughing and weeping 734, 770, for one possessed by an evil spirit 734, for one coming to life after his body is taken to cemetery 889, for showers of falling stars and meteors, earthquakes 734, for unusual appearances (adbhuta) 733-734, for *utpātas* (unusual occurrences or portents) 734, for *utpātas* not given in other works is given by Kauśika-sūtra 739n, Gajaśānti for removal of diseases of elephants differs in different works 801-4; if Mantra not known Gāyatrī is to be repeated 108 or 1028 times 789, individual Śāntis 748-804, list of Śānti hymns in the Rgveda 813, many of the ancient śāntis and many described in medieval works are no longer performed and the few that are performed now may be stopped in the near future 735, 814, mantras in S. refer to the rite performed, the deity of the rite and benefit prayed for 788n, meaning of, is propitiatory rite for averting a deity's wrath, appeasement of deity or planet or a calamity or unholy event 719, 720, means of ś were various but simple in the Brāhmana period, such as the recitation of a Vedic verse or hymn or a Sāman or water 726-27, number of Ś very large 757, numerous śāntis

m. by Varāhamihira 747; occasions on which Ś was performed 757; on child's birth on an unlucky nakṣatra prescribed by Kauśikasūtra 524n, 735, on child's birth on certain nakṣatras such as Āślesā, Mūla, Jyesthā, on certain tithis such as amāvāsyā and 14th of dark half, on yogas like Vaidhṛti and Vyatipāta, on birth of twins 771-773; Ś. on son's birth after three successive births of daughters and *vice versa* performed even now which is called, Trikaprasavaśānti, 771-3, Ś. when a great-grandfather sees a newly born great-grandson 782-783, on completion of 70 years or on 7th night of 7th month of 77th year 760, rites of Ś, paustika and mahādānas to be performed in ordinary fire 757, subjects treated of in Madanaratna on Śānti exhibit an extensive cult of śāntis 736-738, three meanings of word Ś in early Vedic texts 728; three important words in connection with Ś are adbhuta, nimitta and utpāta 740n, time for 760-761; no definite rule as to time, tithis and nakṣatras for, if there is no hurry 761; Udakaśānti 783-787, Vājasaneyā Samhitā, Chap. 36, employed as śānti in Pravargya rite 724, when a person suffers from fever śāntis from the tithis from the one on which fever started or from the week day 788, Ś. when a person's

naksatra of birth is affected by a malefic planet or aspect or his rāsi has eclipse in it 787-88, word Ś does not occur in R̥gveda, but occurs in Tai. S, Atharvaveda, Vāj. S. and Brāhmanas 719, 720, 723. Śāntikādhyāya, is Rg VII 35. 1-11, 813. Śāntimayūkha 650n, 730, 735, 752-53n, 755-6, 761, 771n, 773n. Śāntiparva, 27, 42, 54, 81n, 100n, 118n, 129, 142, 202, 466n, 467, 620n, 687, 692n-93, 696n, 744 (auspicious nimittas), 821, 854 (the verse 'Guror-apyavaliptasya etc'), 939n (on trsnā), 945 on ahimsā, 952-4, 970, 1027, 1161 (pupils of Vyāsa), 1165 (Pāñcarātra-śāstra expounded), 1166 and n., 1256 (mentions Dharmasāstras), 1266n, 1377n, 1384 (high praise of Sāṅkhya), 1385, 1390, 1395-6, 1399 (quoted by Yogabhāṣya-) 1400-01 (Yoga matters), 1416n 1431, 1444 (on pratyāhāra), 1446, 1448, 1461, 1470n, 1503, 1508 (immortality of soul), 1516n, 1557-8 (Devayāna and Pitryāna paths), 1561n, 1565 (life is far more miserable than happy), 1567 (theory of Kalpas etc.), 1573 (souls of six colours), 1574-75, 1582, 1595-6, 1597n, 1598, 1629-30, 1636 (qualities necessary for being treated as brāhmana), 1645, 1648 (apothecosis of satya). Śāntiratna or Śāntikāmalākara

of Kamalākaraḥbhatta 587n, 633n, 735, 749n, 761n, 772, 788n, 792, 813n. Śānturatnākara 771n, 773. Saptārois, a Paurāṇika mantra to be recited in Śrāddha 920 Saptarsis (Ursa Major) 479, 498, Kṛttikās as wives of, 498n Saptasālākā cakra, in marriage 814. Saptasatī (vide under 'Śūdra'), 780n, a person should himself recite Ś in Navarātra or engage a person (either pāthaka or vācaka) to read it to him 172; method of reading a portion of Ś one day and continuing reading next day 173, person engaged to read S was to be handsomely requited for his labour by gifts of gold, silver, cows etc. 173. Saradakanta Ganguly, 699n. Śāradātīlaka (about 11th century A. D.) : (vide under Kundalini, Cakras), a Tāntrik work of over 4500 verses 534, 1101 and n, 1103, 1106, 1108, 1109n-10n, 1060, 1099, 1100, Chapters VII to XXIII are devoted to mantras of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Durgā, Tripurā, Gaṇeśa, Candramas 1103; elaborate treatment of Dīkṣa in, 1107; elaborate treatment of nyāsa, 1120, examples of mantras of five or more syllables in, 1096n; influenced by Sāṅkhya 1384, names 'Janma, Sampad, Vipad' etc as astrological terms 534; names

- and defines only nine Mudrās 1125; profusely quoted by Dharmasāstra works 1063, on Prānapratisthā 162n, qualifications required in a disciple by Ś 1071; speaks of Śakti as proceeding from Saguṇa Śiva, as Śabda-brahma and as flashing like lightning in Mūlādhārācakra and as Kuṇḍalī in the human body 1060-61, summary of contents of, 1060-1063; though generally a sober Tantra, mentions the six cruel magic rites, defines them, provides that six devatās are the presiding deities of these and must be worshipped at commencement of those rites for bringing women under control or for paralysing or killing an enemy, 1070, 1103, though generally sober prescribes drawing yantras for cruel purposes 1138-39; treats of mantras and mudrās but hardly ever of the other makāras (of wine, fish, catfish etc.) 1063, commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa on, is learned and was composed at Benares in 1494 A. D., 1060n
- Sārasvata, a on Astrology 593
- Sarasvatisthāpana; establishment of books on 9th of Āśvina bright half 442
- Sārūvali (of Kalyāṇavarman on astrology) 546-47n, 548, 561, 563n, 571-2, 574, 577, 585, 588-90, 805n; states that it borrowed essential matters from the extensive work of Yavanendra 563n.
- 'Sarasvatibhavana studies' 1062n.
- Śarayū, river in Kosala 531n.
- Śārīrakasūtra: composed by Jaimini had, acc. to Naiskarmya-siddhi, first two sūtras identical with those of V. S. 1175.
- Sarkar, Prof. B. K. on 'Folk element in Hindn culture' 60.
- Sarkar, Prof. Jadunath, a. of 'History of Aurangzeb' 1019.
- Sarkar, Mr. Kishorilal, a. of 'Mīmāṃsā rules of Interpretation' 1284; obsession of, that he has to show that Jaimini's rules were not inferior to Maxwell's 1284, some examples where Mr Sarkar failed to grasp correctly what Jaimini and Śabara meant 1284n
- Sarpabali performed on Full Moon day of Śrāvana, acc. to Grhyasūtras 126.
- Sarton, Prof. G., a. of 'A History of Science' (1953), 482, 513-14n, 516n, 566, 570n, 596, 678, 689n, 1502n; charges Western writers with unpardonable omissions 513; on supposed influence of the Moon on lunacy, menstruation etc. 552.
- Sarūpa-Bhārati 1359.
- Sarvadarśana-kaumudī of Mādhava Bhārati 1182n, 1188n, 1307, 1318n
- Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha of Mādhavācārya: 978n, 1139; does not mention Tāntrik system 874, 1139, 1652; quotes verses from Brhaspati very similar to those in Viṣṇupurāṇa 974n; some hold that it was composed

- by a nephew of Mādhavācārya 1182n.
- Sarvagandha* (all fragrant substances) 443.
- Sarvānukramanī* of Rgveda 997.
- Sarvasiddhānta-saṅgraha* 874.
- Sarvatoḥhadra*, a *Maṇḍala* described by Śāradā-tīlaka 1133; meaning of, 1132-33, 1134 (a verse in that form).
- Sarvavarmāgana* (mantras) 796n.
- Sarvasaḍhi* 183n, 444, 759.
- Sarvodaya* ideal 1683.
- Śastitantra*, of Pāñcāśikha : so called because it deals with 60 topics and contained sixty thousand gāthās 1373, topics (sixty) dealt with in, enumerated by *Yuktidīpikā* and *Rājavārtika* 1358-59n, topics of, in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 1359n.
- Śāstradīpikā* of Pārthasārathi 86, 1179n, 1180, 1189, 1208, 1212n; 1225n, 1260, 1288n, 1290n, 1294n, 1309n, 1317n 1328n; com. *Mayūkhamaṇikā* on 86n; com. called *Yuktisneha-prapūraṇī* on, 1194n
- Śāstra* (or *Śāstras*, acc. to context); *anubandhas* of each, are four, named and illustrated 1179-80; false Bauddha and Jaina, *Kāpāla*, *Vāma Ś.* were composed, acc. to such *Purāṇas* as *Kūrma*, *Padma*, *Viṣṇu* by Śiva and *Viṣṇu* for deluding ungodly people and the *asuras*, 974-75, 977-8, such as *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Pāsupata*, *Sāṅkhya*, declared to be *tāmasa* by *Padma-purāṇa*, 976-78, regulates activities and abstentions for men by *Veda* or works composed by men 1182, 1262, that are not directly opposed to *Veda* and *Smṛti* may be accepted by *Vaidika* followers to that extent 974n, works on Ś. try to reduce options to the minimum and try to assign to apparently conflicting passages separate and definite provinces 1252-53.
- Sastry, Pandit Aiyanaṭh, 1354, 1380n, 1382n,
- Sastry Pandit K. S. Ramaswami, a of 'Introduction to *Tantra-rahasya*' 1201
- Sastry Pandit V. A. Ramaswami, paper of, on *Sankarsa-kāṇḍa* 1159n, 1188 (paper on 'Kumārila and *Brhāt-tikā*'), 1190 (Introduction to *Tattva-bindu*), 1192 (opinion of, that *Prabhākara* based his views on *Bādarī*'s has no tangible evidence in support)
- Sastry Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, paper of, on *Jaimini* and *Bādarāyana*, propounds that there were three *Jaiminis* and two *Bādarāyanas* and criticism of these views 1161-64, 1167; a of 'Śrī Vijaya' 1618n.
- Śastyabhapūrṭi śānti or *Ugraratha śānti* 757-760; performed even now on completion of 60 years in the month and on *Nakṣatra* of birth, 757-8, procedure of 758-60.
- Sasyotsava* (festival on ready crops) 445.
- Śatacandīpātha and *Sahasra-candīpātha*, method of, in *Navarātra* 173.

- Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 17, 18n, 23n, 25, 35, 63-4, 72n, 166n, 223, 464, 489, 491-2, 495n, 496-7n, 498, 506-7, 510, 523, 537, 546, 571n, 648n (mentions Aśvamedha by Janamejaya), 675, 689, 691, 700 (knows Vedāṅgas), 725, 731n, 738n (śānti on cow yielding milk tinged with blood), 740n, 784n, 816 (mentions Itihāsa-Purāṇa), 817, 992 (traces of avatāras), 1078 (on great difference between Surā and Soma), 1096n, 1116 (on importance of dikṣā in sacrifices), 1131 (mandalestakā), 1153, 1190n ('svādhyāyosdhyeta- vyah'), 1213 (on heaven), 1227n (verb in present tense construed as a vidhi by Sm C), 1270n (about offering the flesh of a bull or goat to a king or a learned brāhmaṇa as a guest), 1301, 1304n, 1416, 1490n (on Rg. X 129), 1498, 1526n, 1533-36, 1554 (explains Rg. X. 88. 15), 1589n; com. of Drivedaganga on, 1554n.
- Śātātapa, Smṛti of, 31, 215n, 216n, 220n, 222n, 245-6.
- Śātarāṣaṇa kings, 842n
- Śatcakranirūpana (a Tāntrik work, 1577 A D), 1050, 1260n
- Satishcandra, M N Dr., a. of 'Introduction of the alphabet in Tibet' 1040.
- Śatpañcāśikā of Prthuyāsa, son of Varāhamihira 602n.
- Sattā, vide under 'Reality'.
- Sattras (sacrifices of long duration to be performed by brāhmaṇas alone) Jaimini deals with them in PMS VI 6. 16-32 and elsewhere and neither Śābara nor Kumārila says anything about their being forbidden in Kaḥ 1268.
- Śat-tili—one who performs six actions with sesame 434.
- Sat-triṃśanmata 243n, 246.
- Sātvata, identified with Pañcārātra and statements about its transmission from Brhaspati to Uparicara Vasu and then by degrees to sages called Citraśikhaṇḍins 953.
- Saturn. special śānti when S. occupies the 12th, 1st and 2nd rāśi from rāśi of birth 756; statements in Mahābhārata about positions of S. 532, ten names of S 756n.
- Satya (truthfulness), one of the five yamas in Yoga, one of the ten yamas of Yāj. III. 312 and one of the five duties enjoined by Manu (X. 63) on men of all varṇas 1419-20, five occasions on which a falsehood was allowed to ordinary men by Smṛtis and Mahābhārata, but for a Yogin Satya was absolute, unless speaking the truth would result in the ruin of creatures 1420-21, Rgveda and Mundakopaniṣad highly eulogise S. 1024, equated with Dharma in Br. Up. 1627.
- Satya—gradually took the place of rta 1627-28; satya and dharma occupy the most prominent place in the final exhortation to a pupil by teacher in Tai.

- Up. 1627, said to be ancient - dharma of 13 aspects including ahimsā, dayā etc. 1648.
- Satya, a. on Astrology q. frequently by Varāhamihira 593.
- Satyānārāyanavrata 437.
- Satyāsādha-srautasūtra 53.
- Satyavrata, an author 49.
- Saubhāgyāstaka, eight things are so called 457
- Sauca* (cleanliness or purity), one of the Y. S. niyamas, 1421n; of two kinds, *bāhya* (of the body), *ābhyantara* (mental) 1422, 1648; highest is the one that relates to wealth or money, acc to Manu 1422.
- Saunaka, a. of Smṛti 758, allows a sūdra to adopt a son and so it was held by V. M. that he may get the homa performed through a brāhmana 1296.
- Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa : on Nirvāna 940n, 941.
- Saundaryalahari 1136n, 1137-38, ascribed to first Śaṅkarācārya 629, 1049; commentary Sudhāvidyotini 629; com. on, by Lakṣmīdhara 1139n; discussion as to authorship of, 1049n; on identifying cakras with five elements and mind 1062n.
- Saṃtīkapaṇḍita 130n.
- Saurapurāṇa 104n, 830 (names 18 Purāṇas, Vāyu being 4th and Brāhmāṇḍa last), 911
- Sautrāmāṇi . described by Jaimini, Śābara, and Kumārila and they say nothing against cups of wine 1269, occasions of 1079, wine was not drunk therein by sacrificer or priests, but some one had to be hired or it was poured on an ant-hill, 1079.
- Sauvy, Alfred, a. of 'Fertility and survival' 1688.
- Savanas (lit. pressings of Soma), three, morning, midday, and evening 537n
- Śaṣasādhanaśāstra : described by Kaulāvalīnirṇaya, Kulacūḍāmanitantra and others 1109.
- Sāvitri : story of, in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 91-92.
- Sāvitri-caturdaśī in Bengal, on 14th of dark half of Jyestha 93.
- Sāvitri-vrata . vide Vatasāvitri-vrata; B A Gupte on, 94
- Sāyana*, meaning of 712.
- Sāyana, a. of commentaries on the Rgveda, other Vedas and Brāhmaṇas 26n (on Ait. Br.), 494n, 511n (explains Ait. Br.), 538n, 671n, 720, 723n, 724, 729n, 735n (Intro. to Atharvaveda), 859n, 980-81n, 984-5, 1031n, 1385-6, 1433n (on Tai. S.I.6 3 3 assigns to five prāṇas locations and operations in the body), 1488n, 1538, 1543, 1600n, 1646n.
- Sayce, A. H., 598 (on Aryan problem); points out that Hittite numerals are Sanskrit 599n; rebukes German scholars for fondness for treating negative evidence as of great value 598n.
- Sāyujya, a kind of *mukta* 1631 (different meanings at different times).
- Schopenhauer, on Upaniṣads

- 1627, 1647n
- Sciaparelli, G : a. of 'Astronomy in the Old Testament' 676n; on Babylonian stones placed in fields with zodiacal signs 595.
- Schrader, Otto a. of 'Intro to Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Samhitā' 996.
- Schweitzer, Dr. A, a. of 'Indian thought and its development,' 1646-47n (criticized).
- Science, modern, has not been more successful in probing the mystery of creation than the Hebrew exponents of cosmology 1502n; S. at any given stage of time is only provisional 1503n.
- Seal, Dr B N a. of 'The positive Sciences of the ancient Hindus' 1436n (explanation of functions of ten prānas).
- Seasons five named in Rgveda by putting together Hemanta and Śīśira 492, for gods are Vasanta, Grīśma and Varsā 491, for pitrs are Śarad, Hemanta and Śīśira 493, in which establishment of sacred fires was made for the three varnas 493, number of, variously given as three, five, six or seven 492, Prof Renou's view that 'rtu' simply means 'Time' or 'suitable time' or 'rule' or usage 493n, seventh S. means probably the intercalary month 492, six S with two months for each in Tai S 492, Vasanta as the first season in Tai Br 492
- Secrecy, about spiritual and even scholastic knowledge (vide under 'Upanisads' and 'Nirukta', 'Bible', 1460-61, 1649.
- Seddon C N translated 'Miratī-Ahmadī' 555n.
- Sekoddesatikā, a Buddhist Tantrik work edited by Mario E. Carelli, 1119, 1123.
- Sen, Dr Sukumar, edited Vipradāsa's Manasāvijaya 125.
- Sen Gupta, Prof : 563 (criticized), 644 (on 'ancient Indian Chronology'), 648, 651n.
- Sentence : vide 'Vākya'.
- Sermon on the Mount-Christ's discourse in Gospel of Matthew, Chap V-VII, 1481.
- Serpents vide under 'abī' and 'Nāgapāñcamī', are saluted in Mantras of Tai S. and Vāj. S. 126, came to be associated with both Viṣṇu and Śiva 127, included under 'Pañcājana' in Kāthakasmhitā and Ait. Br. 126, names of, in Atharvaveda 126, stone images of, under sacred trees in Dravida country 127; take a heavy toll of life in modern India 127, temples dedicated to nāgas 127.
- Śesa (serpent), in the Mahābhārata 126.
- Śesa (vide Ārādupakāraka and Sannipatyopakāraka) . Kumāra discards four out of five definitions of Śesa and accepts one viz. Ś is that which serves the purpose of another, which latter is called Śeṣin, 1253, 1308; dravya (rice grains and the like), *guna*, *samskāra* are always Ś. with reference to

- yāga*, though they may be śeṣa with reference to their own constituent elements, while as regards *phala* (reward), *yāga* and the performer, they can be both śeṣa and śeṣa with reference to each other 1253, 1308, sacrificial auxiliaries are of two kinds, viz. those that are already accomplished (such as substances) and those that are of the nature of acts, these latter being two-fold, Sannipatyopakāraka and ārād-upakāraka 1253-54; word Ś. often employed in Dharmaśāstra works, 1308-9
- Sesame (*tila*) importance of, 222; six ways of using s. 222.
- Setubandha com. of Bhāskara-rāya on Vāmakesvara-tantra 1045n, 1058n, 1091, 1108, 1136n (on Śricakra), 1137-38; emphasizes that worship of Tripurasundarī is *upāsana* and not *bhakti*, the former being of two kinds, one consisting in reciting the mantra of the Devi and the other consisting of the worship of a yantra (or cakra) 1138.
- Seven sages: called 'otrāsikhandins' that proclaimed Pañcārātraśāstra 953.
- Seven sages (Ursa Major): constellation of, was in Maghā nakṣatra when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled and stayed in one nakṣatra for a hundred years, acc. to Vāyu and Br. S. 520, enumerated in Br. S. 150n, invoked with Rgveda mantras 150-151; Pulaha and Pulastya are two of them 517n; worshipped in Rṣipañcamivrata 150n.
- Sewell, papers of, on Indian Astronomy 644
- Shah, Dr. Priyabālā, a. of paper on two Jaina works on Mudrās 1130.
- Shakespeare, in 'Othello' refers to the itching of the eyes as an evil omen 644.
- Sham Shastri: on origin of weekdays 685.
- Sharma, D. S, a of 'Renaissance of Hinduism' 1647n.
- Shastri, Dr. Daksinaranjan, a. of 'Short History of Indian Materialism' 1472n
- Shaving. allowed on certain occasions without consulting astrology 606; proper or inauspicious times and astrological rules about S in case of grown-up men 606.
- Shaw, G. B. did not believe in immortality of soul nor in the Resurrection of Christ 1550n.
- Sheean, Vincent, a of 'Lead, kindly light', 1463 (on darśana)
- Shembavnekar, Prof, explanation by, of 'Mālava-gana-sthiti' in Inscriptions, not acceptable 652n.
- Sherring, a. of 'Hindu tribes and castes', 1633 (held that the caste system was invented by Brāhmanas).
- Shivaji, founder of Maratha Empire, had no factory for the manufacture of cannon 1623
- Siddhabhārati (Part II) on some

sūtras of Saṅkarsakāṇḍa 1158n.
Siddhānta (system of philosophy)
five acc to Śāntiparva and
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Siddhasena, a. on astrology m by
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pañcasāra and different from
those in Buddhist Tantras of
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- Simollāṅghana 190.
- Sindhu, river, frequently mentioned in R̥gveda 1613-14.
- Sinivālī (amāvāsyā mixed with 14th tithi) 62, divinity in R̥gveda, sister of gods and bestower of progeny 62, S. and Rākā defy attempts at a rational etymology 63.
- Śinba, Dr. Jadunath, a. of 'History of Indian Philosophy' 845.
- Sins: (vide under Prāyaścittas, rebirth, repentance, japa, remembrance of name of Kṛṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa): ancient Indian belief that diseases and bodily defects in this life were caused by S. of past lives 756n; Biblical position for removal of consequences of, 1593, Manu on 91, 1593, methods for removal of consequences of sins, such as confessions, repentance, japa 1592-93; ten 90-91, 448
- Śiras . of Gāyatrī verse, 1099n.
- Sircar, Dr D. C., 1395n (on date of Mahābhāṣya), 1408n, 1527n (on text of the Purāṇic list of peoples), edited, 'Select Inscriptions', Vol. I, 850n, 1613n.
- Sirius, star, referred to in R̥gveda and Atharvaveda 498.
- Śirovrata, explained 918n.
- Sister, house of, to be visited by brother on Bhrātradvitīyā, 209-210
- Śisupāla, Lord of Cedi story of, in Sabhāparva, Viṣṇu and Brahma Purāṇas 971n, though always enmical to Kṛṣṇa, reached the Lord 971n.
- Śisupālavadhā of Māgha (725-775 A. D.), 997.
- Śiva, Ardhanārīśvara form of, 18, 1046 (known to Kālidāsa), created sesame on Makara-sankrānti 219, thousand names of, in Anuśāsana (31. 153) and Śānti (285. 74ff) and in Śivapurāṇa 234n, 911, twelve names of, when offering flowers 234; twelve Jyotirlingas of, 911.
- Śivadharmā, 104n, 911.
- Śivapurāṇa 910-11; a Mahāpurāṇa acc. to some Purāṇas 910, close parallels between S. and Kumārasambhava 910n; divided into seven Samhitās 910, oldest datable reference to it is Alberuni's, 910.
- Śivarahasya, held to be a mere compilation by Ballālasena 869.
- Śivaramamurti, C., a. of 'Royal conquests and cultural migrations' 997n, 1130.
- Śivarātri, (vide under Mahāśivarātri, Śiva and Udyāṇa): 225-236, description of the procedure of Ś. vrata 230-31; details added by Tīrthattva 231, eight names of Śiva 233, Mantras to be repeated 232, Mūlamantra is 'om, namah Śivāya' or 'Śivāya namah' 233, one observing fast on, Jāgara for whole night on Ś. and performing worship is not born again 227; one observing this vrata has to

observe certain rules of conduct | such as ahimsā, truthfulness, sexual purity 229, pāraṇā of a single Ś 234-235, proper time for Ś. vrata is night, 229; vrata of, is both *nitya* and *kāmya* 228, vrata of, may be performed by all human beings 228-229, vrata of, very elaborately described in Tithi-tattva, Dharmasindhu and other late digests 232, word Ś. is Yogarūḍha like 'pankaja' 228, worshipper to make a *sankalpa*, apply Tripundra mark on forehead with ashes and to hold a rosary of *rudrākṣa*, should go to Śiva temple at night 232, worship includes Nyāsa, Pūjā and Japa 233, Śivalinga to be bathed with milk, curds, ghee and honey respectively in the four watches of the night and the mantras also differ in the watches 231, Śiva form to be contemplated upon described 233n, Worship requires offering of 1008 or 108 bilva leaves with the thousand names of Śiva or with mūla-mantra 234, worship in modern times is brief 235; worshippers in some parts drink a beverage called *bhāṅg* prepared from crushed hemp leaves, which is supposed to be dear to Śankara 235

Śivasamhitā on Hathayoga 1127, 1426, 1427n, describes Khecarimudrā 1454, mentions ten mudrās as best 1127, states that āsanās are 84, 1426.

Skambha (Lit. 'Support or

pillar') (vide under 'creation') as creator in Atharva-veda 1493-4, in Rg. the word occurs but not in the sense of creator.

Skanda, as God of war and commander of Deva armies in classical Sanskrit and in Gītā 1581-82.

Skandapurāṇa 911, found in two forms 911; has 81,000 verses acc to most authorities but the extant one has several thousands more 833, 911, Kāśī-khanda of 8 is full of Śīśa and *parīśankhyā* 911-12, most extensive among purāṇas and poses perplexing problems, 911, not earlier than 7th cen. A D. nor later than 9th, 912; quoted in early Dharmaśāstra digests like Mit, Kalpataru, Aparatārka, though sparingly 912, Skanda (God) has no prominent part in the Purāṇa 911; Tāntrik influence on 912n, 45, 49n, 69, 72n, 90-92, 100n, 102, 107, 112-3, 117, 132, 146n, 158, 170, 188, 195-6, 203n, 207n, 219, 225, 227, 228n, 232n, 234, 755, 830, 833, 835n, 862 (about sūta), 869 (Ballālasena discards parts of it), 916 (runs down animal sacrifices or sacrifices even with *kuśās* and flowers), 927n, 932, 948-9 (no dharma higher than doing good to others), 1419 (six āngas of Yoga), 1431n, 1445n, 1447n-8n, 1450n, 1455

Sleep - man in deep s. becomes united for a time with the

- Real, acc. to Chān. Up. VI. 8. 1., 1506.
- Śloka-vārtika of Kumārila, 1159n (on Bhavadāsa), 1182n-84n, 1188 (states that very first sentence of Śābara's bhāṣya interpreted in six different ways by commentators) and contains an exposition in about 4000 verses on PMS I. 1), 1202, 1205 (elaborate treatment of word and sense), 1207, 1210 (creation of world by God not proved), 1211-12, 1216n, 1225, 1246 (on meanings of 'na'), 1286n (defines 'uddeśya'), 1376n, 1600n; com. Tātparyatikā of Umbeka on, criticizes Vārtikakāra who appears to be his guru 1194n,-95n.
- Smart, Dr. W. M., a. of 'Origin of earth' 1502n.
- Smārtas, observe fast on Ekādasi and also on Śivarātri 118.
- Smith and Carspink on 'Hindu Arabic numerals' 699n.
- Smith D. E., a. of 'History of Mathematics' 516.
- Smith R. Martin, a. of papers 'on the ancient chronology of India' 845.
- Smith, Vincent, a. of 'Early History of India' 1018, a. of 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' 1331n (Buddha seated in Abhayamndrā from Java), 1655.
- Smṛti (or Smṛtis, acc. to context); attitude of PMS and Śābara towards S. is that, in case of direct conflict with Veda, S. is to be discarded, but if there be no conflict it may be inferred that S. is based on some Vedic text 1277; is stronger than usages of śistas 1058, lay down many vidhis by employing optative verbal forms or participles in 'ya', 'tavya' etc. as in Manu IV. 25 and XI. 53, 1228, S. like Gaut. and Manu (II. 7) do claim that they are based on Veda 1277; Maxim of 'sarvasākhāpratyaya' was extended to S. by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and others 1173; often referred to as authoritative by Śābara for several reasons and as equal to Veda, 1257-58; out of about 1000 adhikaranas of P. M. sūtra barely a dozen are in any way concerned with S. 1277, principal subject of most S. is dharmas of varnas and āśramas 1637, since *vikalpa* was liable to eight faults the tendency developed that all S. passages on a topic were to be so interpreted as to give rise to no conflict nor option by various devices 1273-74; six Vedāngas and the Dharmaśāstras are comprehended under Smṛti, acc. to Kumārila 1277; some S. provide that a brāhmana could take food at the house of certain sūdras, 1608; the objection that smṛtis being composed by men are not authoritative is met in Tantravārtika by several answers 1259-60, those parts of smṛti (including Mahābhārata and Purāṇas) that are concerned with Dharma and Mokṣa have the Veda

- as their source, while *Smṛti* parts concerned with *artha* and *lāma* are based on worldly practices, acc. to *Tantravārtika*, while episodes and tales in the epic and *Purāṇas* are *arthavādas* 1261-62, *Yāj* (II, 21) and *Nārada* propose that when two *smṛtis* are in conflict, reasoning based on the practices of elders was of greater force, 1266, what those who advocate the historical method or approach towards *S.* mean 1271-72, when *Smṛtis* were in conflict with each other, various devices were employed instead of allowing an option, viz. different *smṛtis* prevailed in the different *yugas* or that *Manu* should be followed, or the opinion of the majority be followed 1265-67.
- Smṛticandrikā* 33, 37, 42n, 52n-53n, 66n, 71n, 75n, 218n, 525n, 659, 661n, 663n, 706n, 898, 905, 1096n, 1121n (quotes *Yogyājñavalkya* on *nyāsa*), 1122, 1130 (names and defines 24 *mudrās* that are same as in *Devibhāgavata*), 1192, 1227n (holds that a *Śatapatha* text, though in the present tense, is to be construed as a *vidhi*), 1233, 1262, 1270n, 1273n, 1302-3, 1314, 1315-6n, 1372n, 1407, 1439n, 1442n, 1649n
- Smṛtikaustubha* 81n, 89-90, 101, 119, 150n, 157n, 205, 213, 240-1, 245n, 247n, 248-250n, 606-608n, 663n, 672, 674, 758n, 785n, 811, 1109n, 1134
- Smṛtimahājari* (of *Govindarāja*), a digest on *dharmaśāstra*, of which a ms. on *prāyaścitta* is available 884.
- Smṛtamuktāphala* 33, 85n, 113, 247n, 1120 (on *nyāsa* of letters of *Gāyatrī* on parts of the body), 1121n.
- Smṛtisamuccaya* 249n.
- Smṛtitattva* of *Raghunandana* (1520-1570 A. D.), 836, 1042n.
- Smṛtīviveka*, a work of *Medhātithi* q. by him on *Manu* II. 6, 1258n.
- Smṛtyarthasāra* 30n.
- Snānasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* 1372.
- Snātaka*: observances of 27.
- Snellgrove*, Dr. D. L., editor of 'Hevajra-tantra' 1147.
- Social Reform*-vide a book published by Planning Commission called 'Social Legislation and its role in Social Welfare' and another work 'a century of Social Reform' by S. Natarajan 1636n.
- Social Service*, what it often comes to, acc. to L. P. Jacks 1675n, vide under 'Pūrta' 947-949, 1647n.
- Socialistic pattern of Society* 1679-80 'vague meaning of, as admitted by P. M. Nehru, 1680-81 (who wants a democratic socialism). Socialism, democratic type of, 1681, 1695, Social welfare and welfare State distinguished 1697n
- Solar eclipse* at unusual times in *Mahābhārata* 744
- Solov'yechuk*, G. a. of 'Switzerland in perspective' 1664n
- Soma*. in a *Soma* sacrifice, if

- soma plant be not available use
 Pūtikas as substitute and
 nothing else, though it be
 more similar to Soma 1231, is
 called 'Vṛsavrata' in Rgveda,
 19; is called Lord of plants
 and king of brāhmaṇas in Śat.
 Br. 740n; S. sacrifice, person
 resolving to perform, need not
 consider the season or nakṣatra
 507, 523

Sorokin, Prof. P. A. on 'Yoga'
 1456; a. of 'Social and cul-
 tural dynamics' 1615, 1617;
 a of 'Social philosophies in an
 'age of crisis' 1615n

Sortes Sanctorum or Sortes Ver-
 gilianae, 811.

South: is direction of pitrs 731n.

Soul: (vide under *brahman*,
māyā): Christians believe in
 post existence of S. after phys-
 ical death and not pre-existence
 1608; two kinds of Upaniṣad
 texts, one class saying that
 souls spring from the Highest
 Ātman, as sparks from a fire,
 while many Upaniṣad passages
 say that individual soul is
 unborn, immortal, that it is
 non-different from Supreme
 Self 1507-8; Vedāntasūtra
 (II. 3 17) affirms two propo-
 sitions viz soul is unproduced
 and is eternal 1508; when
 some passages seem to mention
 creation or dissolution of Jīva,
 the reference is to the *Upādhis*
 (body and mind) 1508

Soul or Souls: (vide under
 'Nāstika', 'Upaniṣads'):
 1205-7; are many, eternal, all-
 pervading, different from the

body, are agents (kartr) and
 also bhoktr (enjoyers), are of
 the nature of pure consciousness
 1206; it appears (from Chān
 Up.) that Asura Virocana be-
 lieved that the body alone was
 the soul, 1205n: S. in Sāṅkhya
 and Yoga 1403, Kumārila
 complains that the Mīmāṃsā,
 though not atheistic, was put
 forward by some as Lokāyata
 1205, popular belief in Vedic
 Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas about
 individual S. was that by
 good deeds S reaches heaven,
 becomes immortal and enjoys
 various pleasures 1498; P.
 M. S. does not expressly
 affirm the existence of
 the soul in any sūtra but
 Śābara propounds it in an
 elaborate argument 1205-6;
 question whether individual S.
 is also a creation like trees and
 shrubs, discussed in Up. 1507;
 reward of many rites being
 Svarga, it is implied that P. M.
 S. accepts continuous existence
 of the soul 1206; Ślokavārtika
 devotes 148 verses to this
 subject and the Tantravārtika
 also briefly deals with it 1206.

South Indian Architecture and
 sculpture, works on, 1656.

Spells or Charms against poison
 in Rg. I 191, 1036, found in
 plenty in Atharvaveda 1015;
Kṛtyādāśana and *Śatrunāśana*
 hymns of Atharvaveda, 1036;
 Sp. similar to those in Hindu
 or Buddhist works exist in Old
 English, Old High German,
 Celtic 1107, sleep-inducing S.

- (Rg. VII. 53. 5-8) interpreted by western scholars as a lover's charm for a clandestine meeting, which is not acceptable 1035; woman's S against her co-wife in Rg X. 145, 1035. Spengler held view that civilizations have birth, growth, decline and death and when dead do not revive 1616-17, view of, dissented from by De Beus and Prof. Sorokin 1617.
- Śrāddha (vide under Brāhmanas, Hārta, Sankrānti) Band Dh S, Manu, Vasistha prescribe that a large company of Brāhmanas should not be invited at S and that the learning and character of those to be invited should be carefully examined, but purānas went against both these 930-931; brāhmanas invited to dinner on S should recite Vedas, Itihāsa-Purāna 820, times for Kāmya S. on sankrānti, and other occasions 231, not to be performed at night except on eclipses 244, Paurānika mantras in, 920, Pāsupata and other heretical men not to be fed in 978; some smrtis prescribe only āmaśrāddha or hemaśrāddha in eclipses 246, though recommended highly on eclipses, S. is difficult or well-nigh impossible owing to time being short 246, three kinds of ś viz. navaśrāddh*, mīśra and purāna 864-5n
- Śrāddhakriyākaumudī 924n.
926n, 931n-932n.
- Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, prescribes recitation of Rāksoghna verses and Apratiratha hymn at śrāddha dinner 786n.
- Śrautasūtras two secondary meanings of vrata in, 26, writers of S. were called by Viśvarūpa merely Yājñikas 1155n
- Śravana, nakṣatra, called Śronā in Tai. S and Br 500.
- Śrāvana month: important vratas in, are four 124 ff; on Full Moon day of, practice on West coast of India to offer to the sea flowers and cocoanuts among Hindus and among others also 128.
- Śreyas, has two meanings, 'better' and 'nīhśreyasa' 1415
- Śribhāṣya of Rāmānuja on Vedāntasūtra 1159n.
- Śricakra (see under Yantra); promiscuous intercourse in, m by Kaulāvalitantra 1083n.
- Śriddatta, 29 (a. of Samayapradīpa), 640n (a of Ācārādarsa), 925 view about śūdra's eligibility for Paurānika mantras.
- Śrīharsa (about end of 12th century A. D) a. of 'Khaṇḍanakhandaśāstra', is alleged to have been vanquished in argument by Śaṅkarācārya 1010n.
- Śrīparvata, as a shrine for devotees of Śiva and Pārvatī and a place for securing miraculous powers 1047
- Śrīsenā a. of a Romakasiddhānta, different from the Romaka in Pañcasiddhāntikā 515n
- Śrīsūkta 759, 919-20 (of 29 verses, beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇām harinīm'.

- Śrīvidyāmantra (of 16 syllables): extravagant praise of, in tantra works, as superior to thousands of Aśvamedhas 1101.
- Śrutarthāpatti, explained in Tantravārtika and is said to prove Apūrva, 1211 and n.
- Śrutasāgarasūri, a. of com. on 'Tattvārthasūtra' of Umāsvāti 472n.
- Śruti, technical meaning of, in PMS III. 3. 14, 1309.
- Stars (vide under 'Aristotle').
- Star-gazer, condemned in ancient times 527, 543.
- Stecherbatsky Th., a. of 'central conception of Buddhism', 'The conception of Nirvāna' and 'Buddhist Logic' 942n.
- Stein, M. A. editor and translator of Rājatarāṅgini 655.
- Stein, Otto, paper of, on 'Number 18', 842n.
- Stevenson Mrs, a. of 'Rites of the Twice born' 60, 641n.
- Sthāpaka, qualifications of, 890, 1013.
- Stobha, meaning of, 1222n.
- Stocks, J. L., a. of 'Time, cause and eternity' 546n.
- Strabo, asserts that Chaldeans were skilled in horoscopes 550, mentions embassy from a king Pandion to the West and to Augustus 599n.
- Streeter, B. H. and others, writers of essays on 'Immortality' 1604
- Strīparva, 466n, 467, 821
- Stutterbeim, W. F, a. of 'Indian influences in Balinese Art' 1657.
- Subhadra, though a maternal uncle's daughter, was married by Arjuna and mīmāṃsakas like Kumārila deny that she was the daughter of Vasudeva, even when Ādiparva expressly says so 1230
- Subrahmanyā-nigada 1325.
- Succession Act, for Hindus 1706.
- Sudarśana, city of gods 1529.
- Sudarśana Yantra, worship of, by a king or person desiring wealth and prosperity 1136.
- Sudās, king in R̥gveda who battled with ten kings 1664.
- Sudhanvan, a king, is said to have issued order that he would sentence to death his servants that would not kill Buddhists 1009, 1010n.
- Sudharmā, assembly hall of gods, 1529.
- Sū meaning of 670.
- Sūdra. Buddha's teaching very attractive to Ś. whose position was low in times of Vedas and smṛtis 940; distinction made between *dvijas* and Ś. in the matter of Vedic mantras and sacrifices 922, 1642; duty of Ś. to serve the three higher varnas acc. to Manu, 1257, Gautama prescribed for him 'namaḥ' in place of Vedic mantras 925, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas were composed by Vyāsa through compassion for Ś. and women 921-22; high spiritual life and mokṣa were not denied to Ś. 164; Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana and Purāṇas were meant for the education of Ś. and for securing mokṣa to Ś. 925, 1642; Ś. not

- to perform Prāṇāyāma, but only dhyāna and repeat word Śiva for om, 922 and to repeat in five daily sacrifices the mantra called *saptārcis*, acc to Mīt while some others said that he is to repeat 'namah' only 159n, 920n, 925; three views about śūdras and purāṇas among medieval writers, 32, 172, 925, special facilities to and advantages of Ś over other varṇas 928-29, Vedānta-sūtra denies to the Ś the right to study the Veda and does not discuss how Ś and women are to secure higher spiritual life and final beatitude but the Purāṇas do this 929-30, Vidura and Dharmavyādha, though śūdras, possessed brahmanavidyā and must have secured mokṣa, even acc to Śankarācārya 1642, Yāj, Devala and Parāśara permitted even brāhmanas to take food in the house of certain śūdras such as the brāhmana's slave, barber etc 1608
- Śuka, son and disciple of Vyāsa 1161, 1169, styled Bādarāyaṇi in Bhāgavatapurāṇa 1169
- Sukthankar, Dr V S. 838 (on Rāma episode)
- Sukumar Ranjan Das 714n
- Sulabhā, a nun, encounter of, with Janaka 1368-70.
- Śulapāṇi (1375-1440 A. D.) 30, 46, 48, 239, 1104 (a. of com. Dipakalikā on Yāj)
- Śulbasūtras of Āpastamba and Kātyāyana (reference to the squaring of a circle) 1132, 1132n ('science of the Śulba' by Vibhūtibhushan Datta)
- Sumantu, a of a smṛti 527.
- Śumbha and Niśumbha, demons, killed by Devī 156.
- Sumerians speak of a golden age of man and of huge numbers of years 789n.
- Sun- (vide Bhāskarapūjā) 362, as a malefic *graha* 573, called 'Shamash' in Babylon and 'Helin' in some Sanskrit works probably from Greek 'Helios' 572n, is one and never sets, acc to Ait Br 510-11, mūla-māntṛa of, 1105, temples of, in ancient and medieval India 684, 898n, three important places of the worship of the Sun viz Mundirā (modern Modhera), Kālapriyā and Mitra-vana 898n, northward passage for six months had been noticed in the Brāhmana period 223, 491.
- Śunahṣapa, story of, in Ait. Br 969n, 1704-5
- Sumaphā, astrological Yoga, meaning of 584,
- Sundarakāṇḍa (of Rāmāyaṇa) 773
- Surā (see under 'wine').
- Sureśvara (most famous of Śankarācārya's disciples); a. of Naiskarmyasiddhi 1174, 1195, a. of Vārtikas on Śankarācārya's bhāṣyas on Br. Up and Tai Up. 1195, 1216n; and Mandana are not identical 1195, S is the same as Viśvarūpa 1194, flourished between 800-840 A. D., 1198
- Śūrāṇaraka and Paraśurāma 90n.

- Sūryaprajñapti, a Jain work, propounded the theory of two suns and two moons 511.
- Sūryapūjā-prasamsā 452.
- Sūryasiddhānta 68, 592 (mentions Maya, king of Yavanas, to whom the Sun imparted Jyotiṣa), 644 (tr into English by Whitney) 656n, 657n, 676o, 679n, 711; most accurate acc to Varāhamihira 514n, on Kāla and units of time 474, 477; Prof Neugebauer's view that S did not copy Ptolemy, but received impetus from him 601-2
- Sūryā, daughter of Savitr, married Soma 497n; is said to be wife of Aśvins 1044n
- Suśruta-saṁhitā 474 (on Kāla), 1032 (on 'tantrayukti'), 1379 (mentions Sāṅkhya doctrines)
- Susumnā, nādi; Kundalinī, when awakened, enters the road to liberation which is Susumnā 1085.
- Sūta (vide Māgadha) 862-864; business of, was to record and preserve historic traditions and genealogies 856; Gautama Dh. S on the origin of S 862n; is a somewhat enigmatic personahy 862-3, Kautilya says that the S. and Māgadha mentioned in Purāṇas are different from pratloma castes 862; one meaning of the word S. is charioteer and another is person of a mixed (pratloma) caste born of the union of a brāhmana woman with ksatṛiya male 862, some Purāṇas like Brahmānda, Padma, Skanda, Vāyu make the Sūta of semi-divine origin in the Yajña of Pitāmaha to get over any awkward situation 862-4, story of king Prthu Vainya having bestowed the country of Anūpa on Sūta and Magadha on Māgadha 863, two explanations why he was called Roma- (or Loma-) harsana 862
- Sūtasamhitā 830, 930, 962, 1631n (on four stages of Moksa).
- Sūtra (aphorism) characteristics of, 1182n.
- Suttanipāta 1005, 1636n (verse from, quoted by Tilak)
- Śutudrī (modern Sutlej river) 537
- Svacchanda-tantra, a Tantra work of high authority in Kashmir Śaivism 1086.
- Svādhyāya, means memorization of Veda, acc to Śat Br 1416, acc. to Yogabhāṣya means *japa* of om and holy texts or study of śāstras on *moksa* 1416
- Śvapara, a cāṇḍāla 554n, 969n
- Śvapāka, lowest among untouchables, followed the same avocation as Cāṇḍāla and was governed by same rules 1043.
- Svapnādhyāya 774
- Svapneśvara: vide under 'Śāṇḍilya'.
- Svarbhānu: son of an Asura, said in the Rg. to have struck the sun 569.
- Svarga, meaning of 824; is the reward of all sacrifices for which no reward is expressly provided by the Veda 1312
- Svargārohanaparva 821, 840n,

- 1627n
 Svarodaya 533n
 Svastivācana 780n.
 Śvetadvīpa, a mythical land described in Śāntiparva and some Purāṇas like Vāmana and Kūrma, where everything was white and where Viṣṇu and his devotees dwelt 142-43.
 Śvetāśvataropaniṣad, 465, 921, 952, 961, 963, 1033n (Guru's position), 1044 (Śakti as non-different from God), 1045, 1055n, 1086n (Kulārṇava quotes a verse), 1111n (signs of effectiveness of Yoga practices), 1352, 1360-61 is full of words of Sāṅkhya system), 1377, 1385, 1387, 1395n, 1424n, 1431n, 1448 (dhyāna-yoga), 1451n, 1456, 1460, 1478, 1500, 1502 (five elements), 1504, 1538 (verse 'dvā suparnā'), 1564, 1573, referred to as *śruti* in V. S acc. to Śāṅkara 136, states God as cause or source of creation 465, bhāṣya on, attributed to Śāṅkarācārya, of doubtful authenticity 1407 and n, 1707 (fundamental questions of whence, whither and why raised)
 Svistakṛt, homo, 773 and n.
 Syamantaka jewel, story of 147, 459
 Śyenayāga, an ancient magic rite 1114n, 1183, 1245, mantra in, used by Matsya-purāṇa for black magic 1114n.
 Syrian Christians were given special privileges by Hindu kings of South India 1018.
 Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, 24-5, 35, 185, 194, 727-28n, 785, 787n, 796n 798n, 853, 920, 1180, 1190n, 1627n.
 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 18n, 65, 185n, 194, 487, 492, 494n, 498-9, 500, 505-7, 510, 511n, 523-4, 527, 538, 546, 561, 656n, 659n, 670n, 701, 720, 721n, 723-4 (adbrīguprāśa), 726, 739n, 758, 786-7, 803-4, 814, 934 (food is life), 1032, 1114n, 1153, 1224, 1239-41, 1285n, 1290, 1298, 1301, 1307n, 1314, 1316, 1320n, 1321, 1328n, 1489n (has all verses of Rg. X. 129 except one), 1528n, 1535, 1548n, 1633, 1646; Tai Br. I 5 differs from Tai. Br. III. 1 as to the names of nakṣatras and presiding deities 505.
 Taittirīya Saṃhitā, 18, 22-3, 25-6n, 63, 65-6, 73, 121n, 126, 146, 183n, 185, 487, 489, 492, 495n, 498, 500, 505, 507-8, 596n, 659n, 667, 671-2, 691n, 697-8, 719-20n, 721, 724n, 726, 737n, 756, 758, 773, 785-90, 796, 802-3, 814, 919, 927n, 1024, 1044, 1096n, 1114n, 1131, 1152-53, 1203, 1207, 1214, 1217n, 1221, 1224, 1226, 1232, 1238-39, 1244, 1246 (prohibits speaking untruth), 1257n, 1268, 1288, 1291-2, 1294, 1295n, 1297, 1301, 1305n, 1308n, 1315n, 1316, 1318n (on sūdra and theory of dehts), 1320n, 1325n, 1331n, 1385n, 1386n, 1416n, 1433, 1493, 1511, 1544,

1589n, 1631n (word *Sāyujyātā*).
Taittirīya Upanisad 24, 466, 914 (on creation), 921, 1035n, 1086, 1153 (word *mimāṃsā* occurs), 1180, 1257, 1387, 1416, 1484, 1486, 1488n, 1501-2, 1507, 1528n, 1562, 1582, 1649 (where Up. means secret doctrine).
Takkusu, Dr. J 942n, 1375-6.
Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila), had a university where even princes came to learn 542.
Tāmṃbāka-not to be eaten in *Ekādāśīvrata* 107, 116.
Tāndya Brāhmana: 511n, 659n, 670n, 1227n, 1231, 1244, 1313n, 1471, 1516n (explains words of Rg. IX. 62. 1).
Tanḥā (*tisnā*, hawking) giving up of, emphasized by *Upanisads*, *Mahābhārata*, *Buddha* and *Purāṇas* 939 and n.
Tantra (in P. M. S.) 1331, eleventh chap. of P. M. S. deals with T. which means a case where one act serves the purpose of several other rites or acts, and examples 1331.
Tantra (or *tantras*, acc. to context). 1031-1151; (vide under *Cakrapūjā*, *China*, *guhya*, *guru*, *Kauladharmā*, *magic*, *magicians*, *Mahānirvāṇatantra*, *makāras*, *months*, *nādis*, *puraścaraṇa*, *śakti*, *śāktas*, *Śāradātīlaka*, *siddhis*, *Śrīvidyāmantra*, *spells*, *tāntrika*, *tattva*, *Tibet*, *Vajrayāna vāmācāra*, *yantra*), aims of T. were *mokṣa* and attainment of *siddhis*, 1112-13; are Hindu,

Buddhist and Jainā and are alike in some respects but differ in some others 1031, 1048, are *upaveda* of *Atharvaveda*, acc. to *Sukranītisāra* 1036, *Bhairavī-cakra*, and *tattva cakra* worship 1059 and n; Buddhist T. deified important personages of Buddhism and took over other deities, *Ganeśa*, *Sarasvatī* and others 1049, Buddhist T. also claimed to show the path to the attainment of all objects from success in love affairs to liberation 1115, *Cakrapūjā*, a revolting rite 1089, derivation of word *Tantra* 1048, differences and similarities between Buddhist and Hindu *tantras* 1041; difficulty of defining a T. 1048, *Duigā*, acc. to *Mahānirvāṇa T.*, is highest *prakti* of *Paramātman*, has various names 1057; end and aim of a few higher minds among some *tantras* and *Tāntrikas* was attainment of high spiritual powers by *Yoga* practices and realization of supreme *Tattva*, variously called *Brahma*, *Śiva*, *Devī* and *mokṣa* 1091; evidence of any Buddhist works on *Tantras* before 650 A. D. practically none, 1040n, evidence in *Bāṇas* works of the prevalence of *Tāntrik* and *Śākta* worship in India before 7th century A. D. 1040, famous Chinese travellers *Fa Hien*, *Yuan Chwang* and *I-tsing* do not refer to study of Buddhist T. in India

1038, 1040, five āmnāyas spoken of as paths to moksa by some T. 1049, five paths named in some T. and four in Sādhnamālā 1038n-1039, four named Tantras introduced in Kambuja (Cambodia) about 800 A D 1048n; Gāyatri mantra of Kālī set out 1058, 1101, great importance of guru and mantra in all Tantras 1071, 1101; groups of 10, 18 and 64 Śaiva T. in Tantrāloka 1049n, guru, after initiating a disciple into T. rites, was to hand over to the neophyte a bowl for drinking wine, mudrā and courtesan 1055-56, Haraprasad Sastri's view that T. practices originally came from outside India and view of A. Avalon that they came to India from Chaldea or Śakadvīpa, examined 1033-34, 1040, Hindu T. try to show that they are based on the Vedas quote Vedic mantras and claim to describe an easier and quicker path to moksa 1051-52, Hindu T. present two sides, one philosophical, the other popular and magical, relying on mantras, mudrās, cakras and yantras, 1057; ignore the great moral danger, involved in the persistent teaching of worship with five makāras and also ignore the advice of Gītā (III 21), 1087, in Kaula system *siddhi* results from those very substances (wine, flesh etc.) by (resorting to) which men

(ordinarily) incur sin 1064, 1074, influenced by Sāṅkhya 1384; important Kashmir Tāntrik works 1050, Kṣetras of Devī over one hundred acc. to Devībhāgavata, 1039; Kulārnava and other T. praise the vedas, employ vedic mantras and quote Upanisads and Bhagavadgītā 1086-87; list of Sanskrit works on T. with authors, dates and editions, 1140-1147, list of works and papers on T. in English 1148-1151, literature on T. was vast 1048; Makāras five, emphasis on, in almost all Tantra works as leading to miraculous powers and liberation, 1034, 1049, 1052, 1058, 1664, 1082, Makāras explained by later writers on T. as used not in the ordinary senses but in special esoteric senses on which the writers themselves differ 1081n; Mantras called *bīja* like *hrīm* and *śrīm* and a list of them called *Bijani-ghantu* 1058n, Mantra of ten syllables 'brīm śrīm kṛīm paramēśvari svāhā' by merely listening to which a man becomes *jīvanmukta* but Mahānirvāṇa adds that mantras do not confer *siddhi* unless five makāras are offered 1058, Maṇḍales, an item in T. worship, 1131ff; Mantras are the very core of T. and T. is often called Mantraśāstra 1098; Mantras of Śakti do not confer perfection unless one follows *kula* practices

1052; mantras that the followers of Vāmanārṇava may employ about three makāras (wine, mudrā and coitus) 1056-57; Mantra 'sac-oidakam brahma' is best 1057; mantra 'brahmārpanam brahma' (Bhagavadgītā IV. 24) to be recited when offering wine and other *tattvas* to the highest Self 1059n; medieval works on Kaula cult speak of drinking wine, flesh eating, *maithuna* in the vulgar sense as means of Devī worship and assert that by doing so liberation would be secured 1087; T. mention the six magic and terrible rites, śānti, vaśikarana, stambhana, vidvesana, māraṇa, uccātana 1070, 1105, 1113-14, method of referring to *ṭija* mantras like 'hrim' in a round about or mystical way 1058n; merely drinking wine or eating meat, indulging in sexual intercourse would never confer siddhi but it must be the result of strictly following the kaula path, says Kulārṇava 1064, meaning of word T. in Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda and Tai. Br is 'loom' 1031, meaning of word T. acc. to Yāj, Amarakośa, Brhaspati, Kātyāyana and Bhāgavata 1031-32; Modern apologists for Tāntricism emphasize that the instructions in the Guhyasamājatantra are meant only for yogis who have attained some yogic perfection 1077n; most Hindu T. are dialogues between Śiva and

Pārvatī or Skanda or Bhairava, similarly later Buddhist writers on T. profess that they quote Buddha 1038, 1051, most important and early Buddhist works on Tāntrik cults, Prajñopāyaviṃśaya and Jñānasiddhi, are not earlier than the 8th century A. D. 1041, names of some published Hindu and Buddhist T. 1050, names of sixty-four T. 1049n, names of some Vaiṣṇava T. 1051, names of works in which the philosophical aspects of Hindu T. may be studied 1051, no trace of direct connection between Atharvaveda and Tantras 1037, oldest among Buddhist Tantras are Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa and Guhyasamājatantra acc. to Dr Bhaṭṭacarya, 1050, path of T. cult in its higher level was one of Upāsana or *bhakti*, but it often degenerated into magic and moral and depravity 1090, Pārānanda-sūtra and some other T. works provide that drinking wine before the stage where eye-balls begin to roll or mind remains steady and having intercourse with Śakti according to the rules of the śāstra is not blamable and to drink beyond that stage is bestial and sinful 1056, paths in T. are three, Dakṣiṇa (declared in Veda, smṛtis and Purāṇas), Vāma (declared by Veda and āgamas), uttara (declared by Veda and Guru), latter one

being superior to preceding one 1054, peak period of Tāntrik works and cults, both Hindu and Buddhist, was from 7th to 12th century A D, 1073, philosophical or spiritual side of T not much studied except by Arthur Avalon, B Bhattacharya and a few others 1031, *pīthas* (of Kālīkā) in Rudrayāmala 1031; points that distinguish T works from other religious literature in Sanskrit 1092-93, points of difference between T. and Śākta works, though both have much in common 1042, possible motives of founders of Tāntrik cult for discarding conventional morality 1077, popular mind associates T with worship of Śakti (i.e. Kālī) and with mudrās, mandalas, five makāras, vāma and dakṣiṇa mārṅga and magic practices 1031, possible reason for non-mention of Tantra doctrines in Sarvadarśanasamgraha 1139, prescribe Vaidikī sandhyā to be followed by Tāntrikī sandhyā 1101, provisions of, about the materials and capacity of wine cups 1059, provide, in contrast to Vedānta, methods which assist men of ordinary intellect in developing psychical forces and attaining liberation 1072, put forward the theory that to the pure-hearted everything is pure, only the sinful *vāsanā* is reprehensible 1085n, purpose of most Buddhist T. is to indicate

a short path to Buddhahood by yogic practices, introducing the element of Śakti for yogic practices and for securing miraculous powers 1051, question whether Hindu T were prior to Buddhist T or vice versa is difficult but present author holds Hindu T were not borrowed from Buddhist T. 1038-40, references to 64 T. in Saundaryalaharī 1049, resemble Pūrāṇas in several respects 1049, rivalry between Hindu and Buddhist T 1064-5, Rudrayāmala statement that Buddha taught Vasistha the Kaula path, examined 1034, *Sādhakas* in T are of three kinds, paśu, vīra and divya 1052n, Sādhaka in T should feel that guru, mantra devatā and his own soul are all one 1101, Sāṅkhya tattvas, Prakṛti, mahat, Abhankāra are welded on to the worship of Śakti 1058; secrecy enjoined by most T about knowledge conveyed by the guru to the disciple and worship with makāras, 1054, some great scholars and poets had a sneaking admiration for T worship 1076, some modern writers have been somewhat unjust to whole T literature by labelling it all as black magic or obscene 1091; some Tantras like Mahāmūrtivāna try to stem the tide of sexual immorality 1077, some T. practically inculcate what appears as unbridled licence 1073, some Hindu T contain

sublime philosophic views derived from the Upanisads, the Gītā, from Sāṅkhya and Yoga and the final goal is Mukti to be secured by the path of T. 1050-51, so much of T. that is not opposed to Veda is authoritative acc. to Devībhāgavata 1064, *Tattvacakra* worship described 1059, 1087; T. says *śuddhi* means the offering of flesh, wine and mudrā to the devatā with the recital of three bijas 1058n, 1088, T. teach the repetition of mantras that have no meaning or that contain the letters of a mantra in a reversed form 1107, T. teachers' names often end in the word Ānanda 1073n, T. topics like mantras, nyāsa, mandala taken over into some Purāṇas, and dharmaśāstra works 1095-96, teaching of tāntrik texts about worship with five makāras created a debased state in society, which is reflected in some parts of Sanskrit literature 1073-76; T. texts fall into five classes, Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Saura and Gāṇapatya 1092, theory of such T. works as Śāradātilaka about mantras set out 1098-99, theory of sublimation put forward for explaining the insistence on five makāras 1085; theory of T. works that wine, meat and sexual unions are the only and the best means of Devī worship invite strong condemnation 1092-3, thought is recognised

in some T. works as having creative power and may do good if kind and may cause suffering if evil 1100; three aspects of the deity worshipped by Tāntrikas are *sthūla* (an image), *sūkṣma* (worship by mantras) and *parā* (highest, to be apprehended by the mind of the *sārthaka*) 1091, three groups of T. viz. Viṣṇukrānta, Rādhakrānta and Aśvakrānta and 64 are assigned to each group 1049; time when the word Tantra assumed its peculiar meaning, the people who first introduced tantra practices or the country where they first arose cannot be determined with certainty 1033, to drink wine without performing Śuddhi was condemned even by T. writers 1089; translations of Sanskrit works on Tantra in Tibetan are available, but the originals are not yet found 1048, Vajrayāna T. arose in Uddiyāna, acc. to one view 1039, Vaiṣṇavatantras, twentyfive, named by Agnipurāṇa 1051, vast literature on Tantras 1031, Vedas, Śāstras and Purāṇas are of hardly any use, when Mahānirvāṇatantra is understood 1057; Vedic mantras for sanctifying flesh, fish, and mudrā are respectively Bg. I. 22 20, VIII. 59 12, I. 22 20-21, T. Vidyā divided into three groups viz. Kādi, Hādi and Sādi 1045, view of Dr. Bagchi about foreign elements

in Tāntrik doctrines 1034, Vira type of T worshipper required to possess high moral and spiritual level, but Rudra-yāmala allows a vira to honour the charming wife of another flushed with wine 1088-89, women were made guras in Tāntrik cult 1075, woman associated with a male for tāntrik worship or for maithuna was called *śakti*, *prakṛti* or *latā* and she could be one's wife or another's wife or a *śeṣyā* 1081, 1090n, word 'phat' occurs in Vāj S. and is employed in *abhicāra* 1037; works on T like Śāradātīlaka enumerate thirty-six tattvas (including those of the sāṅkhya system) 1063, works on T introduced into Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan and South East Asia 1048; works on T placed women on a footing of equality with men, and endeavoured to provide a common platform 1092; works on T employ Vedic mantras, and also their own, 1100-1, works on T say that mantras possess wonderful powers and that a Tāntrika secures all powers by following the practices of his guru's school 1101, worship of Śakti with wine, flesh and edibles of various kinds, 1046n, 1047 (in Viṣṇu-purāṇa), 1052-53 (worship of Śakti with five Tattvas, which are sometimes identified with five elements) 1052-53, worship of Keśava

laid down in Tantras referred to by Bhāgavata 1093; writers on T. clothe their practices in bombastic words 1081; writers, medieval and modern, were largely justified in their condemnation of Tāntrik practices 1094, yantra (sometimes called cakras) also is a characteristic item in Tāntrik worship 1135-1139.

Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta 1049n

Tantrarāhasya of Rāmānujācārya, last noted work of Prābhākara school composed about 1750 A. D., 1185n, 1189, 1283n

Tantrarājatantra 1088, 1106n, 1119 (on abhiṣeka), 1136 (on Yantra), 1138n-39.

Tantraratna, of Pārthasārathi-miśra 1189

Tantravārtika of Kumārīlabhatta (a voluminous com on Śabara's bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 2 to end of Chap III), 96n, 926n, 985n, 1009n, 1162n, 1174, 1179 (papers on 'Gleanings from Śabara and Tantravārtika' and 'Tantravārtika and Dharmaśāstra'), 1181 (on *adhikāra* for Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrnāmāsa), 1186n, 1188, 1191n, 1206n (propositions about soul specified), 1211 (on *Apūrva*), 1212n, 1216n, 1220n-24n, 1228n, 1229 (defines vidhi, nityama and parisankhyā), 1236n (*bhāvanā* is the pratyayārtha), 1237n, 1241n, 1244, 1247n, 1249n (on 'Vikalpa'), 1253n, 1254, 1258-59 (is most exhaus-

tive on Smṛts), 1261-62n, 1264 (on sadācāra), 1273n-74n (on Kalpa and Kalpa-sūtras), 1277n, 1290n, 1293n, 1295n, 1297n, 1302, 1307n, 1309n, 1329 (collects about three dozen cases of *bādha* in general), 1333 (on change in meaning of 'rājan'), 1544n, 1545, examines all the well-known classes of Sanskrit works with regard to their usefulness and relation to Veda and other-worldly experience 1260-1262.

Tantrayukti: means 'main canons or principles of exposition of a śāstra' acc. to Kautilya, Caraka and Susruta 1032.

Tāntrik Texts (Vol. I-XXII), edited by Arthur Avalon, Vol. I, 1049, 1058n, 1097, 1124n, 1127, Vol. II 1060n, Vol. IV 1038n, Vol. VII 1035n, Vol. VIII. 1054; Vol. X. 1140, Vol. XIV 1050n.

Tāntrik-'cult in Epigraphs,' paper by Mr. B. P. Desai 1046n; T. practices prevailed in N. India long before 11th century A. D., 869n, T. literature is classified into *Srotas* (that are three), *Pātha* and *Āmnāya* 1049.

Tāntrik: gurus (some) in Kashmir in 11th century A. D. practised incest 1075-6; T. Sculpture at Puri and other temples in Orissa 1088, works emphasize that mantra must be received from a qualified guru and the *sūdhana* must be done under his guidance

1110.

Tapas 304-305, 1415n, 1416; grand eulogy of T. in Mann, Yāj., 1415n; in Rgveda means 'heat' in some cases and 'ansterities' in some (as in X. 109. 4, X 154. 2 and 5, X. 190. 1) 1415n, in Śat Br and Ait. Br. it is indicated that *tapas* like *yajña* would bestow everything 1415, 1489; in Upanisads T. is one of the means leading to realization of *brahman* 1415n, Mahābhārata has frequent eulogies of T. 1416n; Mann provides that only three *prāṇāyāmas* performed acc. to prescribed rules are highest T. 1415n; means acc. to Āp. Dh. S the strict observances laid down for a vedic student, 1415n; Śāntaparva says that T. consists in *ahimsā*, truthfulness, kindness and restraint of senses and not in mortification of the body 1416n; Vyāsa-bhāṣya explains Tapas as bearing the pairs of opposites (cold and heat, hunger and thirst) and observances like *Krochra*, *Cāndrāyana* 1416

Tapta-mndrā-dhārana-making marks of conch, discs etc., (weapons of God Viṣṇu) on limbs or parts of the body with heated copper or the like by Mādhyas 305.

Tārābhaktitaranginī, 977n, 1072n, 1109 (on Śavasādhana), 1142

Taranath (born 1573 or 1575 A. D.), a. of a 'History of Buddhism' (written in 1608

A. D.), 1010n, 1033n, 1148; gives a confused account about persecution of Buddhists by Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya 1010n.

Tārātantra 1142.

Tarka (ratiocination) and Dharmaśāstra 1468-1482 (vide 'Nyāya', 'people', 'tolerance', 'Upanisads'), as an anga of Yoga 1419, 1469, Buddhists and Jains were declared to be heterodox, not because they resorted to T but because they did not at all acknowledge the authority of the Veda and the sacred tradition 1471, Manu provides that none but he who considers the dicta of (vedic) sages, the rules of dharma (in smṛtis) and takes the help of tarka not in direct conflict with Veda and śāstras knows what Dharma is and this is the position of most orthodox Sanskrit writers about Tarka, 1469; Śaṅkarācārya's position about T. 1470-71, Smṛtis lay down that blindly following the words of śāstra would lead to loss of Dharma and that in case of conflict between two Smṛtis reasoning should be resorted to, 1470, smṛtis and ancient Sanskrit writers have been very tolerant of differing views even on fundamental matters and brought about great changes in rituals, philosophical views, social customs, without persecution 1475, T alone cannot give final answers or answers

acceptable to most people on such questions as the existence of God or of the individual soul, or on what happens after death 1470, T. favoured by or not opposed to Śruti is acceptable to Br. Up. acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 1469n, within the limits laid down by Śaṅkarācārya and other orthodox Sanskrit writers there was room enough for an enormous and bewildering variety of convictions, rites and practices to claim orthodoxy and examples of these 1471, wise man who is pure should, in deciding upon dharma and adharma, act after relying on his own intelligence (reason) 1470; word 'tarka' occurs in Kathopaniṣad 1468; Yāj. Smṛti mentions Nyāya (v. l. tarka) as one of the fourteen vidyās and one of the means of knowing dharma 1468.

Tarkadīpikā 1486n

Tarn, W W, author of 'Greeks in Bactria and India' 516, 655 (criticized)

Tarpana (offering water), of seven sons of Brahmā, acc. to Kātyāyana's Snānasūtra, Matsya and other Purāṇas 1372.

Tātparyadarśana, com. on Āp. G. 802n.

Tattva meaning of, differs in Tāntrik works acc as the worshipping concerned is Tāmasika (Paśu), Rājasika (vīra) and Sāttvika (divya), 1082.

Tattvabindu of Vācaspati, Introduction to, 1158n-1159n.

- Tattvanistha - parivartanavādi - parisaḍ, later termed Dharmanirṇayamandala, its members and work for reform and reorganization of Hindu Society 1705-1707.
- Tattvas, twenty-five, in Sāṅkhya and in Śāntiparva 1358, 1365.
- Tattvārthasūtra of Umāsvāti 472n.
- Tattvasamāsa, a late work on Sāṅkhya in 23 sūtras 1354, com. on, called Kramadīpikā 1354.
- Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntaraksita (705-762 A. D.), connects Buddha with magic practices 1037.
- Tattvavaiśārādī of Vācaspati, com. on Yogasūtra, 907
- Tattvopaplava-sūtra of Jayarāśibhatta 1472n.
- Tawney C. H. a of 'Acquisitive society' 1481n.
- Taxes, recent Indian taxes, defects of 1695n.
- Tejobindu-Upaniṣad (on proper āsana) 1431.
- Temple : of Rāhu 684, of Sun m. in 'Gupta Inscriptions' 683n; of Sun in ancient and medieval India 683-84, of 64 Yoginīs, 174; three temples of the sun established in three different places acc. to Varāha-purāṇa 898n.
- Testament, Old and New, both emphasize sacredness of vows 28.
- Tevijjasutta, condemns Buddhist monks maintaining themselves by such arts as predicting 627.
- Thibaut, a. of a work on Indian Astronomy, mathematics and astrology in the German Grundriss, 484, 487, 490-92, 508-10, 512, 579 (criticized), observes that what Indians knew before Greek influence is not much and is primitive 512, observes that Greek astrology entered India between Firmicus (middle of 4th century A. D.) and Varāhamihira, 579-80, observes that Mr. Dixit's work on 'Hindu Astronomy' is the richest source of material on it, 484, on Romaka Siddhānta 515.
- Third Five Year Plan total investment programme of, 1084ff; total American aid from 1951 to end of Third F. P. 1691ff.
- Thomas E J., a of 'History of Buddhist Thought' 1107.
- Thomas, Prof. F W. 1104n; presentation volume 757n.
- Thompson C., 'Reports of the Magicians' etc 565n, 572n.
- Thorndike, a of 'History of magic and experimental science' 550n.
- Throbbing (*spandana* or *sphurana*), of arms and eyes regarded in India from ancient times as harbinger of coming events 800-801; of right or left side of body is auspicious respectively for men and women 800, prognostications from 799-801; removal of the effects of inauspicious T. brought about by gifts of gold to brāhmanas 800; results of the T. of limbs from head to soles set out 800.

Tibet (vide Sanskrit literature), Padmasambhava, a Tāntrik Buddhist was called from Uddiyāna by a Tibetan king (749-786 A. D.) and settled in T, 1040-41; script based on an Indian alphabet was introduced in T about 640 A.D, 1040
 Tikkaniḥ: a small work of Varāhamihira on Yātrā 617
 Tiladhenu, gift of, on Karkasan-krānti 218
 Tilak, Lokamānya, a of Gītā-rahasya (in Marathi) 1171-72n, his explanation of Bhagavadgītā (XIII 4) not accepted 1171-72, a of 'Orion' and 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' 3, 485, 498, 499n, 510, 513, on 'Vedic Chronology' 644, 645n, held several conferences of Indian astronomers for improving paścāṅgas 712, views of, on caste and urgency of independence and not mere social reform 1635n-1636n.
 Timaeus, a dialogue of Plato, 781, 1502, 1505n
 Time (see under Kāla), *amānta* reckoning 659, Buddhist Sanskrit writers like Prajñākaragṇapti hold that T is not a separate entity 472, conception of, 463-475, divisions of T. from *nimesa* to Kalpa given by Mann 688, first among great problems of philosophy 463, fundamental periods of time are day, month, year, 644-45, human reckoning of T is four-fold viz Saura, Cāndra, Sāvana, Nāksatra (or Ārkṣa)

656n-59; identified with Nārāyaṇa in Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 466, indications of the existence of T. acc. to Vaiśeṣikasūtra and Praśastapāda's bhāṣya 469, is a *dravya*, acc to Vaiśeṣikasūtra and Caraka 474; Jaina writers hold that T is one of six padārthas 472, lengthy disquisition on T. in Maitrī Up. 465-66; long disquisition on T. in Nyāyamañjarī 469; Mannsmṛti on, 468, measures of T. such as Yuga, Mahāyuga, Manvantara, Kalpa, 686ff, minute divisions of T such as *nimesa* mentioned from even Vedic times, 475, nine reckonings of, out of which only five are ordinarily employed 656-57, Nyāyasūtra holds that time is past, present or future 469, pūrnimānta reckoning 659, questions as to, 463, some western philosophic works on T 475, some philosophers hold that time is either past or future, but that there is no present T. 469; space, T and God are one and the same acc to Raghunātha, follower of Navyanyāya 470, spoken of, in the same terms as *brahman* in Maitrī and Tai. Up. 466, sublime conception of, in Atharvaveda as ageless, as the creator of everything, including Prajāpati, 463-4, *truta* (or *truti*) as the smallest unit of T. in Kāntilya and Sūryasiddhānta 214, 476-77; units of T from *nimesa* to year mentioned in Br. Up. 475-76;

units of time, same verse on, in Śāntiparva and Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas 476n, units of T. such as Prāna, Pāla, Ghaṭi or Nādi or Daṇḍa 684, Vākya-padīya of Bhartṛhari on T 475, views differ as to the number of units of T. and their relation to each other among Manu, Kautilya, Purāṇas, Amarakośa, Sūrya-siddhānta 476-477

Tithi (or tithis acc. to context). (vide under Amāvāsyā, Aṣṭakā, day, God, nakṣatra, Kāla, Purnamāsī, Vedha, week days), all religious acts to be begun in the morning, even if t. is *viddhā* 72, all rites, Vedic and smṛta, vrata, dāna do not yield proper reward as long as the proper t for it is not determined 73, anga (subsidiary matter) to Vedic and smṛti prescriptions and prohibitions, 71, a tithi touching three days was held to be inauspicious for marriage, invasion and auspicious religious acts 68-69; certain t dear to certain gods, 70, decision of a proper t. for religious rite is by recourse to Yngmavākya, when a tithi extends over two days, 74; derivation of word t from root 'tan' to spread 67n, different views before Ait. Br. on which a tithi rite was to be performed 66; divided by Dharmasindhu into Pūrṇā and Sakhaṇḍā 71-72, divided by Nirṇayasindhu into Śuddhā and Viddhā 71n; division of,

into five groups, 70, division of tithis into *kharva*, *darpa*, *himṣa* or *himsā* 78, even if t. begins in the afternoon, a sankalpa had to be made in the morning, provided the vrata has to be performed on that t. though *viddhā* 82, T. is time or period required by the moon to gain twelve degrees on the sun to the east 68, long lists of acts and things forbidden on certain tithis 79-80, lords of tithis acc. to Brhat-saṃhitā and others 69, 111, loss caused by eating certain things on certain tithis, 70, most important topic in relation to vrata is t 56, motion of moon being irregular the number of ghaṭikās of a t may be any figure from about 54 to 65, 68, Pāṇini mentions affix 'tithae' (probably due to word 'tithi') and Patañjali mentions Purnamāsī tithi 67; Pūrṇā, Sakhaṇḍā, Śuddhā and Viddhā defined 72, 113, purvaviddhā and paraviddhā, explained 74, theory that shortening and lengthening of tithis is due to piety and sinfulness of men, 78; t., though khaṇḍā, is to be regarded as *sakalā* for dharmaśāstra purposes in some cases 73, nait day (from sunrise to sunrise) may have two tithis or even three tithis touching it or one tithi may spread to or touch three civil days 68; nait day touching three tithis was regarded as

holy, 68, *vedha* defined 72-73, week days, nakshatras and tithis are means of securing merit or sin, 71, what articles should specially be eaten or not eaten on certain tithis 70-71, 79-80, what combinations of viddhā tithis are generally excluded as improper 74-75, what should be undertaken on each of the five groups of T, 70, word tithi does not occur in the Vedic saṃhitās, though the idea must have been there in the Rgveda but occurs in Ait Br. and the ghyā and dharma sūtras and hence was in use at least from about 800 B. C., 62, 67-68, word 'mahā' is prefixed to certain tithis when the Full Moon is in the nakshatra which gives the name to the month and is in conjunction with Jupiter 79

Tithicintāmaṇi, contains tables based on the Grahalaṅghava 643.

Tithitattva 53, 68n, 70-72n, 75n, 77n, 79n, 81, 84-86, 88, 91n, 93, 110n, 117n, 124n, 125, 129n, 134-5, 136n-8, 142n, 148, 152n, 154, 156-58n, 161n, 162, 165n-167n, 169n, 170-2, 173n, 175n, 177n, 179n, 182n, 191n, 193, 198n, 201n, 203n, 207n, 217, 227, 228n, 230, 241, 246n, 247n, 249n, 1182n.

Tithiviveka, 73n, 76n.

Tithyarka 71n

Tolerance (vide Aśoka, Madhvācārya), a more radical tolerance than what Indian people

showed throughout the ages is unthinkable 1076, Bhagavad-gītā, Bhāgavata, Śāntiparva exhibit wonderful spirit of T. when they say that worship of other deities also reaches ultimately the Highest 970; germs of doctrine of T. in Rg I. 164. 46, 970-71, great tolerance in Emperor Harsa's family 1006; in India it was at the most necessary to show that doctrines put forth were not opposed directly to the dicta of the Veda 1481-82; Inscriptions and coins evidence exceptionally generous T. on the part of the civil powers, says Barth 1011, Madhvācārya could explain away the Upanisad passages about advaita by reasoning and openly denounce the advaita doctrine as Buddhism in disguise without persecution 1482, of Hindu kings towards Moslems, even though moslem invaders desecrated temples 1018; T. is one of the striking characteristics of Hindu culture 1623, persisted in India for different cults and tenets with very rare exceptions from before Aśoka to 1200 A. D. when Moslem invaders began to overrun India 1012, striking instances (early and late) of T. of kings and people donating gifts to persons, shrines and institutions of different faiths 1012-14; undesirable consequences of great T. 1482, Yāj. Smṛti prescribes that when an Indian king

- conquered a country, the conqueror's duty was to honour the usages, transactions and family traditions of the conquered country 1011, 1482.
- Toleration Act (of England in 1689) excluded Catholics and Unitarians from its benefits 1476n.
- Toynbee, Prof. Arnold, in 'East and West' definition of civilization and culture 1615-16; points out that Christianity and Islam have been responsible for some of the cruellest atrocities that have disgraced history 1012n; revises and corrects his own statement about Indian culture 1617n, urges that Christianity must be purged of the beliefs that Christianity is unique and that Christians are God's chosen people 1595.
- Traditions, though they often arise without much evidence, should not be summarily rejected, but should be tested by other available evidence 1192, the endeavour of leaders of thought in each generation should be to find out what is essential in tradition without believing in the infallibility of all T. and to present dogmas that will meet the demands of modern thought and conditions 1475.
- Trailokyamohana mantra, dilated upon in Prapañcasāra-tantra for accomplishing six cruel acts, 1070, 1105.
- Trailokyavijayāvidyā, in Agni-purāna 1102.
- Trees, barks of five, viz. *Aśvattha*, *udumbara*, *plaksa*, *āmra* and *vata*, to be boiled in water for bath on *Amāvāsyā* of *Divālī* 199, festival called *Vrkṣotsava* 415-16.
- Tridandin*, as applied to *Sannyāsins*, meaning of, 1645.
- Tridhātu*, meaning of, doubtful in Rg. 1492n.
- Trijatā*, dreams of, in the *Rāmāyana* 775.
- Trikāṇḍamandana* 53.
- Trikaprasavaśānti*, on birth of a son after three successive births of daughters or vice versa 773.
- Triloka*, meaning of, 567n.
- Trimadhura* (honey, ghee and sugar are so called) 309.
- Trisikhi-brahmanopanīśad* 1426n
- Tripuṇḍra*, sect mark of *Śāktas* and *Śaivas*, explained 1076n.
- Trispr̥śā* (one of 8 kinds of *dvādaśīs*) 309.
- Trisama* 310.
- Tristhalīsetu* 91n
- Trisugandha* (*tvaki* i.e. cinnamon, cardamom and *patraka*) 309.
- Trita āptya*, all bad dreams delivered to, in *Rgveda* 729.
- Trivrt* (milk, curds and ghee are so called) 309.
- Tryahabspṛk* (*tithi*) 310.
- Tucci, Prof. G., paper of, on Mandalas in 'Indo-Tibetica' 1133.
- Tukaram, saint 969, asserts that life is very miserable 969.
- Tulāpurusa*, one of the *Mahādānas* 87.
- Tulasi* leaves and plants, now sacred to *Vaiṣnavas*, but they do not figure in early *Purāṇika*

- literature, 881, story of, occurs in Padma IV and VI, 882
- Tulasidas (born in 1532-33 A.D.) Hindi poet and saint, was abandoned by parents because of astrological considerations 633n, works of, used for divination 812.
- Tulasivivāha 307
- Tup-tikā of Kumārīlabhatta, 1163n, 1188 (not a regular com but notes on chapters IV-XII of P M sūtras), 1209n, 1214n-16n, 1226n-27n, 1250n, 1286n, 1302n, 1318n, explanations of Tup, 1189n, has some commentaries but none is published 1189
- Turāyana 306-7.
- Turberville, Prof. A. S. on 'Spanish Inquisition' 933n
- Tuxen, Paul, a of 'Religions of India' 1393-94, 1577 (does not accept Deussen's theory about Ksatriyas being the original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts).
- Tycho Brahe, prepared every year an astrological forecast for the king 551
- Tyler, a. of 'Primitive culture' 1614.
- Udakaśānti, 783-787; is an elaborate affair in these days and takes up about three hours 784, many mantras employed in 784, oldest available description is in Bandhāyana grhyasēsasūtra 784; performed even now for securing good health, removal of diseases, mitigating unfavourable aspects for removal of impurity on birth or death in one's house or family etc 784, procedure of 784-787; Saṅkalpa in 784n.
- Udayana, a. of Lakṣaṇāvali and Nyāyakusumāñjali 1624.
- Uddālaka, Āruni, shown to be ignorant of Vaiśvānaravidyā in Chān V. 11, but in Chān. VI. 8 7 ff, is shown as teaching the sublime doctrine of 'tat tvamasi' 1578.
- Uddeśya of Uddiśyamāna—means 'subject of which something is to be predicated (vidheya)' 1286, defined by Ślokaṣārtika 1286n, 1341.
- Uddhāravibhāga (assignment of a larger share to the eldest son on partition between brothers) 1268, Tai S has two contradictory passages on this, but Āp Dh. S. after quoting both Tai S. passages holds that unequal division is prohibited by śāstras and provides that equal division among sons is the proper rule 1268
- Uddiyāna (a pitha of Tāntrik cult). situation of, discussed 1039.
- Udhātā (a term in Yoga) differently explained by different writers 1439n
- Udgītha, means 'om' 1582
- Udgīthavidyā, only one of many Upāsānās, 1583, Pravāhana Jaivali taught it to two brāhmanas in Chān Up I 8, 1582.
- Udvāhatattva 545, 610n, 611n, 919.
- Udyāpana - last rite in a vrata 120-21; if no rite of udyāpana

for a *vrata* is expressly prescribed what should be done 121, Ud. is concluding rite in a *vrata* undertaken only once, while the concluding rite is called *pārana* when a *vrata* is to be continued for life (such as *Ekādaśī* or *Janmāstami*) 139; of *Śivarātrivrata* when undertaking was to observe it for 24, 14, or 12 years 234.

Udyogaparva 27, 49, 90n, 126, 129n, 532n, 539, 743-4 803n, 821, 840, 854 (quotes the famous verse 'guroṛapyavaliptasya etc.' from a *Purāṇa*), 1080, 1281 (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna described as drunk), 1627n, 1636, 1642.

Ugrarathasānti, vide *Śastyabdapūrta*) 757, Procedure in Sanskrit of, 760n.

Ūha 1158, 1324 26; certain alterations and adaptations are necessary in the matter of *mantras*, *sāmāns* and *samskāras*, this is called *ūha* in PMS, though the word ordinarily means *tarka* (reasoning) 1324, *mantra* when adapted is not to be called a *mantra* acc to PMS 1325; Viṣṇudharmasūtra prescribes that in the *śrāddha* for the maternal grandfather and his two male ancestors the *mantra* should be changed into 'Sundhantam *Mātāmahāh*' 1326

Ujjvala-nīla-mani, of Rūpagosvāmīn 980

Ulfi, story narrated by, about Siddharāja, king of Gujarat,

punishing Hindus for pulling down a mosque and rebuilding it at his own expense, 1018.

Umbeka (about 700-750 A. D.); a. of com. on *Śloka-vārtaka* 1359; a. of com. on *Bhāvanā-viveka* 1194; is probably identical with *Bhāvabhūti* 1194; is later than *Maṇḍanamisra* 1194, name written in various ways 1194n; *Uveyaka*, q by *Kamalaśīla*, is probably *Umbeka*, 1194n; was a pupil of *Kumārīlabhatta* 1194n, 1198.

Underhill, a. of a work 'Hindu religious year' 60.

Unemployment, increasing 1698, should be first point of attack in all plans 1698; United States of America, total aid to India, 1691-92

Untouchables, 51 millions in *Bhārata*, acc to census of 1951, 1622n.

Untouchability, abolished by Indian Constitution (Art 17) and an Act passed to make treating a man as untouchable in public an offence 1636n.

Untruth, speaking of, forbidden in Tai. S. for a sacrificer 1246.

Upacāras folding the hands (*namaskāra*) was one of the U. before the *Nirukta*, 36, U. in *pūjā* were either 36, 16, 10 or 5, 94; nine out of 16 U. are mentioned in *Āśv. Gr. sūtra* 36; not absent in Vedic age 35, quoted from *Prapāñcasā-ratantra* in *Dharmaśāstra* works 1096, several of 16 Up were well known long before

the grhyasūtras 35, sixteen Up. enumerated, 35, to be offered with the 16 verses of Purnasūkta 35.

Upadeśa, meaning of, in P. M. S. 1163n, 1184n

Upadeśa Dharma-sindhu says that in Kalyāṅga there is no *dīksā* but only U 1117n, difference between *dīksā* and U. 1118.

Upanayana (see under *mnhūrta*), great importance attached to astrological positions of *Bīhaspatī* (Jupiter) in U 609, is only an *anga* of the *vidhi* about teaching Veda inferred from Manu, 1109n *Muhūrtas* for Upanayana are few and far between acc to late medieval writers, 607, not to be performed when Venu is set or on certain tithis and on *galagraha* 608, no rules in sūtras, Manu and Yāj about position of planets, *rāsis* or week days for, U 607, principal time for U is 8th year from conception or from birth 609, proper ages for depended on the Varna of the boy 608, proper months and *naksatras* for U 607, 609, rule laid down by Āśv Gr S for U and three other *samskāras* 605, seasons for the U of boys of the three higher *varnas* 607, Tuesday and Saturday inauspicious for 604

Upanisads (vide under '*brahman*'), mokṣa, Royce, Vedānta) accept as preparation for *brahma-vidyā* study of Veda, sacrifices, *tupas*, fasting

918, are full of theories of creation 1500-01; atmosphere of Up entirely different from Vedas and Brāhmana texts 1498n, attitude of, to Veda as *aparā-vidyā* and to sacrifices 917, 1004, 1471; central Up. doctrine of immanence of *brahman* not attacked by Buddha or early propagators of Buddhism 1004; describe *brahman* in two ways, firstly as qualified by various adjuncts (such as name and form, created objects) and secondly as devoid of all adjuncts, there being no universe outside *brahman*, 1504-5, do sometimes say that he who knows *brahman* becomes *brahman*, but the same Up require great moral and spiritual attainments (as in *Mundaka*) 1514, emphasize the giving up of *trṣṇā* or *Kāma* 939n; fundamental doctrine of Up is that there is only one Principle or Essence, that it creates the world out of itself and enters into it and that all plurality is only apparent and a name, that even inanimate world is non-different from Supreme Spirit 1487, 1625; geographical details in Up are few 1522-23, germ of fundamental doctrine of Up is found in the Rgveda 1487, give no name to the First Principle but speak of it as '*taḍ-ekam*' (that one) 1490, glowing tribute of Deussen to philosophers of the Up. 1500, hold that esoteric

knowledge has to be imparted by a guru to a disciple or by father to son, but not to all and sundry nor in an assembly 1071-72; illustrations (two) to bring home to the inquiring spirit non-difference are rivers flowing into the sea and losing their names and forms and pure water poured in other pure water, 1625; most important doctrines of Up. are two (1) non-difference of individual self from supreme Self and (2) transmigration of self depends on his deeds and conduct as taught by brāhmaṇa Yāj. to Janaka or by Uddālaka Āruṇi to son Śvetaketu, 1577-78; offer very little to the common man and did not solve his problems while the Bhagavadgītā took that matter in hand, 968, old Up like Br. and Chān. are admitted to be earlier than Buddha 1004, passages of Up. fore-shadowing Sāṅkhya doctrines or employing technical Sāṅkhya words 1360-61, put the knowledge of the Highest Self as superior to the Vedas (called aparā vidyā) yet quote Vedic verses in support of their statements 918, 1471; real thought of Up. centres round the non-difference between brahman and the individual soul and the physical world, 1500-1502, renunciation of all actions and their rewards was inculcated by Up. for a Sannyāsīn who was to beg for alms till the

body lasted, as even good deeds would lead to good births and put off mokṣa, 1513, several vidyās or upāsānās are described in Up particularly in Chān. and Br. for men that are not yet far advanced on the path of brahmadevidyā 1584, some apparent discrepancies in Up. as to what was first created and as to the order of the creation of elements, as explained by Śaṅkarācārya 1506-7; some late Up mentioned as the basis of Śākta doctrines by late medieval works, 1045n, speak of brahman, as creator, sustainer and as ultimate absorber of bhūtas (elements or beings) 1484; teach that sound moral preparation necessary before a true Vedāntic view is attained 1478n, verse enumerating ten ancient and principal Up. 1436n, Yoga in Up 1387.

Upapurāṇas (vide under Haṭha, Naraśimhapurāṇa, Sāmba, Viśṇudharma and Viśṇudharmottara), all chapters and even single verses of U. are suspect 872, Alberuni's work shows that some U. such as Ādi, Āditya, Nanda (Nandī?), Naraśimha and Sāmba had been composed at least some time before 1000 A. D. 831; are summaries made by sages after listening to 18 P., 835; began to be compiled from the 7th century and their numbers went on increasing till 13th century A. D. or even later

855, dates assigned by Prof. Hazra to Upapurānas not at all acceptable 882, early commentaries and digests on Dharmaśāstra like the Mit. and Kalpataru very rarely mention U. and even the latter refers to six Up 837, Hazra (Prof.) says there are over 100 Upapurānas 834, Hazra admits that adherents of various sects such as Śāktas, Pāñcarātras, Sauras, interpolated chapters in Purānas and sometimes wrote new and independent works styled Purānas 837, Kūrma Purāna mentions Brahmānda, Nāradiya Skanda, Vāmana as Up 870, Matsya names Narasimha, Nandi, Āditya and Sāmba as Up and there is nothing to show that more than four were regarded by the Matsya as of any authority 834-5, names of 18 U. are set out by Devibhāgavata, Garuda, Kūrma, Padma, Hemādri 834 and n, none of the U except Devī, Narasimha, the Viṣṇu dharmottara, and one or two more can be held to be as old as 7th or 8th century A. D. 835-36, 838, only a few Upapurānas are published and those published belie definition of Purāna as Pañcalakṣaṇa 834; only eight U. m by Ballālasena 871; some U bear the same names as those of principal Purānas, such as Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmānda and Nāradiya 834; total of 4 lakhs of verses of Purānas

excludes the verses of U. 834.

Uparava, meaning of 18.

Uparicara Vasu, a king and devotee of Nārāyaṇa, dedicated his kingdom and wealth to God and worshipped acc. to Sāttvata rules 95n

Upasad, days of 25.

Upasarga (preposition) changes the meaning of the root, 2.

Upasruti (listening to words of children, or eaves-dropping near houses of washermen or cāṇḍālas and using words heard by chance as prognostications for coming events 809-810, methods similar to U. in the ancient near East 810n; method of casting dūrva grass in a book at random 811.

Upavāka, a kind of seed 732n.

Upavarsa, commentator of Jaimini 735n, 1186n, 1187n, 1197, expressly mentioned by Śabara 1186n, flourished between 100 B C to 100 A D. 1197, held to be identical with Bodhāyana by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri 1187n; m. by Śankarācārya twice on V. S. with great respect 1187n, 1205.

Upavāsa : (vide under 'fast'); another meaning, in Brāhmaṇa texts 26

Upavedas, four 820n, 1263n.

Upāyas, four, in politics 617.

Usages (vide under 'Śadācāra'): Baud. gr enumerates five peculiar u of the North and five others peculiar to the South and provides that if one belonging to South follows any

usages peculiar to north or vice versa he would be guilty of sin, 1258; *Manu*, Yāj. Vīśnudharmasūtra, Vīśnupurāṇa say that one should not observe but discard what was once deemed to be dharma if it has become hateful to the people and would end in unhappiness 1270; illustrations where later Dharmaśāstra works like *Mit.* and *Smṛticandrikā* rely upon the above rule of discarding ancient practices, if common people had come to hate them 1270-71; Kumārila holds that in case of conflict between *smṛtis* and usages the former is more authoritative but usages opposed to *Smṛtis* have been in vogue from ancient times 1278-79; U. of countries, castes, families declared by Gautama and *Manu* to be authoritative if not directly opposed to the *Veda* 1278; modern legislation sometimes allows customs and usages overriding authority as under Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) sec. 5 about marriages of *sapindas*, 1278-9, but also abrogates them in some cases, 1671; Privy Council held that clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law 1278, requisites of a valid custom, according to P. M. S 1279-80

Uśanas, a on astrology m. by Varāhamihira 593

Uśanas, Dharmaśāstra of, 1152n.

Uśanas (on Rājanīti) m. by Kālikāpurāṇa 1001, 1032-33.

Uśanas (on tithi) 78n, 79.

Uśas : is called Apasaras and Vena is described as her lover in Rg., 495n.

Uśah-kāla, defined 278.

U S. S. R. : vide under Russia.

Utilitarianism (vide under 'Rationalism') : criticism of this doctrine 1479-80 : holds that actions are right where they tend to make for the greatest good or happiness of the greatest number etc. 1479; is not a moral theory at all 1479.

Utpala, commentator of Br. S. of Varāhamihira 477, 479n, 520n, 521, 530n, 533n (on *Yogayātrā*), 545n, 547n, 554n, 561n, 564, 568, 658, 680 (quotes 18 verses from *Garga* on week days), 712n, 742n, 745n; commentator of *Brhājātaka* 573n-75n, 577, 580n, 581, 584n, 587n, 591, 594, 657n, 765n, 796n, 1645n.

Utpāta . (vide under *Atri*), *Nimitta*, portent, *Puśyasnāna*: 591, 743; description of 18 Śāntis bearing names of different gods prescribed by *Matsya* 746-747; descriptions of, abound in *Mahābhārata* 743; king's duty to arrange Śāntis for counteracting portents 745; list of chief U. and *nimittas* 743-44, list of three kinds of U. 745-46, means 'reverse of usual natural order' 741-42; no gradation or order in setting out *utpātas* which are given

- pellmell in both epics 744; of divya kind produce evil effects in eight ways 746; one adept in knowledge of U becomes famous and king's favourite without mathematics 769; seasonal appearances in certain seasons are not inauspicious and require no śāntis 747, 767: three classes of u in Atharvaveda, Garga, Parāśara, Sabhāparva, Br S and Matsya viz. *divya* (from heaven), *āntarikṣa* (from atmosphere) and *bhauma* (terrestrial), and their illustrations 745-46; varying opinions about the effect of Śāntis 746.
- Utsava, often difficult to distinguish from vrata 57.
- Uttarādhyayanāsūtra, a Jain work 1367, 1375 (mentions sastitantra)
- Uttarāyana, vasanta and grīṣma are important parts of, 491-92
- Uttānadvādāśī, 12th tithi of Kārtika bright half 112
- Vācaknavī, a woman that had secured Brahmajñāna 921n
- Vācaspati 52
- Vācaspati, a of Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudī 468n, 1355, 1394n, a of Nyāyakaṇikā on Māṇḍana's 'Vidhiviveka'; a of com. on Yogabhāṣya, called Tattvavaśīradī 909, 1373, 1399n, 1409n-11, 1420n-22n, 1424n, 1438n, 1445 (quotes two verses of Viṣṇupurāṇa), 1446n, 1448, 1450n: a. of 'Bhāmati', com. on Śāṅkara-bhāṣya on V S 1166, 1510n; date of (820-900 A D) 1199, 1356.
- Vadhūvaramelakavīcāra, explained 614.
- Va ā, meaning of 670.
- Vahnipurāṇa 138.
- Vaidhiti, 27th Yoga, is just like Vyatipāta in all respects 707.
- Vaidya, Mr M V 893.
- Vaidya, P. L. 998, 1005.
- Vaijayanta, palace of Gods, 1529.
- Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra 528, 579, 681 (mentions Wednesday), 749 (on Śānti of nine planets), 750-752, 946n (ten yamas), 1096n, 1418n, 1452, date of, between 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. 528n, refers to nakṣatras called janma, karma, sāṅghātika, sāmudāyika and vaināśika and these terms are explained in the Yogayātrā and Viṣṇudharmottara 528-29n.
- Vaiśākha Aksayyatrityā, on 3rd of bright half of, 88-89; Parāśurāmajayantī on 3rd of bright half of, 89-90.
- Vaiśeṣikasūtra 468, 472, 476, 1037n (defines dharma), 1468 and n; goal of, is nīḥreyaśa (q. v) 1468.
- Vaiṣṇava or Vaiṣṇavas (acc. to context), defined in several Purāṇas 112-13, difficulties of, in choosing tithi for fast when it is vṛddhā 114; is really one who has taken dīkṣā acc to Vaikhāṇasa or Pāñcārātra Āgama, but now people are called V. because they are so traditionally, 113; not to bow to or worship another God or to enter the temple of another God acc to Vṛddha

Hārīta 976n; rank and file of V. generally exclusive and bigoted and treat with disdain everything pertaining to Siva and take sumptuous food on Śivarātri 118; inconvenient results of insistence by V. on observing fast on Ekādaśī mixed with dvādaśī and pāraṇā on dvādaśī 117; wrangles of V. with śaivas and vice-versa 118, 973n.

Vaiṣṇavākūta-candrikā of Ratnagarbha on Viṣṇupurāṇa 832.

Vaiṣṇavism: Erotic mysticism of the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā established by Caitanya and Vallabhācārya 980; in V. established by Vallabhācārya greatest honour is paid to guru who is a descendant of the founder 980

Vaiśvānara: discussion on this word that occurs in Rg. I 59.6 and I. 98. 1 in the Nirukta mentioning the opposite views of Yājñīkas, of ācāryas and of Śākapūni 1156n.

Vaiśvānara, meaning of, in Rg. and Chān. Up. V. 15. 2, 1578-79.

Vaiśvānaravidyā, in Chān. Up. IV. 11, 23, 227n; is only an *upāsana* and not thoroughgoing brahmavidyā, 1578-79.

Vaiśya, was good birth, acc. to Chān. Up., 1578-79, 1607.

Vartarapī, 11th tithi of dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa 418.

Vājapeya 1029.

Vajapyāyana, an a. m. by Kātyāyana Vārtakakāra 1157.

Vājasaneya Samhitā, 12n, 17-18,

22-3, 62n, 63, 126, 166, 168, 183n, 196n, 475, 485n, 527, 596n, 667, 672, 698, 721 (on Śānti), 722n, 724, 726n-7n, 750, 759, 762, 773, 776n. 777, 787, 796n, 814, 919-20, 969n, 1024, 1037, 1055n, 1079, 1181, 1217n. 1221, 1241, 1244, 1265n, 1288n, 1291, 1385n. 1489 (has all Puruṣasūkta verses), 1533, 1633.

Vājina, an offering different from 'āmikṣā' 1307.

Vajra, a. on astrology 593.

Vajrayāna (or Vajramārga); is the ulterior development of Mahāyāna 942n; other innovations of, were the introduction of the Upāsana of Śakti and theory of Dhyānabuddhas, 1069, permitted killing of all animals speaking untruth, sexual intercourse (including what common people call incest), 1066, several meanings of Vajra, 1065-66; texts aim at the attainment of *Bodhi* 1092n

Vajrolimudrā, in Hathayoga-pradīpikā, cannot be set out, for its obscenity 1127; supposed to confer long life on yogin even after indulgence in sexual orgies 1127.

Vāk (speech); sublime hymn about power of, in Rg. X. 125, 1043-44

Vākya (sentence): (vide 'Anusanga'), definition of V 1297, example is the mantra 'devasya tva . nirvapāmi' (Tai S. I. 1. 4. 2) 1297; in Rgveda and Sāmaveda, both being metrical,

there is generally no difficulty in finding what constitutes a V. and Śābara confines himself to Yajus texts 1297, it is not absolutely necessary that in order to form a v. the words must be in close proximity (*sannidhi*), though generally proximity is required 1298; mantra text may constitute two sentences if it has two parts that serve different purposes as in 'Syonam te manasyamānah' (Tai Br. III 75), 'ise tvorje tvā' (first words of Tai S.) 1298-99, three elements are required for constituting words into a sentence, viz expectancy (*akāṅksā*), compatibility (*yog-yatā*) and proximity, particularly the first 1297.

Vākyabheda (Lit. split of sentence), examples of 1295, 1300-1304; illustrations how to avoid V. in Manu IX 142 about the result of adoption and in Bṛhaspati on the question of reunion after partition 1301-1303, not applicable to a sūtra, acc. to some 1182n, one aspect of the import of the word V. is the case where there are two (or more) sentences and one sentence does not require a word or words from another sentence, then the sentences should be treated as separate 1299, one and the same text cannot be construed as laying down two separate vidhis or when a certain matter has already been prescribed by vidhi and several

auxiliary matters are to be prescribed in relation to the same, all auxiliaries cannot be prescribed in one sentence 1299-1300; one text of Tai. Br prescribes as to *agnyādāna* that one having a son and having his hair yet dark should perform it, this has to be construed as indicating by *lakṣaṇā* that the man must not be very young nor very old, otherwise there would be two vidhis and the fault of V 1301. Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari 475 (on Kāla), 1396; com. of Helārāja on, 1396n.

Vālakhilya hymns 692

Vallabhācārya (1479-1531 A D); a of Tattvadīpanibandha 957n, holds Bhāgavata of supreme authority 957, 1176; holds that Jaimini, a. of P. M S, is the pupil of Vyāsa a of V. S 1177, propounds an erotico-mystical brand of bhakti 971, thinks V. S refers to Bhāgavata-purāṇa 1176n.

Vallabhotsava festival in honour of Vallabhācārya (held as born in 1497 A D) 403.

Values; are often moulded by environment 1701, certain values of Indian culture that have endured for three thousand years 1707.

Vāmācāra (vide under Tantra): of two kinds, acc. to Pārāṇan-dasūtra (a Tāntrik work), Madhyama (wherein all five Makāras are employed) and Uttama (in which wine, coitus and mudrā alone are emplo-

yed) 1054.

Vāmadevya Sāman, 726; is a means of śānti and is sung on Rg. IV. 31. 1 (kayā naseitra) 726.

Vāmakesvara Tantra 1045.

Vāmanapurāna. 71, 110-11, 119, 143, 203, 564, 682n, 779n, 833-34 (says Matsya is chief among Purānas), 921 (adapts Rg. I. 10. 1), 922n, 945 (on ahimsā), 971, 1372, 1526n, 1582, date between 600-900 A. D., 905; note on, 904-905, short Purāna with 5451 verses in Venk. ed. and prose in chap. 26, 44, 93).

Vamśas (lists of teachers and pupils) in Br Up II. 6. 3 and VI. 5, 2-3 do not completely agree, 1373.

Vanaparva, 27, 90n, 92n, 110, 118, 127, 129, 185, 202, 267, 497n, 539, 651n (time of starting of Kṛtāyuga), 659, 686, 691-93, 743, 812n (on Kalisvarūpa), 821 (names Matsyapurāna and a purāna proclaimed by Vāyu), 827 (close agreement with Yugapurāna), 853n, 939n (giving up of trsnā), 994, 1006n, 1048, 1219, 1271n, 1357n, 1362n, 1372, 1385, 1416n, 1435n, 1436n (on functions of ten prānas), 1450, 1469, 1582, 1627n, 1634, 1636-7, 1642

Vankālākācūrya, a. of work in Prakṛit on astrology, 1645n.

Varadachari K. C., paper of, on Alwar's contributions to bhakti 954n.

Varadamudrā, defined and illus-

trated, 1131n.

Varāhamihira. (a. of Brhat-samhitā, Brhaj-jātaka, Yoga-yātrā, Brhad-yogayātrā, Pañca-siddhāntikā, Laghu-jātaka, Tik-kanikā, and a few other works not yet published); 61n, 70, 150n, 465n, 479, 484, 519-20 (follows Gārgya on motion of Saptarśis), 521, 530, 540, 545-7, 552, 558, 562, 591 (names many predecessors on astrology), 627, 634 (theory that a horoscope was like a plan), 638, 701, 711, 746-7, 765-773, 794, 1024, 1132, 1270n (importance of usages of common people), 1477 (on Āryabhata's view about earth revolving round itself); date of (about 500-550 A. D.) 484, 1645, 1653n (mentions authors of Vāstuśāstra and image making, did not follow Firmicus or Manilius on Dreskānas 580, 583n; differences of, with Ptolemy, 575 and n, 589 (with Yavanesvara), 574, 580 (on lords of the horās of the day), 586, frequently refers to the views of Yavanas and in some matters differs from them 563; probably identical with Buzurmīhr, a minister of Nowshirwan of Persia 782.

Varāhapurāna: 31n, 44, 48, 54n, 56n, 77, 81, 98, 105n, 109n, 112, 118n, 119, 133, 145, 149, 155n, 178, 205, 238, 818n, 824n, 898 (mentions Bhavīsyā), 915-18, 920, 932, 949 (on pūrta), 973-974, 993, 1096n, 1132, 1384, 1596n;

- date of, earlier than 10th century A. D. 904; has some chapters in prose and some in prose and verse 903, note on 903-904, refers to a Śāka king called Nandavardhana 901, supposed to have been narrated to the Earth by Viṣṇu in Boar incarnation, 903-904, Vyāsa does not appear in this P, though Sūta figures in the beginning of several chapters 904
- Vārābitantra 172
- Vararuci, as expert in Nāṭya-veda 990n
- Vardhamāna 50n
- Vardhamāna-Nirvāṇa Era 656.
- Vardhāpanavidhi (procedure of anniversary of birth of a child or king) 403
- vargottama, meaning of 584.
- Varivasyārahasya, 1063 (on 36 tattvas).
- Varna system and caste system (vide under brāhmanas, Cāndālas, caste, jātis, moral qualities, social legislation, śūdra) · origin and development of 1632-1643, Bbhagavadgītā (IV. 13 and XVIII. 42-44) asserts that the Varna system was based on qualities and actions and specifies the qualities and actions of the four varnas, most of which for brāhmanas and ksatriyas are moral and spiritual 1635; how and why several thousands of castes and sub-castes arose only in India is an insoluble problem 1633, if Varna and caste system has broken down and become harmful and unpopular among people it may be discarded, but that cannot be done by force or mere legislation, but by strenuous work and education of all from childhood 1641, intermarriages between the first three varnas were allowed even in the times of Yāj and a few other Smṛtis 1265, 1632, is distinguished from jātī, but the two are confounded in Manu, 1633; it may be conceded that some centuries before the Puruṣasūkta, Aryan community was divided into four groups, a similar division not being unnatural and being found in other countries 1632; no evidence to show that intermarriages and interdining among the four varnas was prohibited in the Vedic age 1633; numerous artisans and craftsmen are mentioned in Vāj. S., Kāthaka S. and Tai. Br., but there is nothing to show that they had become petrified castes, 1633, Varnas were only four and there was no fifth v 1633, word varna was applied to āryas and dāsas in Rgveda, they being hostile camps, 1632, words brāhmana and ksatriya frequently occur in Rg but the word varna is not expressly connected with them in it 1632
- Varnasankara (mixture or confusion of castes) · 1634ff (had gone far in Mahābhārata

- times); criticism of caste system had arisen and people had begun to contend that it is qualities that make a man a brāhmaṇa and not mere birth 1633.
- Vārsagana, a Sāṅkhya teacher m. by Yuktidīpikā, 1355
- Vārsaganya of Parāśaragotra, m. as teacher of Sāṅkhya in Śānti-parva and Yogasūtrabhāṣya and Bhāmati 1374 and n.
- Varsakītyadīpikā 241n.
- Varṣakrīyākaumudī: 31n, 34, 37, 42n, 52n, 54n-5n, 57n, 66n, 68n, 72n-81n, 83n-5n, 90n, 93n, 97n, 99n, 103n, 100n, 110n, 111n, 116-6n, 118n, 120, 132n, 136n, 137n, 142n, 152-3, 161, 163n, 195n, 167n, 169n, 170n, 174n, 176n-178n, 180n-182n, 193, 126n, 198, 200-1n, 207n-8n, 212n-215n, 216, 218n, 220n-22n, 226, 230n, 232, 241, 243n, 249n, 660, 1096, 1109n, 1122, 1124, 1125n.
- Varsas, nine named by Viṣṇu, Vāmana and Vāyū (with variations) and they state that the Vargas were given to the nine sons of Āgnīdhra, grandson of Svāyambhuva Manu, there being confusion about names of kings and varsas, 1524-25.
- Vārtika, defined, 1182-83
- Vārtikas (on Pāṇini) 68n, 130, 203n, 467, 667n, 720n, 735n, 820, 1032, 1156-57, 1169.
- Vārtikālaṅkāra, of Prajñākara-gupta 472
- Varuna, praised in 12 hymns of Ṛgveda is called Samrāj often than even Indra praised in about 200 hymns, 8.
- Varunapraghāsa, a Cāturmāsya rite, in which the sacrificer's wife had to confess or indicate if she ever had a lover 1592n.
- Vārūni, 13th ~~tiṭh~~ of Caitra dark half with Śatabhisak nakṣatra and is very holy 405.
- Vasantarāja Śākuna (vide Upaśruti): 792, 799, 801, 805, 869; account of the author 805n; authors mentioned by, 805n; based mainly on the Br. S. and Brhadyogayātrā 809; brief account of its contents 806-7; claims that it requires no expounder, no mathematics and if well studied the reader acquires great rewards 801, date of, between 700-1100 A. D 805n; extends the meaning of Śākuna to include actions of men and beasts 808; five excellent animals for Śākunas are the podakī bird, dog, crow, pingalā bird and female jackal, that are presided over by certain deities 809, mentions fifty objects as auspicious signs when starting on a journey or entering a home and thirty objects that are inauspicious, 778; more than half of it (viz. 781 verses) are devoted to sounds made by three birds and 372 are devoted to barking and movements of dogs and female jackals 808; most comprehensive work on Śākunas and contains 1525 verses, 806, prognostications based on the sound produced by house lizard (pallī or pallikā) or its move-

- ments and its fall on the several limbs of a person 792, prognostications from throbbing of limbs, 800-801, silent about fall of palli 792n; states that 'Upaśruti' (unpromoted oracular voices of a child etc) is most reliable and easily understood Śakuna 809-810.
- Vasantotsava 403-404.
- Vāsavadattā of Subandhu 1009n, 1048.
- Vasistha, sage, thought of committing suicide 1280, two births of, referred to in Rg. VII. 33, 1536-37.
- Vasistha, a writer on Astrology, 61n, 134, 213n, 216, 593, 607, 621.
- Vasistha Dharmaśāstra 24n, 527n, 733n, 782n, 876n, 914n, 930 937, 944-45, 1027, 1239n (on giving an onlyson in adoption), 1248n, 1335 (onesūtra on adoption interpreted in four ways), 1413n, 1416n, 1441-1442n, 1589n, 1596, 1638n (sale of milk by brāhmana condemned).
- Vasistha Siddhānta, one of the five Siddhāntas and far from accurate, 514n, 663n.
- Vasordhārā a Śānti in by Tai S and early and late Dharmaśāstra works 737n
- Vāstospati, is either Indra or Rudra 790n.
- Vāstu (house) : see under 'house'.
- Vāstu-śānti, also called Grhaśānti or Vāstu-śamana, 790-91, *śaṅkalpa* in, 790n, very elaborate in late digests 791.
- Vāstuśāstra, eighteen teachers of, m by Matsyapurāṇa 623, 1653. Vāstuyāgatattva, 1133.
- Vāsudeva; antiquity of the worship of 962, in some Purāṇas like Brabma and Viṣṇu the word is not derived from Vasudeva, but from root 'Vas' to dwell 962.
- Vāsudevaka, means one whose object of worship is Vāsudeva, acc. to Pāṇini 962.
- Vasundharā, (vide under Vikrama) 56.
- Vatakanakā, a work of Varāhamihira, quoted in Adbhuta-sāgara. 742n, 743
- Vatasāvitṛivrata, 91-94, on Jyestha Full Moon, 91; fast for three days or some alternatives of *nakṣa* etc 94, called Mahāsāvitṛivrata by V K V. 92, must have been in vogue long before 10th century A D. 92, decision in case Full Moon tithi is vidhā 93: possible reason why worship of Vata tree comes in, 93, procedure of 93
- Vāyaviyasamhitā 1108.
- Vāyupurāṇa, 29n, 90n. 99, 129, 133n, 147, 209-10, 473n, (on Kāla), 476 (units of time), 520n (about motion of Saptarṣis), 540 (names of Muhūrtas), 649n (on beginning of Kaliyuga), 651n (beginning of Kṛtayuga), 657n, 667n, 678, 692-3, 696n, 698, 735, 774, 817n, 821n-2, 824n-5, 830n, (chap 104 of doubtful authenticity), 843, 845n, 846-48, 850-52, 853n, 854-5, 857-58n, 861-3, 915-16, 921 (adopts

Upanisad passages), 931n, 932, 939n, 947, 974, 993n, 995-6, 1052n (q. by Kulār-
 nava), 1061n (on defects due
 to ignorant men practising
 yoga), 1152, 1182n, 1320n,
 1399n, 1419n (only five angas
 of yoga), 1438n, 1440n,
 1456-7, 1526n, 1528, 1581,
 1611, 1645n 1653n, divided
 like Brahmānda into four pādas,
 905; first verse (Nārāyaṇam
 namaskṛtya etc.) and 2nd
 eulogising Vyāsa not found in
 some mss, 905; Gayāmahātmya
 chapters deemed to be later
 905; has 112 chapters and
 10991 verses in Ānan. ed. 905;
 makes a passing reference to
 Gupta Dynasty and mentions
 rāṣis 905-7; note on 906-7,
 one of the oldest and authorita-
 tive Purāṇas and contains much
 Dharmaśāstra material 905;
 Śaiva bias in several chapters
 but chap. 98 and Gayāmahā-
 tmya are full of praise of
 Viṣṇu 905; some verses quoted
 by Śaṅkarācārya as from a
 Purāṇa or Smṛti are found in
 V. 906 and n.

Veda: (vide Mantras, Mahā-
 bhāṣya, nāmadheya, Rgveda,
 Pūrvamīmāṃsā), all Veda
 texts do not contain vidhis,
 numerous V. passages are com-
 mendatory, or condemn an act
 that is prohibited or refer to
 instances of persons performing
 the vidhi in the past or put
 forward to be a reason for the
 vidhi, these are not to be
 treated as unnecessary, but are

to be taken along with vidhi
 passages to complete their full
 import 1243; arrangement in-
 to Mandalas or Astakas or
 Kāṇḍas is not claimed to be
 eternal, though the V. is eter-
 nal 839, 861, different inter-
 pretations of some mantras by
 Śabara, Kumārila, Nirukta,
 Mahābhāṣya, Śāyana exemplified
 in the case of Rg. IV.58.3,
 1255-56, divided into five
 categories viz. vidhi (horta-
 tory), mantras, nāmadheya
 (names like Udbhū), prati-
 śedha or nisedha (prohibi-
 tion) and arthavāda (landa-
 tory or explanatory passages)
 and examples of these 1098,
 1225, divided into three parts,
 vidhi, arthavāda, mantra, (nā-
 madheya being placed under
 vidhi) 1225, the epic and Pu-
 raṇas say that the one eternal
 Veda was arranged into four
 parts by Vyāsa, but do not say
 that they were distributed into
 mandalas or kāṇḍas by Vyāsa
 859, eternal, self-existent, not
 composed by any human or
 divine author and infallible,
 acc. to P. M. S. 1202-1204; is
 constituted by Mantras and
 Brāhmaṇa 1222; Mantras of
 the three Vedas are said
 by Mann to have been drawn
 from Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya
 1181, Manu lays down
 Japa (muttering) of Vedic
 mantras of *adhyaṅgīa*, *adhi-
 daiva* and *adhyātma* types
 1181; many vedic texts are
 apparently in conflict with

each other and with ordinary experience 1124; many verses of Veda had threefold applications viz. with reference to sacrifices (adhīyajña), adhi-daiva or adhidaivata (with reference to deities) and adhyātma (with reference to metaphysical meaning) and illustrations 1181, Naiyāyikas hold that God is the author of the Veda and the Vedāntasūtra holds same view 1202, necessity of knowing four matters about every mantra viz the rsi, the metre, the deity and application, emphasized by Ait Br, Chān Up and Smritis and evil consequences of not knowing these 859-860, passages in Smritis and Purānas stating that Brahmā or Prajāpati created the Veda are laudatory and not to be taken literally 1202, promulgated for Yajña 1184, proposition of some smritis that wealth is for Yajña, which is strenuously opposed by the Mītāksarā 1184, Śābara lays down that one that wants to perform a vedic sacrifice must have memorized the portion of Veda relating to the sacrifice and must also understand its meaning 1181, Schools of Veda interpretation, such as Aitihāsikas refer to Devāpi and his brother Śantanu (Rg. X 985 and 7), Yama and Yamī (in Rg X 10) and Viśvāmitra and the rivers, Rg. X 33) as historical personages,

but the Nairuktas explained them differently 1203; six angas (auxiliary lores) of, enumerated in Mundakopanisad and Āp Dh. S., 478, Smritis sometimes say that there is no author of Veda, that Brahmā remembers it 1203, some Mantras like 'catvāri āṅgā' are laudatory of Yāga 1255-56, smritis like those of Gautama, Manu, Yāj, lay down the periods for which one should study (i.e. memorize) V. 1180, study of V. has five aspects viz memorizing it, reflection over it, constant repetition of it, *japa* of it and imparting to pupils 1181-82; substantial contribution to exegesis of Veda by P. M. S., Śābara and Kumārila, 1218, Svādhyāya and *pravacana* of V. constitute *Tapas*, 1180; teaching Veda, demanding fee for, was and is condemned even now but teacher could accept fees paid at end of studenthood by pupil or somebody else for him, 1638; that many Veda texts are lost or are unavailable is stated so early as Āp. Dh. S. 1259; theory that Veda is eternal and of absolute authority has led to some undesirable tendencies, viz. propounders of new-fangled doctrines claim they have Vedic authority, examples cited 1218-19, that words of the Veda have the same meanings that words in popular Sanskrit have is the view of

P. M. S., Śabara and other mīmāṃsā writers 1276; words like Babara Prāvāhaṇi, Prama-ganda which the opponents of eternality of the Veda put forward as showing that they refer to ancient human beings are explained away as having other meanings 1203, 1224n, 1256; words like 'jarbharī turpharitu' (Rg. X. 106. 6), Kāṇukā (Rg. VIII. 77. 4), that are argued by some as having no sense are explicable with the help of Nirukta and grammar 1256.

Vedāṅgas (six) are declared by Kumārila to be useful as Krativārtha and Purnsārtha 1261, 1274-76.

Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa 498, 499n, 505n, 519, 538, 559 (Yajusa), 591, 646, 657, 659, 662 (Yaj-nsa), 663, 681 (Ātharvaṇa), 1181, 1184; date of 505n.

Vedānta: (vide under 'Brahman, Denssen, Mokṣa, soul, Upaniṣads'); Denssen's theory that kṣatriyas were the original cheerishers of V. thought, not brāhmanas, stated and criticized 577-86; doctrine of the non-difference of the individual soul and even of the inanimate world from the First Principle or Essence is one of the most characteristic features of Hinduism and India's greatest contribution to the spiritual development of man 1625, 1631; expresses advaita in such sentences as 'aham brah-

māsmi'; 'tat-tvam-asi' 1482, first and foremost aspect of V. was that Ātman is the only reality and that Ātman can be only described in the words 'neti, neti', but it clashed with the popular idea that a real world existed apart from the creator 1498; in its highest form V. is the best support for pure morality for all individuals, the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death 1479, 1625, in medieval and later times by the side of sublime metaphysical tenets, there was lack of solidarity of all common people, lack of efforts to reduce poverty and dominance of brutal and alien invaders 1479; persons imbued with the true spirit of advaita Vedānta like Ramanamaharshi are found in India even in these days 1479n; tendency to appeal to the past, to believe that what has been is the best has been very strong in India throughout several centuries, 1479, 1707n (Advaita V. has influenced great modern minds in the West).

Vedāntasāra 1450.

Vedāntasūtra, 24n, 731n, 732n, 775, 779n, 780, 824-5, 860n, 866, 906, 921n, 944n, 953-56, 959, 1032-33n, 1045, 1063n, 1155n, 1158-9, 1167-8, 1202, 1211, 1218, 1255, 1273n, 1352, 1357n, 1359n, 1362-63, 1365, 1388, 1399, 1400n, 1403n, 1434n, 1446(n), 1466, 1468,

1469n, 1471, 1484-5, 1488n, 1499n, 1500, 1503, 1505, 1507-10, 1516n, 1541, 1542n, 1550, 1554, 1558-60, 1562-4, 1566-67, 1579 (on Vaiśvānara), 1580n, 1583, 1588, 1600n, 1602n, 1625 (refers to Atharvaveda Brahmasūta), 1642, authors mentioned by V. S. alone and not by PMS are Audulomi, and Kāśakrtsna 1173; author of, knew Yoga doctrines, same as some sāṅkhya doctrine, Samādhi but did not know the present Yoga-sūtra 1390-91, Bhāskara, Pañcapādikā, Śaṅkarācārya and Yāmūnācārya held that Bādarāyana is the a of V. S., while Rāmānuja appears to mention both Vyāsa Pārāśarya and Bādarāyana as authors 1165-66; declares that *samsāra* is anādi 1567; mentions Jaimini's views eleven times, in six of which there is no corresponding sūtra or view in P. M. S. and Jaimini probably wrote a work on Vedānta also, 1167, mentions Bādarāyana nine times, most of the views of B. being opposed to Jaimini's or at least slightly different 1167-68, problem of the authorship of V. S. is complicated but there were two Bādarāyanas, 1165-1169, problem of the eight sūtras in which the words 'taduktam' occur, discussed, 1176, Śāntiparva verses quoted as Smṛti by Śaṅkarācārya for supporting the views of V. S. 1166n;

Smṛti mentioned in many sūtras of V. S. is the Gītā acc. to Śaṅkarācārya and almost all ācāryas 1172, some sūtras of, differentiate between Jīva and Paramātman, while some others speak of non-difference between the two 1567; V. S. very much presupposes the P. M. S., which does not appear to have been influenced by V. S. 1176.

Vedārtha-saṅgraha of Rāmānuja, 880.

Vedha : of tithis, explained 72-73; V. in eclipses 250

Vedic Age, chronology of, uncertain 513.

Vedic Interpretation (vide under 'Aurobindo', 'Kapali saṁśṛy'), by Śrī Aurobindo of 230 verses in all from Mandalas I, II and VI and of 60 hymns in another work briefly examined, criticized and mistaken notions pointed out, 985-991, Nirukta mentions seventeen individual predecessors on V. I., who differ from it and also among themselves 984, several schools of, such as Aitihāsikas, Naidānas, Niruktas, Pañvrājakas existed even before the Nirukta 984, 1203-4; some examples on which Aitihāsika school would rely are Nāsatyau, Vrtra, Purūravas and Urvaśī, Saramā and Panis, which would show that the Aitihāsikas did not believe in the self-existence and eternity of the Veda 1204, the most sublime

- and fundamental thought of the Rgveda (I. 164. 46 and X. 129.2, VIII. 58. 2) that there is only one Spirit behind the various gods, that originally there was only that one which became all this, is embodied in words, about which there is no secrecy and which can be understood by any one who knows a little Sanskrit 987, about word 'Samvatsara' in regard to the Sattrā called 'Viśvasṛjāmayana' said to last for a thousand years Jaimini (P. M. S. VI. 7. 31-40) boldly asserts that here it means a day, relying on Rg. I. 89. 9 and Tai. Br. I.7.6.2 (śatāyuh purusaḥ), 1321.
- Vedic Texts, the repetition of which or homa offered with which was deemed to purify a person are set out in Vasistha Dh. S. (28. 10-15), 733n.
- Velankar Prof. H. D. . explanation of Rg. X 72 (aditer dakso ajāyata) by, demurred to 1488n.
- Vena, called Gandharva in Rgveda and may be Venus 494n.
- Vendidad : Parsi scripture mentions 'Hapta Hindu' (Sapta-Sindhu) 1613n.
- Venīsanbhāra 775n, 779n.
- Venkatanātha or Venkatadeśika (1269-1369 A. D.) a. of Sēśvaramīmāṃsā 1209, vide under Devatā.
- Venkatasubbiah, Shri, avers that thirty works cited by Madhva occur nowhere else 1219.
- Verbal forms : two kinds of, the first of which only conveys that the agent only exists (as in 'asti'), the second of which conveys not only the existence of the agent but also some activity of the agent (as in yajati), that is, in these latter the sense of 'karoti' (he does) is also understood, 1237.
- Vernal Equinox. deemed to have occurred on Aśvinī-nakṣatra about Śaka 444 but now it has receded to Uttārābhādrapadā 713, was in Kṛttikā about 2300 B. C., 497n, 508; was in divisional sign Aries about 200 B. C., 601.
- Verses identical in several Pūrāṇas 853, 945n, identical in Brahma and Viṣṇu Purāṇas, 929, 1046n; identical in Matsya and Brahmanḍa 945n, identical in Viṣṇu and Padma 966n, identical in Viṣṇu and Varāha Purāṇas 931n.
- Veśī. rāśī, when so called 584.
- Vidhu (or Vidhis), (vide under Bhāvanā, Niyama and Pāraśankhyā) V apply to all Āryas 1281; (Vidhi) is an exhortation that is meaningful on account of enjoining a matter that has a useful purpose and that prescribes something which does not follow (is not established by) from any other authority 1225-26; is laid down by a verbal form or potential passive participle in 'ya' or 'tavya' 1225n; is ordinarily couched in the optative form (vidhiḥ) and a verb in the present tense can-

not ordinarily be taken as laying down a V. 1226, only vidhis so called have absolute authority, while Arthavādas have authority in so far as they praise Vidhus 1283, one classification of vidhis is into four, 1228, sometimes a vidhi may be inferred even from a verb in the present tense (illustrated) 1226-7, the central element in v. is the verb or verbal form expressed as 'one shall do', 'it shall be done', 'it ought to be done' 1226; the employment of words like 'hi' or 'vai' is not generally allowed in a V. 1227n, the text about rātrisattra, though in the present tense is, construed as a v 1227, three-fold classification of v. into apūrvavidhi (as in svargakāmo yajeta), nyamavidhi (as in 'he pounds rice') and Parisankhyā 1229, two-fold classification of vidhis into Purusārtha and Kiatvartha 1232-1234, where a rite has already been laid down all that can be said as laid down about it later is to enjoin an accessory (guna, a detail), 1226; where a vidhi is already established a separate vidhi is required for each of the auxiliary matters relating to it 1295n.

Vidhyādi, such texts as 'Darśapūrnāmāsābhyām yajeta' are called V. 1323

Vidhyanta, is the whole procedure of Darśapūrnāmāsa except the originaive injunction (Darśa-

yajeta) detailed in the Brāhmana texts about the offering of purodāsa (cake) 1323n. Vidura, though a śūdra, possessed brahmajñāna 921, and secured moksa 1642.

Vidyāmādhaviya, (also called Muhūrtadarśana) 539.

Vidyāpati, a great writer of Mithilā, composed devotional songs of Viṣṇu, Śaivasarvasvāsāra, Durgābhaktitaranginī and also a tāntrik work 1076, the first verse of the Purusa-parikṣā of V. invokes Ādi-Śakti 1076

Vidyās fourteen V. set out in Yāj and others 820, 926, 1152, 1263, fourteen known to Kālidāsa 1152n, eighteen known to some (including Upavedas). 820, 926n, Ghurye, Dr. G. S. work of, on 1152n, sources of, are 14 but Baundha works are not included as sources of dharma or vidyās 1152, 1263.

Vidyāsthāna, (branch of knowledge) the word occurs in Nirukta 1276n, vide under 'Vidyās'.

Vidyāsūkta 1033n, 1461.

Vihavya-anuvāka, 786.

Vijaya, time and Muhūrta so called, 189, 406.

Vijayādāśamī (vide under 'Dasarā') chief observances of 190, in place of Śamī, another tree called 'Āptā' is worshipped in Mahārāṣṭra 192; on 10th of Āśvina bright half, 188; one of the three most auspicious days in the year, 189; Rāma is said to have marched

against Lankā on this day, 192, time for, when 10th tithi is mixed with 9th or 11th tithi 188; time for celebrating it is afternoon or *pradosa* 188, time for new undertakings even though the moon or some other planets be not favourable 189.

Vijñānabhikṣu (about 1550 A. D.) a. of Sāṅkhyāvacanabhāṣya 976, 1355

Vijñānadīpikā, of Padmapāda, (in 71 verses) 1574n (on three kinds of Karma), 1588, 1599.

Vikalpa (option) or Vikalpas 1249-1252 (vide underśāstra, *smṛtis*), defined by Gautama, Jai., Śābara and Manu 1154, eight faults of V apply only to V. based on reasoning, 1252 is liable to eight faults and should be avoided and resort should be had to *paryudāsa* or *arthavāda* 1250, 1252, may be a *vyavasthita* (i. e. restricted to a certain state of circumstances) or *avyavasthita* (not so restricted) and examples 1251-52, V. are grouped under three heads with examples, 1250-51; where two texts are irreconcilable there is V. as in the two sentences about *Aturātra* 1249-50.

Vikrama became lord of the world in Kaliyuga by *vratas* 55; whose daughter Vasundharā of Daśārṇa country attained mokṣa by *vratas* 56.

Vikramāditya VI, of Cālukya

dynasty, Inscription in 1098 A. D. about school for teaching Prabhākara's Mīmāṃsā doctrines 1192

Vikramāditya. doubts about the existence of a king called V. about 57 B. C 650-51, Emperor Chandragupta II was styled V on his coins 901; era of 650-53, papers on 650n, 651.

Vikramāditya commemoration volume 650n

Vikramorvaṣya, a drama by Kālidāsa 46, 900-901 (close agreement between Matsyapurāṇa and V on the incidents in the story).

Vinaya Texts 1070

Vināyakaśānti, also called Ganapatiṣṭhā 748, performed at the beginning of all Samskāras, such as Upanayana and marriage and for averting or mitigating effects of portents or on a Sapinda's death 748-749, performed also on Thursday or on certain auspicious nakṣatras 748, *Sanhkalpa* for, 748n; to be performed in ordinary fire 757

Vindhyavāsa or-vāsini; identified with Īśvarakṛṣṇa by Takakusu and Keith but Abhinavagupta distinguished between the two 1376-77, also called Rudrila 1376.

Vimīyogavidhī conveys the relation between the principal act (*aṅgin* or *śesin*) and its subsidiaries (*angas* or *śeṣa*) 1307; is the concern of 3rd chap. of P. M. S. 1307, 1309, *siv* means

- of determining what is principal and what are subsidiaries and the relative strength of the latter when there is a doubt or a conflict, each succeeding one being weaker than each preceding one, and there being 15 probable cases of conflict among these six and a few illustrations 1309-1311
- Vinoba Bhawe and Bhūmīdāna targets 1683.
- Vipāś (river in Punjab, modern Beas), 537n.
- Vīramitrodaya of Mitrāmīśra, 835n, 1192 (on Vyavahāra), on *āhnikā* 42n
- Vīrāsana, a posture in Kṛcchra and Aghamarsana *ratas* 415, a *yogic āsana* 1425-26n
- Vīrātaparva 179, 185n, 192n, 506n, 663, 743, 821, 1570n, 1636.
- Viśa-ghatī or Viśanādī, 736n, birth of a child on V is portent of death of father or mother or loss of wealth or of the child 736n, a particular ghatī of each nakṣatra is so called acc. to Madanaratna 736n
- Viśnu (vide under Avatāras, Śāstras) appears to be a name of the Sun in the Rgveda and came to be regarded as Highest God in Brāhmaṇa times 937, Bhaviṣyapurāṇa says that V begins to sleep in the first quarter of Anurādhā nakṣatra, turns on another side in the middle of Śravana and wakes up in the last quarter of Revatī 110n, day of, is equal to whole life of Brahmā 691, different tithis (11th, 12th, 15th) for Viśnu's going to sleep in different authorities 110-1; deluded people and asuras by producing Māyāmoha from his body that led them away from the Vedic path 974-975, how *śayana* (sleeping) and *prabodha* (awakening) of V are to be celebrated, 112; identified with sacrifice (yajña) 957, Meghadūta and Vanaparva mention the sleeping of Viśnu on the snake Śeṣa and waking up 110, 127, one thousand eight names of V. set out in Anuśāsana-parva, chap 149 and Garudapurāṇa I 15 1-160, 977n, 780n; possible explanations of sleep of Viśnu for four months 109, steps called V. in sacrifices 191, was supposed to go to sleep on night of 11th of Āśādhā bright half and to awake in the day on 11th of Kārtika bright half 109-10, 414, was supposed to turn from one side to the other in his sleep on Bhādrapada bright half 11th tithi (which was therefore called Parivartinī 109; worship of V in three different ways, Vaidika, Tāntrika or Mīśra 924, worship of, in six mediums 1121n, 1649; worship of, may be performed on Śālāgrāma stone, on a jewel, yantra, mandala, image, or in a temple, acc to Padmapurāṇa 1136.
- Viśnucandīa, writer on Astrology q by Utpalā 587n.
- Viśnuvittī, com. on Viśnupurāṇa,

832, 907.

iṣṇudharma, an Upapurāna; 873-876, 909-10; Hazra relies chiefly upon a single ms. in Bengal 873; Hazra dates it between 200-300 A. D. 872; Hazra's interpretation of two verses from Viṣṇudharmottāra is wrong, 874 and n.

Viṣṇudharmasūtra: 48, 51, 58, 89, 116, 218, 221, 249, 527, 681, 687, 691, 757, 782n, 817n, 825, 863, 931n, 934, 1024, 1027, 1243, 1248n, 1270n (similar to Yāj I 156), 1326, 1413n, 1416n, 1422o, 1441, 1448, 1533-34, 1590, 1596, 1648 (same as Maon), 1709n.

Viṣṇudharmottāra, an Upapurāna: 57, 68n, 69n, 73, 90n, 91, 104n, 112n, 115n, 120, 129n, 135n, 137n, 169, 201n, 204n, 219-20, 250, 473 (on Kāla), 476, 477n, 529-31, 534, 541, 544, 624, 657, 659-60, 663, 682, 734 (chapters on Śāntas), 748, 751-52, 754, 768n (has verses common to Matsya and Br. S.), 774, 776n, 778 (same verse as in Matsya), 779n, 793, 798-99, 801, 803-5, 857n, 874n, 920, 923 (king's coronation with Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras), 973n, 1033, 1099n, (Gāyatri verse used in black magic), 1128 (in chap. 32 it speaks of mudrābhasas and in chap. 33 of over 100 Sāmānyamudrās called nṛttaśāstramudrās), 1129, 1243, 1422, 1438, 1439n-1443n, 1455, 1619, 1653;

Aparārka quotes only 7 times and about 25 verses only, 881; borrows from works of Varāṇsi-mihira 878, date of, acc. to Hazra, is 400-500 A. D. 876; date of, after 600 A. D. and before 1000 A. D. 910; has Tāntrik elements 876n, Kālikāpurāna refers to it 910, 1033; note on 876-78, 910; questions whether the Mudrās in religious worship were derived from the postures (karanas), *recakas* (gestures) and 32 *angahāras* (movements of limbs) in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (chap. 4, 8, 9) cannot at present be finally decided 1128-29.

Viṣṇugupta, a. on astrology 593-4.

Viṣṇupadi-Saṅkrāntis 213, 413; *punyakāla* is 32 *ghaṭis* 215.

Viṣṇupañcaka, last five days of Kārtika are so called, 412-13.

Viṣṇupurāna: 79n, 112, 118n, 129, 147, 150n, 197, 205n, 221, 473n, 474n, 511n, 520n, 571n, 649, 651n, 678, 687, 689-92, 694, 698, 735n, 743n, (mentions Garga), 817n, 820, 824n, 825 (a verse of V. quoted as *Smṛta* by Śaṅkarabhāṣya), 845n (period of time between Parikṣit and coronation of Nanda), 852, 853n, 857, 861, 907-909, 915 (story of Purūravas and Urvaśī), 916, 921 (adopts Upaniṣad passages), 926n (18 *vidyāsthānas*), 928-29, 949, 957n-59, 961 (on Prahlāda), 962-63, 969n, 971, 996, 1016-17, 1152n, 1222n,

(confused account of the śākhās of Sāmaveda), 1270n (on discarding even Vedic practices), 1312n (defines 'svarga' as *manahpīṭi*), 1362n, 1382, 1391 (quotes two verses of Hiraṇyagarbha), 1399, 1404 (on propounders of Yogasāstra), 1417n, 1421, 1440, 1444 on *pratyāhāra*), 1446, 1448 (agrees with Y Bhāṣya closely), 1450, 1455, 1457 (on *Yogi-caryā*), 1522, 1526n, 1528, 1596n, closely agrees with definition as *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, 907, com. called *Vaiṣṇavākūṭacandrikā* of Ratnagarbha and another called *Viṣṇucittā* deal with a V. of 6000 verses only 832-33, 868n, *Dānaśāgara* knew a V. of 23000 verses which it discards 868n-69, 909, extant *Viṣṇu P.* composed between 300 to 500 A D 909, is full of characteristic qualities of *Vaiṣṇavas* 874n, narrates how and why *Vyāsa* declared how *Kaliyuga*, *Sūdra* and women were blessed 928-929, on *Sāṅkhya* 1382, present text divided into six *aṁśas*, 126 chapters and has about 6000 verses 907; *Rāmānuja* in his *Vedārthasaṅgraha* quotes more than 100 verses from V, regards V. as of supreme authority over other *Purāṇas* 880, 957n; *Śākya*, *Suddhodana* (as 23rd in descent from *Bṛhadbala* and *Rāhula* mentioned by V.) 909, several works state the number of

ślokas in V. to be different from - 6000 to 24000, 832-33; some verses identical with *Brahmānda* and *Brahma* and other *Purāṇas* 908, 963n, 1516n; teaches doctrine of complete *advaita* and of *niskāma-karma* 908, translated by H H. Wilson 883, 909; *Vācaspati* names it in com. on *Yogabhāṣya* 909, *Vyāsa* does not play a prominent part in V. and *Sūta* does not appear as narrator at all 909.

Viṣṇurahasya 49n, 115n, 869 (a mere compilation, acc to *Dānaśāgara*)

Viṣṇusambhitā, elaborate treatment of *dikṣā* in, 1117, 1123, 1125 and n (on *Mudrās* appropriate to several gods and names about 30)

Viṣṇuśrīkhalā-yoga 414-15.

Viṣṭi, 7th mobile *Karana*, 411-12, 709-710, appears to have inspired great terror among medieval *Dharmaśāstra* writers 709-10, astrologers raised it to the status of an ill-omened Demoness. 411; euphemistically called *Bhadrā* or *Kalyāṇī* 412, 700; diagram showing how *Viṣṭi* occurs eight times in a month 709, fast on it, 411; inauspicious, except in its tail, last three *ghatikās* 710, supposed to have the form of a snake divided into mouth, neck, chest, navel, waist and tail, all being inauspicious except tail and each being assigned differing *ghatikās* 710.

Viṣṇva Sankrāntis 213

- Viṣṇu** : day (when day and night were of equal length, known in the Brāhmaṇa period and was in the middle of the sacrificial year. 511; Divākṛtya-sāma, to be sung on 511n.
- Viśvabbārati**, quarterly, Vol. II paper on 'China's debt to India' 1618n.
- Viśvādarśa** 102.
- Viśvāmitra** : and the rivers 537, 1203; and Śunahṣepa 968n: furnished V. wanted to eat dog's tail 1470; priest of Trisakti who had become a cāṇḍāla 1250.
- Viśvāmitrasmr̥ti** 218.
- Viśvajit** (sacrifice) 1312-13; in V. the sacrificer had to donate everything he owned at the time of giving dakṣiṇā in, 1312-1313; Jaimini devotes fourteen adhikaraṇas to, 1313; some of the important propositions are that the sacrificer cannot donate his relatives, that even the emperor cannot donate the whole kingdom, 1313; śūdra who serves a man of the three higher castes because it is his duty to do so acc. to Dharmaśāstra, cannot be donated 1257; Svarga is the reward of V. though the Veda does not expressly mention any reward 1312.
- Viśvakarma** : fashioned the two worlds (Rg. X. 81 and 82) 1488.
- Viśvarūpa** : com. Bālakṛṣṇa on Yāj. by 224, 825-26, 1157n, 1181 (explains Yāj. I. 51) 1239n (quotes Tantravārtika verse without name), 1270n, 1273n, 1281n, 1294 (śrāddha, primarily means 'pinādāna' and not feeding brāhmanas, 1309, 1425n; not identical with Maṇḍana 1194; quote: a half verse from Yogi-Yājñavalkya 1407; same as Sureśvara, the latter being his name on resorting to Saṃnyāsa 1194.
- Vithobā** of Pandharpur; Dāmāj, his devotee 951
- Vivāda-cintāmaṇi** 1303.
- Vivādaratnākara** 1303, 1320
- Vivāhapatala** of Varāhamihira 479n
- Vivekānanda**, Swami; criticized by Shri Kṛṣṇāyānanda about his lectures on rājayoga, 1444; criticism of later Buddhism by 1030; on Rājayoga 1393-94; warns that Yoga can be practised with safety by direct contact with teacher 1441-42; 1709 (angrily says modern Hinduism is 'don't touchism', works of, 1622n.
- Vodhu**, a Sāṅkhya philosopher 1372 and n
- Vogel J. Ph.**, author of 'Indian serpent lore' 127, 275.
- Vogt, V. O.** a of 'cult and culture': condemns the unbending arrogance of Moderns and Christian missionaries 1012n.
- Vows** : five great, among Jāins 28; found in all religions 28
- Vrata** : (see under 'Dharma', horna fast, morning, snātala, tithi, pūrṇā, udjāpana), act-ions to be given up during

vrata such as chewing tāmbūla, anointing with oil 49, adhikārin for V 51-55, another vrata should not be begun till the first is finished 121, V. called Kṣurapavi 25, circumstances that do not break a vrata 48-49, classification of, into three (bodily, mental, vocal) or based on the period taken 56, comprehends many items such as bath, sandhyā, sankalpa, homa, pūjā, fast, feeding of brāhmanas, maidens and the poor, gifts and observances of rules of conduct 31, death in the midst of performing V does not deprive performer of merit 48, derivation and meaning of, according to St Petersburg dictionary from root Vr 'to choose' 1, derivation of and meaning of acc to Max-Müller from Vi to protect, 1 acc to Whitney from 'vrt' to proceed, 1, v acc to Prof Apte from 'vrt' 2, 4, v acc to author from vr (to choose) 2, 4, described in Purāṇas but did not occupy a high place in ancient smṛtis 43, difference between Vedic sacrifices and V 45, difficult to demarcate v and utsava 57, different definitions of, in Sanskrit works, such as Śābarabhāṣya, Medhātithi, Mitākṣarā, Raghunandana 28-31, employed with verbs of motion like 'i' to and 'car' 6-7, exact determination as to the day on which a tithivrata is to be performed when tithi extends over

two days occupies much space in Dharmasāstra works 62; extravagant praise of the efficacy of v. for weaning away common people from Buddhism 46, flesh to be excluded in 41; flowers, fragrant substances, incense, the food to be offered to deities in, 37-38, food to be given not only to brāhmanas but also to the blind, the poor and helpless 39-40, food proper or improper for subsistence in 41-42; for completion of vrata, performer should donate gold and cows, but if one has nothing, the words of a brāhmana that vrata is completed are enough 121, general rule that Sankalpa of a vrata to be made in the morning 32; giving up vrata through carelessness or other cause except death, entails dire consequences 47-48, gods, sages, siddhas attained highest perfection by V. 56, how to set about a vrata 81, if no sankalpa made about v, performer loses half the merit 82; immense literature on 57-58; in all vratas the pāraṇā is in the morning 121; in the medieval sense existed from before Āp. Dh S. and the dramas of Kālidāsa 46; V In the Rgveda pp 1-21, in Vedic literature, sūtras and Smṛtis 22-29; is the one supreme observance for man and other observances do not come up even to one-sixteenth part of what vrata yields, 56, largest number of,

are tithivratas 56; lavish expenditure recommended by Purāṇas in, 40, matters that do not affect a vrata, particularly where performer is a woman, child or one in extreme pain, 49, mleccas authorised to perform 54, meaning in which it is used in this section of H. of Dh. 28; meaning of, in Yājñiavalkya Smṛiti 123; meanings of, in all passages of R̥gveda are command or ordinance, religious or moral practices or worship or vows 8, 11; meaning of 'command' or law' quite appropriate in more than half the R̥gveda passages where the word occurs, 11; meaning of 'mode of worship or ethical practices' in words like 'avrata, apavrata', 'anyavrata', 11-12, 22, meaning of 'sacred vow or observance' 18; meaning of, came to be restricted to 'sacred vows' and 'rules of conduct', 116, meaning of, as compared with rta and dharma 20-2; meanings of, two, generally in Saṁhitās other than R̥gveda, in Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads 23, meanings of, two, secondary in Brāhmaṇa times viz 'a proper pattern of conduct' and 'Upavāsa' 25, meaning of, in Mahābhārata 27, meaning of, from first centuries of Christian era is 'a religious undertaking or vow observed on a certain tithi or day for securing some object by the worship of

a deity accompanied by restrictions as to food and behaviour' 28; not to be undertaken in the midst of āsauca 48, number of vratas was small in the first centuries A D 46; V. word occurs about 220 times in R̥gveda, 4, objects to be secured by vrata are numerous such as punya, progeny, wealth, health, pleasures, heaven and even mokṣa 55, observances for one undergoing a vrata acc to Tai S. 23 and acc. to Tai. Ā. 25n, observances for a king who has performed 'Brahmanah Parimarah' 25; observances for newly married pair 27, of brahmacārīn 45; offering in, to be clarified butter in the absence of specific provision, 49-50, persons of all castes (including śūdras) entitled to perform V 51; preliminaries before undertaking vrata acc to some, such as Vṛddhi-śrāddha 31-32; Pratidhī (representative) such as son or wife may perform V. for one unable personally to perform owing to disease, accident etc. 53, 54, Rājamaṛtāṇḍa, the earliest extant nibandha so far known, is work on V. 58; rite that concludes a vrata is called Udyāpana, pāraṇa or pāraṇā 120; rule of Hārīta, that in every v. in which worship enters midday is the proper time 151; Sankalpa in V. to be made in the morning 81; Sankalpa of v., formula of 81; some rules

about times when to begin v 61-62; some vratas not to be begun when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or during some days before and after their setting 61, this volume speaks only of such Vratas as are mentioned in works on Dharmaśāstra and does not attempt to include all vratas performed by nsage 59-60, to be performed in the evening or night have to be performed on the tithi existing in the evening or night even though it may be mixed with another tithi 72; Udyā-pana, absence of, renders vrata fruitless 121, verbal forms of root 'mi' or 'mī' often used in Rgveda in relation to, 10, virtues to be cultivated by one undergoing V 41; what acts to be avoided by one observing V 42-43, women are entitled to perform V but women performing vrata without consent of husband, father or son, reap no benefits 51, woman or maiden who is impure (in monthly illness or the like) should get her vrata performed or finished through another but may perform bodily acts (like fast) herself 49, 53. words 'dhr̥tavrata' (18 times), mahāvratā (5 times), suāvratā (five times) vivratā (7 times) occur in Rg and help in settling meaning of 'vrata' 12-17; word 'vṛṣavratā' explained 18-19, word 'vratāni' explained 17-18; word 'vratapā', meaning of 18, 22 w rks on,

relied on in this volume arranged chronologically as far as possible 59.

Vratas - exhaustive list of 255-462; kinds of, viz. expiatory or voluntary 28, most of, are Kāmya (for securing some object in this life or next life or both 55; most v. are for both men and women 51; V. of gods violated by human beings that are punished by gods for this 9; passages where the words 'tava vrata' occur 12-15; regarded as tapas or niyama also 28: several V prescribed for women alone 51; spoken of, not only in relation to Agni, Indra, Mītra, Soma, Savitr̥, Uṣas and Ādityas, but also in relation to Varuṇa, Brahmanaspati, Aditi. Aśvins, Parjanya, 7-8; some V. performed at fixed times or tithis 60; some seasonal v. and some festivals like Rāmanavamī and some like Sāvitrivratā and Yamadvitīyā should be kept up even in these days 54-55; spoken of as dhruva (immutably fixed) and *adabdhā* (unassailable) in Rgveda, 8, spoken of as not violated by other gods 8-9; supposed to have been declared by divinities like Śiva, Kṛṣṇa or by great sages 254; topic of, inextricably mixed up with Kāla and tithi, two meanings of, in Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Nirukta, viz. religious observances or vows and special food prescribed for one engaged in a religious rite 23; vratas of

- the type described in Purāṇas had attained no prominence in times of Yājñavalkya-smṛiti -123, V. which Vedic students had to undergo 27.
- Vratakālaviveka 30n-33n, 47n-49n, 51n, 66n, 75-77n, 85n, 92, 126, 214n.
- Vratakośa, edited by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja, lists 622 entries but lists unduly swollen as pointed out 47.
- Vrataprakāśa 30, 55n, 92, 106n, 111, 112n, 122
- Vratarāja 34, 38n; 53n, 61n, 62, 82, 86, 89, 91, 95, 135, 144-6, 150, 179, 183n, 188, 195n, 208, 234-5
- Vratatattva 31n, 32n, 47n-49n
- Vratārka 30n, 34, 43, 51, 54, 61n, 86, 88, 93, 122, 127, 144, 150, 153.
- Vrātyas in Atharvaveda 1387.
- Vṛddha-Atri 914.
- Vṛddha-Gārgya 77n, 607n.
- Vṛddha-Gautama 250n.
- Vṛddha-Garga, 520, different from Garga 592 (25 verses quoted by Utpala), 741n, 742n, 765 (on comets and eclipses), 793 (on Pṛasānāna).
- Vṛddha-Hārīta 817n, 855n, 924n, 963n, 965n, 976n, 1046, 1096n
- Vṛddha-Manu 196n, 706n
- Vṛddha-Śatātapa 79n, 116n.
- Vṛddha-Vasistha 213n, 215n, 220n
- Vṛddha-Vasistha Siddhānta 478-79n
- Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya 73n.
- Vṛddha-Yavanajātaka of Mīna-rāja 563, 576 (why two svagrhas for each of five planets), 584, 589n (countries of birth of planets)
- Vries, paper of, on 'Purāṇa studies' in Pavry Commemoration Vol. 843
- Vṛsotsarga (letting loose a bull); on 11th day after a person's death or on Full Moon of Kārtika or Cartra once in three years on Revatī 416
- Vrt, root, meaning of, without Upasargas or with 2-3.
- Vṛta, meaning of, 19
- Vṛttikāra, commentator of PMS, often mentioned by Śabara and styled 'bhagavān', from whom S. sometimes differs 1186-87, 1221, enumeration of characteristics of Mantras by V 1222, enumeration of the characteristics of Brāhmaṇa texts 1334, held to be identical with Upavarsa by Prof Kuppaswami and Pandit V. A. Ramswami and not so by Dr. S. K. Iyengar and the present author 1186n, 1187n, 1197
- Vyādi, m by Kātyāyana Vārtikakāra 1157.
- Vyāghra, Smṛti of 78n.
- Vyāhrtis (three or seven mystic syllables such as bhūh, bhuvah etc) 787, 1099n; denote Lokas ace to Tai. Br. and Tai Up 1528n.
- Vyāhrti-homa, described 33n.
- Vyās, K B 651.
- Vyāsa 116-117, 126n, 243, 606, 1421n
- Vyāsa, son of Parāśara and

called Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana also 857, as he was born on an island and was dark in complexion 1161, compiled and arranged the one Veda into four parts and imparted them to four disciples acc. to Ādi-parva and Purāṇas 857, 1161, composed Purāṇasamhitā from tales, episodes, gāthās etc 858, composed Mahābhārata for education of women and śūdras 1642, deemed to be incarnation of Viṣṇu by Manu, Purāṇas, but of Brahmā in Vāyu and of Śiva in Kūrma 857 and n, fifth disciple of V. was Sūta Romabarsaua to whom V. imparted Itihāsa-Purāṇa, whose son Sauti narrated Mahābhārata to Śaunaka and others in Naimiṣa forest 857, legends about 857, names of 27 Vyāsas in Kūrma and Vāyu, while Viṣṇu and Brahmānda cite 28 names of 28 Vyāsas of Dvāpara in Vaiṣṇavata Manvantara 857-58, not a gotra name, while Jaimini, Bādarī and Bādarīyana are gotra names 1174, Pārāśarya is only one of the three pravaras of the group of Pārāśaras 1174, son of V. was called Vaiyāsaki, acc. to Vārtika and means Śuka, acc. to Mahābhāṣya 1169, Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Paṇḍita are mentioned in Āsv Gr along with 'Bhāratamahābhārataadharmācāryas', 1161n, Vedic literature is silent about Vyāsa Pārāśarya except in Sāmavidhāna Br

and Tam Ār 859, Vyāsa or Vyāsa Pārāśarya is not mentioned by name either in P. M. S. or V. S 1173, Vyāsas were born whenever Dharma and Veda declined 857.

Vyātīpāta, a Yoga, variously defined 419, 706, name occurs in Yāj. and Harsacarita 705, thirteen V. in a year on which Śrāddha may be performed 705

Vyavahāramayūkha 51n, 52, 162n, 1002, 1192, 1224 (on 'nāntarikse na divi'), 1242 (Devala explained), 1286-87, 1293 (brother in Yāj. III. 135 should mean only full brother), 1301-3, 1313n (on Viśvajit sacrifice), 1317n, 1323 (example of *atideśa* in Pītāmahasmṛti), on killing an *ātaliyān* brāhmaṇa, another practice prevailed in a former yuga 1272n, on Prānapratisthāmantra 1106; on Nārada saying that father can give less or more to sons at partition declares that that was the case in a former yuga 1272n, says that in Purāṇas one often finds usages opposed to smṛti 1278, text with notes ed. by the present author 1305, translation of V by the present author 1301n-3n

Vyavahāraprakāśa (part of Viramirodaya), 1303, 1316n, 1320 (Māsamudganyāya), 1331 (rule of equal division), 1333 (holds rājan, a king, may be even a vaiśya)

Vyasta meaning of, in Arthasā-

- tra 647n.
- Vyūthāna*, meaning of 1414n.
- Waddell L. H., a. of 'Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism' 1129 (describes nine mudrās practised by Lamas)
- Wadia, Ardesar Sorabji N., a. of 'Fate and Free will' 1604
- W. Waerden Prof. B. L. Van Der 543, 582n (on Babylonian Astronomy), 595n.
- Wales H. G. Quaritch, a. of 'Towards Angkor' and 'Making of Greater India' 1618n, 1657
- Walker, E. D., a. of 're-incarnation' 1530n, 1604.
- Walker Kenneth, a. of 'the Circle of Life' (on metempsychosis) 1531, 1605
- Wallis, H. W. a. of 'Cosmology of the Rgveda' 1485n
- Warren, a. of 'Kālasankalita' 642n, 644, 661
- Water Clocks used in India as early as the Vedānga Jyotiṣa 542.
- Watkins, Harold, a. of 'Time counts the story of the calendar' 718n.
- Watson, Prof. J. B. a. of 'Behaviourism' 1414n.
- Watters, on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels in India' 1006n, 1040.
- Wealth: Gautama and Manu lay down that the three higher varṇas should respectively acquire w. by gifts, conquest and agriculture, which became nyāmas and must be held to be puruṣārtha and not kratvārtha, 1192, 1233
- Webb E. J., a. of 'The names of the stars' 550, 565n, 566, 582n, 595n.
- Weber, A. a. of 'Der Vedischen Nachrichten von Der Nakṣatras'; regarded Pauliṣa-siddhānta as borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus, but was rebuked by Kern for this 515n, thought the religion of bhakti for Kṛṣṇa was due to Christian influence but Barth disagrees 952n.
- Week. (vide under 'day') number of days in w. differed among different ancient people 676, w. of seven days practised among Jews, Babylonians and Incas 676.
- Week Days (vide under 'horā, sabbath, calendar'): actions proper to be done on different w. according to Brhatsamhitā, Garga and Ātharvāna Jyotiṣa 680-81, arrangement of Hindu W. not based on Greek division of day into horās, but on ghatikās 571n, auspicious for all undertakings are Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday 62, 604, 682, combinations of certain tithis and W. yield all rewards 70, combinations of certain W. tithis and nakṣatras bad for certain matters, 71; derived by Indians from Chaldeans acc. to S. B. Dixit 679n, derived in Europe ultimately from Babylonian gods, 683; Dio (200-220 A. D.) says W. originated in Egypt and were of recent introduction in his day 677, for Upanayana Tuesday and Saturday in-

- auspicious 604, have no force at night in marriages 611, known in Italy before 79 A.D., literary evidence in Sanskrit on W. 680-82; no evidence that the Indian names of W. and the method of arriving at the order of the days is not indigenous 685, not named in Bible 677, not mentioned in Mahābhārata 682, not borrowed *en bloc* by India from outside 685; oldest reference to W. in Indian Inscriptions is of the Gupta year 165 (484 A.D.) 680, one of the five angas of a pañcāṅga 675, order of W takes no account of the distances of planets 678, origin and development of, 677-685, probable that W were known to Indians between 100 B.C to 100 A.D. 681, probably suggested to Indians from worship in Babylonian temples of planets on different week days 683, Ptolemy makes no astrological use of W. 678, Sanskrit literature concerning W 681-2, Sarton's view that Greeks had nothing to do with W but Egyptians and Babylonians developed W 678, section on, in Ātharvāna Jyotiṣa 681.
- Welfare State implied by Art 38 in Constitution 1679 (vide under socialistic pattern of society), theoretical aims of 1695
- Wells, H. G., a. of 'You can't be too careful' 1483n
- Westcott G. H., a. of 'Kabir and Kabir panth' 969n.
- Westermarck, a. of 'Origin and development of moral ideas' 1647n (on slavery).
- Western Writers (vide under 'conjecture') - on Sanskrit Literature and Indology draw positive conclusions from mere silence 858, prejudices about matters Indian 542, request to, to follow Mallinātha's rule 1531; severe strictures of W. against privileges and feeding of brāhmanas laid down more than a thousand years ago should not rely on 19th and 20th century notions but should compare the position of brāhmanas with what was done by Popes, Inquisitions, monastic orders in centuries from 10th to 15th century A.D. 932, similarities in institutions, usages and other matters are often attributed to Indians borrowing by W. W., without hardly any cogent or positive evidence, but merely by conjecture and prejudice, 481-82.
- Westaway F. W. a. of 'Obsessions and convictions of the human intellect' (1938), 1483n, holds that argument from design for God's existence carries a high degree of probability 1483n
- Whitney. I, 5, 6, 12, 510, 512, 1491; W's derivation of vrata, from 'vrt' to proceed 1-5; had doubts about his theory of the derivation and meaning of 'vrata' owing to the verb

'mi' used with it 10; holds that the praises bestowed on Nāśadiya hymn were nauseating 1491, makes very disparaging remarks about Indian achievements in astronomy and generally 512; suggested without any positive evidence that it was pre-Ptolemaic astronomy that was transmitted to India 517.

Widow (see Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act.) could adopt in Bengal provided husband's permission was proved 1336; could not adopt a son at all acc. to Dattakamīnāṁsā and Vācaspati 1335-36; in Madras she could adopt with husband's permission given before his death or with the consent of the husband's agnates 1336, remarriage of, allowed by Parāśarasūtra but Parāśaramādhaviya adds that that practice belonged to another yuga 1266n; widow requires no consent of husband nor of anyone else, provided the husband has not prohibited adoption by her, acc. to Nīrṇayasindhu, Vyavahāramayūkha 1336.

Wife : (vide under 'sacrifices') : exaggerated praise of chaste wife's power is a mere arthavāda 1598; Jaimini provides that W. not being equal to the husband in the knowledge of mantras and ignorant, is restricted to the performance of those acts only that are expressly enjoined on her such

as looking at the clarified butter, observing brahmacharya and repeat a few mantras which she should learn from her father or her husband 1287-88, W. gradually lost all importance in Vedic sacrifices and came to be a mere silent spectator of weary details 1288, many Smṛti rules apply to W. also although the texts may employ a word in the masculine gender e.g. Mānu XI. 93 prohibiting men of three varṇas from drinking surā was held to apply to wives also 1288.

Wilson, Prof., translator of Visṇupurāṇa 830n, 834n (gives differing lists of Upapurāṇas), 895n, a of 'Religion of the Hindus' 1532

Wilson J. A., author of 'Burden of Egypt' 490n

Wine drinker of, was regarded as one of five grave sinners in Chāṇ Up 1079, high praise of W. as Tārā, as Saviour of souls in Taittīas 1682, not offered to gods in Vedic age, was differentiated from Soma and was deemed to lead to sin 1078

Winlock, H. B 490n

Winter Solstice occurred on Māgha amāvāsyā in the time of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmana, 49'n.

Winternitz, author of 'History of Indian Literature' (English tr 1927), 155n, 513, 1039 (Hindu Tantras not borrowed), 1606, Vol. I. 539n, 838 (on authenticity of sec-

- tions and verses of Mahābhārata), 844, a of 'Some problems of Indian Literature' 1650
- Wolfe, Bertram De a of 'Krushchev and Stalin's Ghost' (1957), 1474n
- Women advantages enjoyed by w in contrast to men 929 could secure brahmajñāna and mokṣa by listening to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, acc to Śaṅkarācārya 921n different views as to whether homo could be performed by W 52, extravagant praise of women in several Tāntrik works, 1056, in Gujarat and other places tie silken amulets round the wrists of their brothers 128, no capacity to recite Vedic mantras 52, women had no votes in England till the first World War and in Switzerland even now they have none, 1664 and n, 1674 (drastic changes in the legal status of Hindu women by Acts of 1954 to 1956).
- Wood, Ernest, a of 'Yoga', states that he once saw 'levitation' (*laghīmā*) of an old Yogin 1452-3n
- Woodroffe (Sir John) (vide under 'Arthur Avalon') a of 'Śakti and Śakta'. 1048n, 1080n, 1089, 1136n, a of 'Principles of Tantra' 1137, criticized 1078-1080, 1084-85, explains in an esoteric way the meaning of verse 'pitrā etc' by referring it to the awakening of Kundalinī 1068n, 1092 and n, 1123, 33
- wrote a foreword to Dr Rele's work in which he dissented from Dr Rele about Kundalinī being the Vagus Nerve 1443.
- Woods, Prof James H. translator of Yogasūtra, bhāṣya etc 1394.
- Woolf, Leonard a of 'Barbarians at the gate' 1619, a of 'Quack, quack' 1617.
- Woolley, Sir Leonard, a of 'Sumerians' 482
- World, various views about origin of, from Upanisad times 1573-74
- World Calendar Association 714n, in New York founded by Miss Elisabeth Achelis 714n, recommendations of 714n
- Word, has creative power and is one with God (acc to Rg X. 121 8), 1490
- Words are divided by P M. S. into Nāmāni and Karmaśabdās, also called *āhhyāta* 1237; connection between words and senses is eternal 1203-4; import of, whether Jāti (class) or Vyakti (individual) discussed in Vārtikas on Pāṇini 1157, import of, is ākṛti, acc. to Jaimini 1158; mīmāṃsakas hold that the word, denotation and the relation of these two are eternal 1205; Pāṇini made use of both Jāti and Vyakti as import of words in different sūtras acc. to Mahābhāṣya 1157-8, three senses of W viz primary (abhidhā), secondary, and suggested, owing to the three vṛttis of abhidhā,

laksanā and vyañjanā, 1293, Upavarsa held that it is the letters that constitute the word, 1205n.

Writers medieval, weakest points of, were lack of exact knowledge of history and chronology and obsession to glorify to the skies their favourite author or work 1177

Xerxes (486 B. C.-465 B. C.), 1613.

Yajeta analysis of the notions underlying the word y. occurring in sentences like 'Svargakāmo yajeta' (one desiring svarga should offer a sacrifice) 1235-38.

Yajña (vide under *Devatā*) sacrifice is called leaky vessel by Munda Up. 1471), grhyasūtras prescribe rites to be offered in grhya fire, seven of which are called *pākayajñas* 1323n, Jaimini's position is that in a y the *havis* (offering) is the principal matter and *devatā* is a subordinate detail (*gūṇa*) 1207, Kratu and *Yajña*, difference between 1646, both words occur hundreds of times in Rg. 1646, Y means (acc to Śabara) 'giving up of a substance (*dravya*) intending it for a deity in words' 1208n, notion grew that nothing great can be accomplished except by *tapas* or Y 1489 (texts cited), Rgveda in a few places asserts that offerings of ghee and fuel sticks in Y would yield great rewards 916; Śabara speaks of

four Mahāyajñas viz. Agnihotra, Darśapūrnamāsa, Jyotiṣṭoma Pindapitryajña 1323n, Skandapurāna runs down not only animal sacrifices but even offerings of fuel sticks and flowers 916; Soma sacrifices are seven, acc. to Gaut. Dh. S 1323n, Vedic Y. usually divided into three varieties viz. Isti, Paśu and Soma, this last being divided into Ekāha, Ahīna, Sattra 1323n.

Yājñavalkya : three works (apart from the Smṛti and Br Up) connected with the name of Yāj. viz. Vṛddha-Yāj, Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bhṛhad-yoga (or-gī)-Yājñavalkya and it is shown that none of these can be the Yogasāstra mentioned in Yāj. Smṛti (III. 110), 1404-1408.

Yājñavalkyasmṛti 27, 29-30, 33, 36, 48, 50, 52, 102n, 103, 123, 159n, 193, 210, 224, 246-7, 528, 536n, 538, 544, 678, 705, 748-49, 756n, 757, 789n, 817n, 825, 862, 865, 936-38, 945, 946n, 1023-24, 1032, 1063n, 1113, 1152, 1156n, 1181 (I. 51 explained by Viśvarūpa), 1230 (various views on Yāj. I 79 and 81), 1234, 1248 (several examples of *paryuḍāsa* in I. 129-166), 1251, 1256n, 1268n (conditions of *nyūyoga*), 1270, 1274, 1284, 1286, 1292, 1303 (conflict among medieval digests), 1305, 1308, 1315n, 1317, 1388, 1403, 1416n, 1420, 1438, 1411, 1446-47 (āṅgas of Yoga),

- 1457-9, 1482, 1507, 1555n (follows Br. Up.), 1557-58, 1565 (uses word Samsāra), 1573 (five views m as to what causes desirable or undesirable results), 1590-91, 1608, 1611, 1628, 1632 (allows intermarriages between three varnas), 1645 (on sannyāsin), 1669, 1672, 1697 (truth and non-violence basic), 1704, declares that rise and fall of kings depends on planets 544. employs word 'vrata' in three senses 123, hardly ever refers to vratas in the sense in which Purāṇas use the word 123, mentions some Sāṅkhya tenets such as guṇas 1379, Viśvarūpa's con. on, is called Bālakrīdā 825n, 826n, 1155n
- Yaksa, word occurs in Rg and Atharvaveda 1360n
- Yaksakardama (unguent with five fragrant substances) 384.
- Yale, John, *edited* 'What Vedānta means to me — a symposium 1707-8n
- Yama smṛti of, 112n, 80n, 949n, 1257 (gāthās from Yama's Dharmaśāstra quoted by Anuśāsanaparva), 1381-82 (verses on Sāṅkhya quoted from), y, while mentioning 25 tattvas adds Puruṣottama as 26th tattva, 1382n
- Yama and Yamī 209, 915, 1203 (dialogue)
- Yama and Pītis 1554,
- Yama, god of death, called Varasvata 692, seven or 14 names of, in tarpana on 14th in Divāli 196 and n, ten names of, in Bhrātrdvitīyā 208n, wrong conclusions of western scholars from Yama and Yamī hymn 209
- Yamadvitīyā, see Bhrātrdvitīyā.
- Yamas (vide 'niyama'): are obligatory or paramount duties for all, acc to Manu 29, are in the nature of prohibitions 1422, five m. by Yogasūtra, Kūrma, Lmga 29n, 946n, 1419, 1420n; ten mentioned by Yāj. and Vaikhāṇasa 29, 946n; the observance of Yamas by all men may be called 'Vrata' but there are exceptions for them, but in the case of Yogins rigorous observance without exceptions is called Mahāvratā 1420-21.
- Yamas are based upon passages like Chāṇ Up. III 17 4 and Br Up V 2 3, which asks all men to cultivate dama, dāna and dayā 1422
- Yāmalas, works of Tantra class, 736 and n, number of, varied but often given as eight 736n.
- Yāmunācārya preceptor of Rāmānuja's teacher 1165, ascribes Brahmasūtra to Bādarāyana 1166.
- Yantra (geometrical diagram) or yantras (vide under cakra) 1135-1139, a characteristic in Tantra worship, sometimes called cakra 1135, *bindu* in the diagram of Śricakra represents Śakti or mūlaprakṛti solidified 1137, derivation of the word 'Yantra' 1135, described in many tantra works and

some Purāṇas 1135n; difference between Mandala and Y. 1136; differently enumerated in different works 1137; distinction between Y and devatā is like that between body and soul, 1136; is engraved, drawn or painted on metal, stone, cloth, paper, birch leaf or other material with paste of sandal-wood, camphor, musk, saffron and should be worn on head 1135, 1139; Kulārnavatantra and others say that the devatā is not pleased if it be worshipped without Y. 1135; most noted Y. is Śrīcakra 1136, Prapañcasāra tantra states that by the worship of a certain Y. a sādha can make a woman smitten with passion for him and draw her to him 1105, 1139, prescribed by even Śāradātīlaka for destruction of one's enemies 1138-39, Śrīcakra, described 1137; special 'Yantragāyatrī' evolved by some works 1135, used for making holy the bed of a woman in labour 1047; was supposed to restrain restlessness of mind due to anger, love etc and to induce concentration 1136, worship of Yantra is bahuranga-pūjā (external worship of Śakti), while antaryāga consists in taking awakened Kundalinī from Mūlādhāra through all Cakras 1137-38, Zimmer on Y in 'Myths and symbols in Indian Art' 1135

Yāskara, king of Kashmir

(939-948 A. D) in whose reign Tāntricism declined 1075 Yāskatilaka Camiñi (composed in 959 A.D.), 897n (on several ancient Sanskrit grammars), 1074 (refers to Dakṣiṇa and Vāma mārgas of Tantra)

Yāska (see under Nirukta) 23, 720, 835, 1102, 1203 (Ātiśāsika school of Vedic interpretation), 1256n. derives nek-satre from root 'nakṣ' 510; flourished several centuries before Christ 984; holds that Ṛgveda mantras have a meaning as they employ the same words as in ordinary Sanskrit 961-992

Yati (vide Sannyāsa and Sannyāsin). in the Ṛgveda and relation to Indra 1386, y in the Upaniṣads 1387. was highly honoured and hence many persons quite unfit to lead life as Y entered the order 1644-45.

Yatindramata-dīpikā 960n, 961n

Yātudhāna (one who employs black magic) 1035-36

Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaṃśa 563, 573n, 576, 577n, 580n, 581, 583n (vide viddhayaavanajātaka and Virihamihira): had traditions about dreskāras different from Bṛhujātaka and Śārāṅgha 583n. styled as Yavanacharya by Ugrāśa 577n, 584n, 586n.

Yātrā: (vide under 'Prasthāna', 'Yoga'); 'auspicious time' (at question time) and auspicious

- position of planets 619, commended on nine nakṣatras 619; if *lagna* at birth not known, *lagna* at question time to be taken as basis 618-619, inauspicious objects and persons on starting 622, starting on *Yātrā* facing Venus inauspicious 620, subjects included under 616-7, tithis commended for Y 619, three works of Varāhamihira on Y 617, two meanings of word 'Yātiā,' viz (1) starting on a pilgrimage or for earning wealth, (2) march of king for victory, 616, week days not astrologically important in Y 619, works on *Yātrā* 616-617, *Yātrās* of Gods 385-86
- Yavananarendra or Yavanendra, work of, mentioned by Bādarāyaṇa, predecessor of Varāha, Varāha and Sāṁvalī) 563n, 591
- Yavanas, composed in Sanskrit works on astrology 563, 600, described in *Karṇapūra* as all-knowing, valiant and different from *mlecchas* 829n, generously praised by Varāhamihira for proficiency in astrology but he says hardly anything about their astronomy 516-517, 600, generally quoted in the plural by Varāhamihira who calls them *mlecchas* 594, 600, y in the *Yugapūṣā* 828, provided auspicious times for caula of a child in their astrological work 606, two large works in Sanskrit composed by Sphujidhvaja and Minarāja, who describe themselves as lords of Yavanas 516, 563, views of, on astrology, differed from Varāhamihira's on substantial matters, 516, 563, 601n, word Yavana is the Sanskrit reproduction of the word *Ionian*, 516n
- Yavanānī, meaning of word Y. changed 516n
- Yavaneśvara q. by Utpala, 574, 588 (on moon's *bala*), 591 (on *daśās*), differences of, with Varāhamihira (vide under Varāhamihira).
- Year (vide Bārhaspatya cycle, *Samvatsara*) beginning of Indian Y now in either Caitra or Kārtika but in different months in ancient times 659-60, Bārhaspatya year 658, Bārhaspatya year names adopted at the beginning of a year in N. India and Deccan 661; Cāndra year (pure) of 354 days 657, Egyptian year, 646, extent of, in Vedic times 488-491, four beginnings of Indian year, m. by Alberuni 659, is said in the Brāhmana texts to have 360 days and 720 days and nights together 489; length of Bārhaspatya year 661, length of y acc to Sūryasiddhānta and modern sidereal year 711; lunar y is less than solar year by a little over 11 days 646; most ancient peoples including Indians followed Luni-solar Y 646, one human year supposed to be equal to a day

of gods in Tai Br. 656n; origin and information of cycle of Bārhaspatya year 661, samvatsara and varsa used in same sense by Aśoka 493; Saura year defined 657; Sāvana y. of 360 days 491, 658; several synonyms for, in the Veda 656; sidereal year, length of 645; thirteenth month recognized in the Rgveda, other Vedas and Brāhmaṇa texts 489; tropical year, length of 645.

Yeats W. B 1393.

Yeats Brown F, a. of 'Bengal Lancer' 1088, 1111n, 1427.

Yeṣṭihas, names of certain muhūrtas 538.

Yertic, Paul, a. of 'Karma and Re-incarnation' 1605

Yoga (astrological conjunction) 619; for successful march against an enemy 919.

Yoga (vide Amṛtasiddhi, Vṛtya-yoga, Dagdha-yoga); 4th āṅga in a pañcāṅga 704-7; yogas are 27 in number and make together 360 degree S, i.e. each yoga corresponds to 13 degrees and 20 minutes-being the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and Moon, 704 and n, in all auspicious rites the first few ghatikās as specified should be avoided in the case of Viśkambha, Vajra, Vyāghāta and Atigaṇḍa 105; names of 27 Yogas beginning with Viśkambha that are ever recurring 704; no direct astronomical phenomena correspond to it, 704, names of nine of the 27 yogas that are

condemned astrologically 705; other yogas than 27 are m. in pañcāṅgas 707; rules as to observance of fasts, vratas and religious gifts and śrāddhas when a yoga extends over two days 705; special yogas when there is conjunction of certain tithis, nakṣatras and week days and of planets with rāśis and nakṣatras 706; system of Y. ancient 705, Vyatipāta 705; Y. called Vyatipāta and Vaidhṛta and the first half of Parigha and the first quarter of those the names of which are odious are inauspicious 705.

Yoga and Dharmaśāstra 1385-1467: (vide under āsanas, avidyā, Buddhast, Īśvara, Jāgīśavaya, Levitation, prāṇāyāma, Yoga-sūtras, Yogin) Y and Sāṅkhya often mentioned together in Śv. Up., Mahābhārata, Gītā, Padmapurāṇa 1385, āṅgas of Y, are eight, first five called bahirāṅga and last three antarāṅga to Yoga 1418n, 1419n, 1445, āsanas of two types one helpful in prāṇāyāma and meditation, the other helpful for physical culture and eradication of diseases 1430, āsanas, references to figures of, 1393, concentration of mind effected by Trātaka 1428n, definition of 'Yoga' in 'Yogasūtra, Devala, Dakṣa and Viṣṇupurāṇa 1409n; derivation of the word Y. and of Yogin, 1385, 1389n; difference of views about the number of the āṅgas of yoga, 1419 and n, discipline of the

mind known to Āp Dh S 1390, doctrine of Y dilated upon in Śānti and Āśvamedhika parvans 1399-1405, eightfold Y acc to Śāntiparva 1400, first signs of the effectiveness of Y practice acc to Śv. Up. 1111; five *bhūmes* (conditions or stages) of *citta* (mind) 1409, five *vittis* of *citta* and the means for their suppression, viz Abhyāsa and Vairāgya 1409-10, fourfold axioms of, described as resembling Buddha's four Noble Truths 939n, fully developed at time of Kathopanīsad 1387n, fundamental and peculiar characteristic of India and no other country has had a similar system of psychical and moral discipline 1651, fundamental idea of Y. is that individual soul is real, eternal and pure, but is immersed in the objective world and pursues transient ends and prescribes a rigorous discipline to secure the soul's isolation from *avidyā* 1414, germs of Y can be traced back to Rgveda 1385, goal of, is Kaivalya, that is, in that state the individual soul abides isolated in its own form and is free from prakṛti and birth and death, the functions of the mind being mastered 1462, Hiraṇyagarbha said to be the ancient propounder of Yoga in Śāntiparva 1390-91, ideal of Y is to be Jīvanmukta 1455 (to reject life and Personality and to die to this

world); Kleśas (hindrances) are five, *avidyā*, *asmitā*, *rāga*, *dveṣa* and *abhiniveśa*, they are minimised by *tapas* and the other two, 1415n, 1416; Kleśas are also called *tamas*, *moha*, *maḥāmoha*, *tāmisra* and *andha-tāmisra* 1409, 1415-17, 1572; meanings of the word Y. in Rgveda 1385-86, mentioned in some Upanīsads 1387-88, Muni and Yati mean the same thing in Upanīsads 1388, *niyamas* in Y. S. are five 1421; no spiritual power equal to Y. acc to Śāntiparva 1400, obstacles (*antarāya*) that cause distraction of the mind when a person is practising yoga, their companions and the means of preventing them, 1411-12, path of, difficult for even wise brāhmanas but a person of low varṇa or a woman can practise it 1400, 1461-62; proper places for practice of yoga acc. to Śāntiparva 1400, practices that are preliminaries to attainment of Yoga are *tapas*, *svādhyāya* and devotion to *īśvara* 1415; Purāṇas like Kūrma and Viṣṇu give varying accounts about the propounding of Yogaśāstra by Yāj. 1404, refuted in V. S. only as to its Sāṅkhya tenets acc to Śāṅkarācārya, but part of it is acceptable, 1352, 1361, 1388, results of continuous practice of *yamas* and *niyamas* are set out in Y. S. II. 35-45 as e. g. when the aspirant is established in *ahimsā*, all men and animals give up enmity in

his presence 1423-24, Samādhi, samprajñāta (or sālambana or sabhija) and asamprajñāta (or nirālambana and nirbija) and their subdivisions) 1411 and n; Sanatkumāra connected with Yoga by Anuśāsanapāra 1391, several Purāṇas deal with the eight angas of, 1455; signs that a person engaged in Yoga is succeeding in reaching higher and higher spiritual levels mentioned in Śv. Up., Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya 1456-57; system enjoyed and enjoys greater esteem in India than Sāṅkhya 1385, system inculcates the doctrine that by control of prāṇa in the body it is possible to obtain control over deep-seated forces in human consciousness as well as in the world 1435, y. system, like medicine, has four aspects, viz. saṁsāra, cause of it, release from it and means of release (samyag-darśana, insight into Reality) 1418, systems of yoga are only two, viz. Pātāñjala-yoga and the other dealt with in Hathayogapradīpikā, the former concentrating on mind discipline and the latter on health of body and freedom from diseases 1427-28; Vāyupurāṇa provides remedies for curing such results as deafness, blindness, dumbness, due to ignorant men indulging in piṇḍayāma and yogic practices without proper guidance 1061n, warning by Aldous Huxley against plethora of books on

Yoga 1651, word Yoga is used in an extended sense in the Gītā, in Yogatattvopaniṣad and by some modern writers 1426-27; works and papers on Yoga in general 1393-94, Yāj. Smṛti states that realization of the self by means of Y. is the highest dharma 1459; Yāj. Smṛti says that for attaining Yoga one must learn the Āraṇyaka (that is Br. Up.) and the Yogasāstra, both proclaimed by him, but, it is a very debatable point which was the yogasāstra composed by him, 1403-8, Yamas and Niyamas constitute a preliminary ethical code to be observed by an aspirant for yoga 1423.

Yogabhāṣya of Vyāsa who is different from Vyāsa, a. of Mahābhārata 1397-1399; date of, discussed, not later than 4th century A.D., 1398-99, mentioned on pp. 471 (on Kāla), 939n, 1068n, 1111n, 1113, 1356, 1373, 1374n, 1392 (prefers Jaigisavya's view), 1398, 1402n, 1408-9, 1416-1418n, 1421, 1424n, 1437, 1439, 1443, 1449n, 1450n, 1452n, 1528-9, 1572 (four questions raised about Karma). Yogacūḍāmaṇi, a Yoga Upaniṣad 1389n

Yogakṣema, meaning of, 543, used in Rgveda as one word or as separate words 1385-86.

Yogamīmāṃsā, Journal, ed. by Shri Kuvalayananda 1407, 1408, 1428n, 1439n.

Yogasāstra, m. by Śaṅkarācārya

on V. S. II 1 3, 1388.
 Yogasāstra of Jaina ācārya Hemacandra, 1441n
 Yogasūtra (vide āsanās, food, God, Patañjali, place, siddhis, Yoga, Yogabhāṣya, Yogin, 471, 907, 939n, 946n, 1068n, 1111n, 1113n, 1364n, (kleśas), 1392, 1395 and n, 1401-3, 1409 (and on most pages up to 1455), 1572, 1601n, 1611, *abhyāsa* and *Vairāgya* defined and explained 1410-11, accepts and presupposes some of the sāṅkhya doctrines, such as Pradhāna, guṇas, individual souls, Kaivalya 1401-2, are difficult and do not give complete explanations but are in the nature of brief notes or hints that arouse curiosity, examples 1459-60, (Dr.) Behanan's appraisal of Y practices based on experiments 1456, commentary Rājamārtanda of Bhoja on 1377, 1394, 1395n, 1420n, 1424n, commentary Tattvavaiśaradī of Vācaspati on Sūtra and bhāṣya (vide Vācaspati also), 1394, commentary Yogasudhākara 1420n, 1449n, commits breach of grammar 1397, date of, discussed by various scholars with varying conclusions, but it is not later than 3rd century A D 1395-1399, definition of Y does not require the *japa* of *om* or any mantra like Gāyatri, though Yāj smṛti, Atri, Vasistha prescribe it, 1408-9n, 1442, Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi 34

are direct auxiliaries of Y. and are three successive stages (vide those words) 1446, Dharmameghasamādhi in Y. S IV 29, 1411, Dhyāna (vide under that word) 1447-1449, editions of Yogasūtra, Bhāṣya etc 1394, emphasis in Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi is mental, external conditions like cleanliness, tapas, sexual purity, āsanās, restrictions as to quality and quantity of food do help but are subsidiary in Y. 1451, fourth Pāda deals with Kaivalya which means isolation of the soul from the guṇas or as mere consciousness abiding by itself 1454-55, mentions by name no āsana, thereby indicating that no particular āsana is necessary for practice of Patañjala-Yoga, though Yogabhāṣya mention ten āsanās by name 1425, outline of the teachings of the Y S 408-455, Prāṇāyāma—vide under that word pp 1432-1444, Pratyāhāra—the fifth āṅga of Yoga (vide that word) pp. 1444-5; Samādhi (vide under that word) 1449-1451; *Samyama* is a technical term and stands for the three āṅgas dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi 1445, second pāda of Y S most important for Dharmaśāstra and modern students 1414, some results of the Samyamas such as knowledge of seven worlds from Samyama on the sun specified 1452 statement of

Geraldine Coster about Y. S. that it contains information that some present day psychotherapists are seeking 1455; striking similarities between Y. S. and Gītā 1401; third pāda is called vibhūtipāda and deals with supernormal powers (vibhūti) and with Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi 1445; three means of proof (pramāṇa) 1409-10; view of Prof. P. A. Sorokin that the methods and techniques of Rājayoga contain nearly all the sound techniques of modern psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, education of character etc. 1456; tradition that the Patañjali of the Mahābhāṣya and author of Y. S. are the same, discussed 1395ff; translations of Y. S., Yogabhāṣya and of com. of Vācaspati etc. 1392-93; two sūtras of Y. S. quoted by Śaṅkarācārya 1390, with six commentaries, published in Kashi S. series 1394.

Yogatattvopaniṣad 1427n, 1438n.

Yoga Upaniṣads: are late works 1389n; twenty of them are published at Adyar 1389.

Yogavārtika of Viṣṇunabhikṣu 1396n.

Yogavāsistha: a late eclectic work composed between 11th and 13 centuries A. D., though there are several views on its age, 1408 and n.

Yogavidhi, as leading to correct knowledge of Reality occurs in Kathopanishad VI 18 and in Raghuvamśa VIII. 22, 1461.

Yoga-Yājñavalkya · vide under Yamas; edited in T. S. S. and by Mr. P. C. Divanji 1404, is not the Yogaśāstra m. in Yāj. Smṛti III. 110, 1404-1408, no evidence to hold that it was composed before 8th or 9th century A. D. 1406.

Yogatārā, meaning of 712n.

Yogayātrā of Varāhamihira: 526 (deals with Śakunas in Chap. 14), 529 (explains nakṣatras called ādya, karma, sāṅghātika, samudaya, vamaśika and mānasa) 530n, 531 (Śānti rite when nakṣatra affected), 533n; 545, 574 (on the gods and planets that are lords of the eight directions), 588, 593, 617-9, 621, 622 (inappreciable objects), 627n, 753 (on grahaṇyāna), 769n, 778, 792, 797n, 801, 804n; why so called 618n.

Yoga-Yājñavalkya 18n, 954n, 1123 (q. by Smṛticandrikā on Nyāsa), 1421n, 1426n, 1436n

Yogin · (vide under aparigraha, brahmacarya). belief in Śānti-parva and of Śaṅkarācārya that Y. could transfer himself to other bodies 1400; belief that Y. can vanish from people, see distant objects and hear in spite of great distance 1452; duties of Sannyāsin in Manu are applicable to Y. 1457; greatest emphasis laid on chastity in thought, word and deed for the Y. or the seeker after brahman 1423; has to master sleep (nidrā) also, 1410 and n, has to stick to aparigraha

1420, honour and disrespect should be treated by Y. as poison or nectar respectively 1457, if individual Yogin possesses a tolerably sound body he need not devote time to āsanās but may proceed with prāṇāyāma 1431, is said to repeat the Ajapā-japa by breathing in and out 1416n, places to be resorted to for practice of Yoga by Y. and to be avoided 1431-32, proper behaviour for Y. (yogi-caryā) acc. to Mārkaṇḍeya and Viṣṇu-purāṇas 1457, practitioner of Yoga is asked by Gītā (VI 13) to gaze steadily at the tip of his nose 1431, purity of mind follows on purity of food acc. to Chāṇ Up. (VII. 26 2) and Hārīta 1432, rules about food to be taken or avoided by one aspiring to be yogin in Gītā, Devala etc. 1431 and n, 1432, Śāntiparva on who is a real yogin 1457-58, state of Y. in Samādhi described 1451, three classes of, acc. to Vaiṣṇāsanā-smārta-sūtra and their subdivisions 1418n, while practising dhāraṇā, dhyāna, samādhi, Y. may develop certain supernormal powers, but Y. is advised to ignore them as they are hindrances in the way of his goal (Y. S III 36), 1451, Y. and Sannyāsin have been paid highest honours in India through centuries 1458, Yogin, acc. to Gītā (VI. 46), is superior to Tapasvin, Jñānin

and Karmin 1458-59, Y. residing in a country makes it holy if he has profound knowledge of Yoga, acc. to Dakṣa 1459

Yoginīhrdaya (last three chapters of Nityāsodaśikārnava are so called) 1144.

Yoginīs, temple of, 1046n.

Yoginītantra 1080n, 1117 (condemns lunar eclipse for dikṣā), 1124n.

Yoh (vide under Śam), occurs by itself three times in Rgveda and is often joined to Śam, 719-20

Yuan Chwang (often written as Hsuen Tshang or Hsuan Tshang): Chinese traveller, 262, 1006n is silent about Rājyavardhana, 1009 (about Puyamitra and Śaśāṅka), 1017 (about Harsa having prohibited taking of life by threat of heavy penalties), 1018, 1040 (story how the pilgrim was to be sacrificed to Durgā but was saved by a storm).

Yudhishthira, prevaricated and caused the death of his brāhmaṇa guru Drona 1281.

Yuga (see Kalpa, Manvantara), different goals and motives in different Yugas, 696, duration of four yugas acc. to Manu 688-89; extent of each of four Y. was same acc. to Āryabhata, 696, four y. named 687, four y. are not watertight specific periods of time but the ruler can create conditions of Kṛta age in what

is popularly held to be Kali 696; four years named in Brāhmanas are brought in close relation to the four Cāturmāsya 487; Kautilya mentions yuga of five years 487, length of human life and duties differed in each of four yugas 788n, length of Y. acc. to Sūryasiddhānta, the correct sidereal year (nāksatra Y.) and equinoctial year 711; Mahābhārata knows y of five years 488, yuga, means 'a period of five years' in Vedāngajyotiṣa 486, names of five years in a cycle of five years 487, y. often denotes 12000 years, 692 and n, Pītāmahasiddhānta stated that yuga means five years and an intercalary month was added after thirty months 488, some divergences in the theory of yugas, manvantaras etc. 696-697; superiority of Kaliyuga over others in certain respects 928; theory of yugas, manvantaras, kalpas elaborated in Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti and Purānas and concerns only Bhāratavarṣa 687-688; two senses of 'yuga' prominent in the Rgveda, a short period and a very long one 486, 686; underlying idea of theory of Yugas and Kalpas 695-696.

Yugāditiṭhis 386, Aksayyatrīṭhī is one of them 89, śrāddha performed on Y. yields inexhaustible gratification to pitrs 89

Yugāntyatīṭhis 386.

Yugmavākya 480, ascribed to different sources by different writers 75n; cited and explained 74-75, express texts will govern where Y. not applicable or other considerations may apply 75, 77; many exceptions recognised to, 75-77; rites for pitrs are not governed by Y, 76, various views about its application, 75, rules forbidding the partaking of oil, meat or the like on the fixed tithi govern whole tithi, whether spread over two days or more, 77.

Yugapurāṇa (part of Gārgī-saṁhitā), characteristics of Kaliyuga in Y. closely resemble Vanaparva description, one half verse being same 827, description of the contents of, 826-8, date of, acc to Jayaswal 828, Kern brought Y to notice of scholars 826, K H Dhruva on Y. 826, monograph of Prof. D. K. Mankad on Y 826-7, purely historical portion of, in 115 lines published by K P. Jayaswal 826

Yuktīdīpikā, Com. on Sāṅkhya-kārikā, 1182n, 1354, 1355 (between 500 A D and 700 A. D.), 1359n, 1377, 1421 (puts ākalkatā) ' absence of crookedness ' in place of *aparigraha* among yamas).

Yuktīkalpataru of Bhoja, 1654
Yuktisnehapurāṇī 1283n; com. on Śāstrādīpikā 1194n; severely criticizes Vārtakakāra (i e. Kumārila) 1194n.
Z. D. M. G. 647, 1132n, 1434n.

Zero (vide under Pingala), escaped even the greatest Greeks, Pythagoras, Euclid and Archimedes 700, Egyptians had no sign for Zero and therefore no positional notation 700, it is difficult to say when a symbol for zero was first discovered in India but the word Śūnya for Z occurs in Pingala's work 700, Prof. Neugebauer asserts that a peculiar sign was used for Z in Mesopotamian cuneiform texts but answers are required to certain questions 700n, several Sanskrit words suggestive of zero, such as śūnya, pūrṇa, kha, gaganā etc 702.

Zimmer, Heinrich, 1150 (on 'Philosophies of India'), a of 'Art of Indian Asia', allegation of, that the epithet 'vāmācāra' was applied by the orthodox partisans of Yoga is shown to be wrong, 1054, 1088, criticized as making a wrong generalization on very slender evidence when he avers that throughout the first millennium A D Tāntric rites were a basic element of normal Indian experience 1088, on Yantra (diagram for worship) in 'Myths and symbols in Indian art' etc. 1135n, 1656

Zinner Prof. E, a of 'Stars above us' 551, 565n, 579, 636, 690.

Zodiac (see under 'rāśis', horoscope) Babylonian origin of, taken for granted by most scholars 566; Egyptians knew nothing about Z. before Alexandrian age 549, 581-82; is belt in the sky about 16 degrees broad divided into two by the ecliptic in which the Sun, Moon, Planets move 594; signs of, all twelve, known in Babylonia at least from about 6th century B. C. 596, signs of, origin unknown 565-6, 595, signs of, appear in Hittite texts of 13th century B C and are found on boundary stones 595, signs of have names in China and Japan different from those in Greece and India 565, signs of, Greek, Latin, French names of, and bhāvas (houses in horoscope) 585, signs of, two meanings of 594-95, some signs of Z are found drawn on railing pillars of Buddha-Gayā dated about 1st century B. C. closely resembling Babylonian signs, on monuments etc 598, Webb holds that Zodiac as known to us is a Greek invention 566, the wheel of rta spoken of in Rg is construed as referring to Z but it is most difficult to keep in view twelve divisions of it correctly 488-489, 596, word derived from a Greek word 'Zodion' meaning little animals 594.